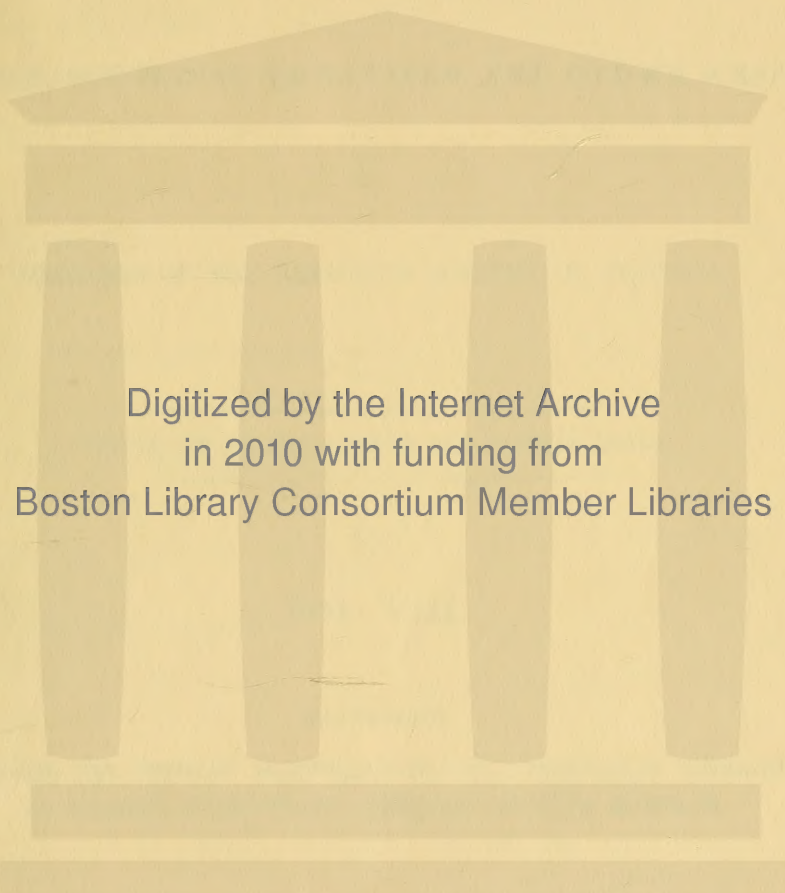


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THE

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FRIENDS' LIBRARY:

COMPRISING

JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

VOL. VIII.

CONTAINING

MEMOIRS OF THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.—THE CHRISTIAN PROGRESS
OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD.—MEMOIRS OF JOHN ROBERTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS

OF

THOMAS SCATTERGOOD,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Testimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, for the Northern District, concerning
THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.

FROM the love we feel for the memory of this our dear friend, and the continued sense we have of his fervent pious engagements, it appears to be a duty to posterity to transmit some account of his life and conversation.

He was born in the city of Burlington, New Jersey, of parents professing belief in the doctrines and principles held by us as a religious Society: his father dying whilst he was young, he was placed an apprentice in this city; and though often sensible of the checks of divine grace, which condemns for sin, he followed the inclination of his own corrupt will, which led into estrangement from the path of peace; till being in mercy visited with an humbling sense of his miserable condition, he turned at the reproofs of instruction, and submitting to the gentle manifestations of light upon his understanding, was enabled to bear the cross of Christ, and became qualified to extend advice and counsel to others. Under those exercises, a sense of a call to the ministry of the gospel was, in the wisdom and love of God, communicated to his mind; but through great reluctance to yield to this awful work, he forbore for several years, and thereby brought upon himself very deep distressing conflicts. At length, whilst accompanying a Friend who had been here on a religious visit, the impression of divine requiring being renewed upon him, his mouth was opened with a few words in a religious meeting; and after his return, he expressed at times in our religious assemblies, a few sentences in a tender broken manner, much to the satisfaction of his friends; and continuing steadfast under many baptisms and trials, he was remarkably care-

ful that no part of his conduct might lessen the force of the doctrine which he had to preach to others. Keeping faithful to the intimations of duty, he became prepared for more extensive service; and with the concurrence of the monthly meeting, proceeded to fulfil a prospect he had of a religious visit to the meetings of Friends within the government of New York, and part of New England, and was favoured to return with the reward of peace. Thus diligently labouring in the work of the ministry, he was for many years much from home, visiting meetings in various places, particularly in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina; where he experienced much close exercise and proving of faith and patience; but through the goodness and power of the blessed Shepherd of Israel, whose help is ever near for the support of his humble dedicated servants, he was carried through all, to the comfort of his own mind, and the satisfaction of his friends.

The prospect of making a visit to the churches in Europe being opened upon his mind, and meekly abiding under the weight of this exercise until it was ripe for the information of his friends, he was induced to spread it before them; and obtaining their unity and sympathy, he embarked, and arrived in England in the year 1794. Much deep and silent exercise was often his lot, but as resignation and patience were maintained, he was enabled to discharge what appeared to be his duty; and labouring for several years in the fulfilment of this arduous service, he experienced the near unity and fellowship of Friends in those countries, and came away in the enjoyment of peace, under a sense of the immediate protecting providence of Him, who is to his children a sure rock and never-failing refuge. He continued mostly at home for se-

veral years, diligently attending the respective meetings of which he was a member, and also other religious services.

He was much devoted to the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, and through the efficacy of heavenly love, was at times enabled to say, it was more to him than his necessary food; but being sensible of his various infirmities, he was frequent in inward retirement, and hence his mind became strengthened in watchfulness against those things which interrupt the aspiration of the soul towards the Fountain of everlasting life; being thereby made quick in the fear of the Lord, he increased in solid experience, and gradually advanced in the way and work of salvation. His example in silent waiting in our religious meetings was instructive, and in the exercise of his gift, it was evident that he had been careful to feel the putting forth of the divine hand, being at times eminently endowed with a clear discernment of the states of meetings and individuals, and in the power of the gospel, was made instrumental to baptize many into deep contrition, through a heart-felt sense of their own condition. Thus, as a scribe well instructed into the kingdom, he brought forth out of the treasury things new and old, to the edification of the body and to the praise of its ever adorable head.

His sympathy with the afflicted was often manifest; and the situation of those in necessitous circumstances peculiarly claiming his tender regard, occasioned his frequently bringing to the notice of his brethren, their suffering condition, that their benevolent endeavours might be exerted for their alleviation.

He was so tender of the reputation of all, that he could not take the liberty of expressing any thing to lessen it, nor was he easy to hear others in such a practice.

He attended several sittings of our yearly meeting in the fourth month, 1814, and was

taken unwell the 21st. The disorder though apparently not alarming at the commencement, in a short time greatly prostrated his strength: yet he was preserved throughout in much quietness and sweetness of spirit; was frequently pleasant and cheerful; his concern for the prosperity of Zion was still the prevalent engagement of his mind, and he often enquired how the yearly meeting was advancing in its important business.

On the third day of his illness, a friend sitting by him expressed he felt a peaceful solemnity—he replied, “So do I; my mind is centered in quiet, peaceful resignation.” On the next day those about him apprehended he was near departing, but reviving a little, he at intervals expressed nearly as follows; “This is the last piece of the garment that is to be worked up; and if I can be favoured to join the righteous of every generation, it will be enough.” Again—“Well, I don’t know that I have much to say for myself; I leave it to the Lord, the Shepherd that sleepeth not by day nor slumbereth by night, who watcheth over his children and over his flock:” Again: “I hope that a righteous generation will be raised up and preserved as a seed”—and after a silent pause, added, “Oh, if we can but be favoured to take some of that love with us—the end crowns all—I have nothing to boast of; I have been baptized into many low places, and raised up again.” He appeared disposed for more expression, but his bodily powers were so far gone as to render his attempts unintelligible; yet after a considerable time of silence, he uttered with much emphasis, “I will lead them.” Soon after which he quietly and peacefully departed, the 24th of the fourth month, 1814; and we doubt not hath entered into rest, enjoying that crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give unto all them that love his appearing.

MEMOIRS OF THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.

[THE memoranda from which the following account of our beloved friend, Thomas Scattergood, is chiefly drawn, appear to have been penned for the information of his family and his own instruction and improvement, without any view to their being made public. They enter more into private and personal details than would be proper to meet the public eye, and often with a degree of minuteness which would be tedious to the general reader. It was therefore necessary to omit much of this

description of matter; to correct some grammatical inaccuracies and sometimes to transpose a sentence for the sake of perspicuity.

The reader will perceive that our dear friend was one of those who knew what it was to be “in deaths oft;” to be brought very low after seasons of divine favour, and often to partake, according to his measure, of that bitter cup which was drunk in its fulness by his Lord and Saviour. But these seasons of conflict and suffering, painful as they might be at the time,

were blessed to him, as a means of preservation, and of preparing him, not only to minister more effectually to the suffering and oppressed seed of God; but also to partake more largely of those consolations which are in Christ, when He in whose hand are the times and seasons, saw meet to change the dispensation, and permit him to partake with his blessed Lord in his resurrection into dominion and glory. Few persons, it is believed, were preserved more steadily in a state of inward exercise and retirement of spirit, waiting on the Lord, or given to see more clearly, or to minister more pertinently to, the states of meetings and individuals,—and few have left behind them more seals to the baptizing and convincing power of their gospel ministry.]

THOMAS SCATTERGOOD, son of Joseph and Rebecca Scattergood, was born in Burlington, New Jersey, on the 23d of first month, 1748. His parents were members of the religious Society of Friends, and his father was indentured to Thomas Chalkley to learn the business of a mariner, with whom he performed several voyages. After coming of age, he appears to have had the command of a vessel which sailed from Burlington; but he soon left this occupation and studied law, which he continued to practice until his death, which occurred in 1754. After this event, the care of Thomas' education devolved upon his mother, who manifested an earnest solicitude for his best welfare, and by tender counsel and judicious management, endeavoured to shield him from the snares and temptations incident to youth, and to lead him in the paths of piety. His literary instruction would seem not to have exceeded the common branches of an English education, of which he acquired a competent knowledge. Of his boyhood, little is known, though from some hints he has left respecting it, he seems to have been favoured, as early as when six years old, with seasons of serious thoughtfulness; but not giving heed to the secret reproofs of instruction, or to the admonitions of his concerned mother, he yielded to the corrupt inclinations of the vain mind, indulging in folly and forming associations, the tendency of which was to alienate him from a serious and self-denying life. His turn of mind rendered his company peculiarly acceptable to his associates, among whom he was generally a leader in their youthful diversions; and although it does not appear that his conduct was marked by any flagrant departure from the path of rectitude, yet he became much estranged from the yoke and cross of Christ.

About the fourteenth year of his age, he

was placed apprentice in the city of Philadelphia, with a Friend in mercantile business; but the occupation not suiting him, he remained in it but a short time. He afterward went to learn the trade of a hatter, and continued at it until about nineteen years old, when his master dying, he quit the employment and learned to be a tanner, in which business he continued during the remainder of his life. The temptations to which he was exposed in the city, and the facility there afforded for gratifying the inclinations of the carnal mind, led him still further from the way of holiness; but amid all his deviations he appears to have been watched over and cared for by that compassionate Being who is a father to the fatherless, and whose gracious visitations were at times powerfully extended, in order to rescue him from the pit of pollution, and make him a chosen vessel in his house.

He was sometimes in the practice of spending first-day afternoon with his companions in sailing on the Delaware—an amusement in which he took much delight; and on one occasion when employed in this manner, his mind became so deeply impressed with the sinfulness of thus spending the day, that he induced his comrades to set him ashore before they reached the place of their destination,—nor did he ever afterward spend that day in a similar manner. He was often heard to speak of this incident, as a remarkable instance of the secret pleadings of the divine witness in the breasts of even the young, and there is reason to believe that soon after it, he was made willing to bow to the tendering visitations of divine love and mercy to his soul, and taking up his daily cross, to follow Jesus in the regeneration.

It would be interesting and instructive to trace his progress in a religious life, through its early stages, and to mark the exercises and baptisms by which he was gradually prepared for an instrument of remarkable usefulness in the church of Christ; but he has left no record of this important period of his life, nor are there materials to make up even an outline of it. From some remarks which he made at different times, there is ground to conclude that his inward conflicts and provings were many, and that he was then no stranger to that deep and weighty exercise of spirit, which so remarkably characterized the later periods of his life.

It appears from the records of the monthly meeting of which he was a member, that soon after attaining to manhood, he was brought into usefulness in the concerns of the church, and employed in some important services for the Society.

In the tenth month, 1772, he was married

to Elizabeth, the daughter of David Bacon, who proved a helpmeet to him; but they were separated by death in about eight years, which proved a close trial to him. One son, Joseph Scattergood, was the only child who survived her.

During the commotions attendant on the war of the revolution, the Society of Friends in Philadelphia were subjected to much suffering and many trials, owing to their conscientious objection to everything of a warlike nature, which exposed them to much jealousy and suspicion, and often rendered them the subjects of unrighteous and oppressive exactions. These difficulties, growing out of various causes, brought Friends very near to each other in spirit, broke down the barriers of prejudice, and produced that humility and tenderness of spirit, in which they could feelingly sympathize with one another, and were ready cheerfully to contribute of their substance for the help of those more destitute and stripped than themselves. Committees were appointed in the monthly meetings to inquire into the situation of their members, and afford the requisite relief wherever it was needed. In this work of love and mercy, Thomas Scattergood was a diligent labourer, and he was no less zealous in encouraging his fellow professors to maintain faithfully their testimony to the peaceable reign of the Messiah, and in endeavouring to convince others of the inconsistency of all wars and fightings with the benign nature of the gospel, which ever breathes peace on earth and good will to men.

In the tenth month, 1778, with the consent of his monthly meeting, he accompanied a ministering Friend to some meetings in Maryland and Virginia; in which service he was engaged about six weeks.

With the approbation of his friends, and to use his own words, "in a degree of tenderness of heart," he set out with Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn to attend the quarterly meeting of Fairfax, in Virginia, in the twelfth month, 1779. The account of this journey is the first which he appears to have kept, but as it is little more than a notice of the different stages where they stopped, it seems unnecessary to transcribe it here. Throughout the visit he seems to have been under close exercise respecting his own condition, which induced him often to seek solitary places where he might commune with his own heart, and pour out his prayers and tears before the Lord. In a memorandum made the 18th of twelfth month, he says, "Attended the committee on Reformation,* in the afternoon.

* The sufferings of Friends during the Revolution, not only tended to increase their love for

Here I was bowed under a sense of my past disobedience and want of entire resignation to the divine will."

"21st.—Attended the youths' meeting. My beloved friends were favoured in this and the preceding meeting; but as for me, I was reduced very low; yet am a little comforted under the tendering power of truth; our esteemed friend W. M., speaking a little to my condition in a sitting we had at Abel Janney's.

"First month 9th, 1780.—Being first-day, attended Fairfax meeting under much distress of mind, and so continued until evening, when a little ease was graciously granted me, for which I am thankful. On taking the Bible and reading our dear Lord's sermon on the mount, a serious thought took hold of my mind, respecting doing to others as I would be done unto. The remembrance of several men, to whom I paid money in days back, came before me, with desires that I might fulfil the law of Christ, in doing unto all men as I should desire them to do to me."

This uneasiness appears to have arisen from his having used the "Continental money" in the payment of some of his debts; and although it was a full settlement and discharge according to law, yet he was fearful that he should not be acting in accordance with the gospel rule of strict justice, unless he made them some compensation for the loss they probably sustained by its great depreciation. He therefore records his desire that "for the sake of peace of mind," a certain sum might be paid to individuals whom he names, in order to make up the deficiency.

Where unreserved obedience is yielded to the manifestations of the light of Christ Jesus in the soul, it brings under a deep and humbling sense of past transgressions; begets a godly sorrow for sin, bringing into view those long since committed, and perhaps forgotten; under the pressure of which, the awakened mind is bowed in great humiliation and made willing not only to confess its wrong doing, but as far as may be in its power, to make

each other, but also led into close self-examination, in order to ascertain wherein they had departed from the law and the testimony; and in their conduct, pursuits, or manner of living, had lowered the standard of purity which the gospel and our high profession enjoin. In order more effectually to carry on this good work, committees were appointed in many of the quarterly meetings to promote a reformation among Friends, and endeavour to encourage one another to greater faithfulness in the support of the precious testimonies of Truth. It is probably to a committee of this description, that Thomas Scattergood here alludes.

restitution also. An instance of the tenderness of conscience and nice sense of justice which is thus produced in the disciple of Christ, is related of Thomas Scattergood. When a school boy at Burlington, he had occasionally taken some apples from an orchard which lay on the side of the road leading to the school-house; and when in after life he came to see the exceeding sinfulness of sin, this circumstance became a burden to his tender conscience. He therefore requested a friend to endeavour to ascertain who was the owner of the orchard at the time he took the apples, remarking that he should feel most easy to remunerate him for the fruit he had taken without permission.

On the 25th of first month, 1780, he returned from the visit to Fairfax quarter, and soon after was appointed an overseer of the monthly meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, for the Northern district. In the tenth month, his affectionate and beloved wife was removed by death, a loss which he deeply felt, she being a woman of a tender and sympathizing spirit, well qualified to feel with him under his various exercises and trials. In the following year he joined David Brooks and Seth Coffin, of North Carolina, in a religious visit to some parts of Pennsylvania, New York and New England, and while engaged in this service, he first appeared in the ministry. The following extract of a letter written to Henry Drinker, a beloved and honoured Friend and elder of Philadelphia, conveys in his own language, his exercises on the occasion. It is dated at Moses Brown's, Providence, R. I., fourth month 2nd, 1781. After giving some account of the meetings they had been at, he says:

“And now, dear friend, seeing thou hast used brotherly freedom with me, I feel something of the same, to inform thee of my state of mind. I have been long in a wilderness travel, or rather partly in Egypt and partly in the wilderness, if I may so term it; and a persuasion for years past has possessed my mind, that a dispensation of the gospel would be committed to my charge, but how, when, or where, was hidden from me. Sometimes I expected the time was nearly come, having had my mind impressed with words in meeting, but not with sufficient clearness; and at other times, through unfaithfulness and not being enough willing to abide the fire, I have almost lost sight of it. In some of these seasons I believe I could have borne a separation from having any thing to do in Society affairs, being so sensible of my wretched and unworthy condition; and when I had thought of accompanying these Friends a little on their journey, my mind was turned toward the

baptized condition I was in, when with Samuel Emlen in Virginia; which was a time of great distress, and I was fearful of being burthensome if I went with them. In this state of mind I left you and got pretty cheerful by the time we reached North Wales, in which meeting a few words came up in my mind by way of encouragement to some there, which I have since thought I might have dropped peacefully to myself. In the meeting for business I said something in some zeal; which I fear wanted to be tempered with more charity. I had thought of endeavouring to see Friends at Hardwich, some time before I left home, and it being a favourable time, I proceeded to our friend Robert Kirkbride's. In the evening my beloved friend David Brooks was uncommonly free in conversation with me, in an encouraging way; opening his experience to me, though I did not inform him of my exercise; and next day on our way to Plumstead meeting, our ancient Friend, J. Forman rode up alongside of me, and told me whatever my hands found to do, to do it with all my might and not to fear the presence of any who were there. My mind was exercised again in this meeting, with a few words to deliver: I was burthened with a profession that wanted the possession of godliness, and the different states of the publican and pharisee opening in my view to deliver; I sat some time, fearing I was under a delusion. I endeavoured to settle down into stillness, and as I was favoured to get there, I apprehended I heard this language, ‘Be faithful; there shall be peace in it.’ So I gave up, and stammered out what had impressed my mind; but when I got down on my seat, confusion surrounded me; but by settling down to my gift, the peace that was promised I experienced; and being afterwards told by my dear companions that it was well, I rested easy. Thus I first opened my mouth at a place, where some years ago, I behaved in such a manner as was a reproach; it being at the marriage of a near friend. We attended Kingwood meeting, at which place I was silent. Next day sat off for Hardwich, proposing to stop to see a few scattered Friends that live about half way between the two places. We had a lonesome ride this morning, wherein little conversation passed; and my mind was exercised to know my way, whether to return home to my family after being at Hardwich, join as a companion to our friend J. Forman, if he inclined to visit any more meetings in the Jerseys, or proceed on with David and Seth to Nantucket; and as I was measurably favoured with resignation of mind, I believed it was best for me to join the two last mentioned Friends in their

visit. We stopped at Aaron Watson's, and I had not sat long in the house before David came and sat down by me; and on telling him I had thought of keeping on with him to Nantucket, he freely told me he could think of little else in our lonesome ride, but my going, and believed truth would make way for itself. My mind was bowed in awfulness, and as I apprehended I felt something of the spirit of prayer and supplication, I endeavoured to keep under it until we sat down to eat, at which time I ventured to prostrate myself before Him who had been graciously pleased to open a spring of consolation in a desert land; and dear David told me afterwards, it had a tendency to open the same spring in him, as he began after I concluded; and we had a solemn time together in this wilderness place, where we were altogether strangers except our guide. This season of divine favour, dear Henry, has been a time for me to look back at since, when I have been ready to question all. Thus I have simply laid my state before thee, as one who is authorized by his station to care for me; and being absent, I apprehend I can do it more freely than if I were present."

In the course of the journey, which occupied several months, he passed through much exercise of spirit and was often brought very low, yet it proved a satisfactory and instructive season; and in alluding to it several years after, he says: "It was the Lord's doings I believe, to send me with this experienced brother, [D. Brooks,] and marvellous was his supporting hand throughout the journey;—I hope never to be forgotten by me, for he brought my wading soul out of great tribulation, and to the praise of his holy name be it uttered, he opened the way for me not only in the minds of elders and brethren at home, but also abroad."

After returning home, he continued to appear at times in the ministry, which was satisfactory to his friends, who felt unity and sympathy with him in this weighty work. The following memorandums show that he endured many fiery baptisms and close conflicts of mind, which tended to deepen him in the root of divine life, and prepare him for more extensive usefulness in the solemn service whereunto he was called. Being brought into a state of humble dependence upon the openings and leadings of the Holy Spirit, and reverent waiting upon Christ Jesus, the Minister of ministers, he was made of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord, and careful to wait for the fresh extending of heavenly help before he engaged in testimony; and thus keeping, in simplicity and singleness of heart, to the gift bestowed upon him, he was

often enabled, as a good steward of the manifold grace of God, to bring forth out of the treasury things new and old, to the edification and comfort of his hearers. He was acknowledged by his monthly meeting as a minister, in the first month, 1783. Under date of twelfth month 17th, 1782, he writes:

"I feel like a poor creature—after a time of favour, stripping and trial come—so I have experienced. It has of late been a time comparable to a sabbath day.

"19th.—O how near is my lurking enemy to draw into a love to the creature. I was favoured to-day with a few expressions to drop for the encouragement of such as myself, who are much in debt and have naught to pay with.

"21st.—On looking back at this past week, I find the hand of mercy has been near, but truly I have nothing to boast of. It is admirable to me, that such an one as I should be so bold as to venture to instruct others, while I get along so heavily myself. Lord animate me to press forward.

"30th.—A day of sorrow; yet this evening I feel a broken heart and am baptized into tears. For such an one as I, this is a great favour, worthy of recording. O Lord, my God, thou hast not forsaken me, though I have strayed far from thee. Renew thy promises as in former years. I am unworthy to ask thy blessing, yet I desire to wait for it.

"First month 5th, 1783.—Some brokenness and contrition experienced to-day, and a desire raised to be more circumspect this week, if life is spared.

"10th.—O what pain a small deviation from the strict law causes to a quickened, feeling mind. Lord help me to know and keep thy law more and more.

"11th.—How apt is one deviation, though it may seem as only from a tittle of the law, to beget another. When an old beloved lust, in some degree mortified, puts up its head, what is then to be done but to know it bruised. O when shall I know my beloved lusts so put down, as not to be able to rise. Lord enable me to bear the rod and suffer it to do its office, that peace may again spring up through it.

"12th.—A day of fasting and prayer, and I hope of true mortification. I desire to see the death of some potent enemies, though it may be perfected by famine.

"17th.—What wouldst thou have me to do Lord? When wilt thou be graciously pleased to favour with the lifting up of the light of thy heavenly countenance, and destroy my enemies? Be pleased to preserve me through the close exercises of my soul; manifest thy will clearly to thy servant, and uphold me

in it; enable me to bear, and spare not. O Lord, that I may experience thy goodness as in the land of the living.

"21st.—A little opened to-day at meeting, where I had something to deliver; and also in a transient visit to a family. I ventured to prostrate myself before God, and beg for protection and preservation. How thankfully doth the panting soul receive a little ease, refreshment and encouragement.

"22nd.—A secret trust and hope lives in my heart: how was David's life hunted in the wilderness, on the mountain, and amongst the rocks; yet he was delivered. O my soul, hope thou and trust in the same merciful deliverer.

"23rd.—Favoured to encourage the mournful travellers.—Admirable that such an one as I, should be thus led in public.

"26th.—A day of more ease under the yoke, and I feel desires kept alive and hope quickened, to press on, endeavouring to eye my Captain and preserver.

"27th.—It is pleasant to have a way cast up, and to be found walking therein. To-day I have, in some degree witnessed that saying fulfilled, 'the effect of righteousness is peace.'

"Second month 5th and 6th.—Not much to note, only some ease of spirit to what I have of late experienced. O that I may be kept attentive to Wisdom's voice, prepared at all times to say here am I.

"10th.—Introduced to the meeting of ministers and elders. Felt poor; little more about me than a desire to be what the Lord would have me to be; however, am thankful that I was there. O that I may be enabled more and more clearly to know and understand Wisdom's voice, and to follow it even again and again into suffering.

"11th.—What need of mercy and remission I feel this morning. I hope that in due time my soul's desire will be answered, as Jabez's was. O that thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast and keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me.

"13th.—Attended meeting, and near the close had something to say. How am I tried with presentations of false visions, and at times narrow is my escape. O that my gracious Master may preserve me from putting forth a hand to steal, in the poverty that is necessary for me.

"14th.—Felt my enemy gaining upon me, by lulling into ease. Thanks be to the Lord, I feel more animated, and hope to resist him. This is an old and sore evil;—slothful in business, and not enough fervent in spirit serving God. O for more animation in time to come, and forgiveness of past defects.

"Second month 28th.—Spent this day alone

in some quietness in my own habitation, and find occasion of humbling. O Lord, continue to enlighten and settle me; thou knowest my buffetings and trials.

"Third month 5th.—Spent some time with Sarah Harrison with unusual openness, in comparing our getting along in a religious sense.

"10th.—I am, indeed, a buffeted and sifted servant. O, Lord, forgive me the sins of my youth. I have often and again slidden into folly, and what have I to lean upon but thy arm of mercy. Be graciously pleased to open a way where there appears none; preserve me from dishonouring thee! Continue to send a little help, and enlighten my darkness. O my feebleness! I hardly durst say I will trust in God, though I desire to do so.

"11th.—Awoke this morning with a calm and easy mind, when this encouraging language revived; 'I am the Lord that healeth thee, and teacheth thee to profit, and leadeth thee in the way thou shouldst go.'

"16th.—A quiet silent day; wherein an animating desire was felt to be more vigilant and more industrious. Soul, watch thou that thy resolution may be kept this ensuing week, if life is spared.

"20th.—Thankful for favours received—found bodily exercise in labour profitable. He that will be Jesus' disciple must deny himself, take up his cross and follow him. What a favour to be instructed what this means, sell that thou hast; what a lesson to learn. I hope for more victory through faith, though I seem to make but a slow progress.

"24th.—Felt my lurking subtle enemy very near, endeavouring to trip up my heels. Oh! the mercy and kindness of my blessed helper, in assisting me to resist him, so that I do not get so defiled and overpowered with weakness, as has been my condition in days past. May I still be enabled to maintain the warfare, through him who has indeed showed me kindness—thanks be rendered to his name.

"Fourth month 9th.—O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death and sorrow of heart? Is there not virtue in him who is called the Prince of Peace, to dispense peace to such a poor cast down one? O yes, there is, but I cannot command it. Lord preserve me from taking flight in this winter season. Preserve me in the faith, and be pleased to increase it; make me worthy to receive redemption and mercy by thy washing, preparing hand: be pleased to blot out of thy remembrance the sins of my youth; my frequent backslidings and my neglect of thy law. O Lord, I am miserable without thee! look down upon me. I dare not seek pleasure away from thee,—I believe thou canst change my misery into comfort in a moment,

if thou please. I hope in thy tender mercy, and though I am thus cast down, I will endeavour to trust in thee.

"13th.—I feel an humble hope if the thread of my life is cut, there is mercy reserved for me. O may I be kept until the end without despairing.

"14th.—Through mercy I feel my way more clearly cast up. I have not walked enough with full dedication of heart,—and have been too uneasy under the fiery law that must be submitted to, for removing all my corruptions. O Lord that thou wouldst animate, enlighten and keep me under it, until its office is finished.

"16th.—Hope I have felt something of the same healing virtue that went forth to him, whose withered hand was healed upon stretching it out at the divine command. Under the cross springs the crown of peace; but nothing is due to the creature: neither is it of him that willeth, nor of him who runneth,—although there is much required for the poor creature to do.

"20th.—Concerned three times in public testimony: at the lower meeting in the morning in a few words in testimony; after which, dear Nicholas Waln, I thought, had a good time, and was favoured to lift me up a little therein. I was engaged afterward in supplication, to my comfort. Attended Market street meeting in the afternoon, where I was exercised in a close testimony to a libertine spirit: believe the favoured meeting in the morning was some support to me in this. Nicholas Waln had a precious time in the evening meeting, after which I was concerned to endeavour to clinch the nail. Nothing due to man.

"21st.—With a reverent thankful mind, I may say, it is a holy day, created anew by Him that hath the times and seasons in his own power, and wherein I am eased from that weight of oppression and sorrow which I have been under. The Lord only be praised, and my poor soul be made willing to return to labour again, when this graciously afforded sabbath is past.

"Fifth month 1st.—O Thou that art all wisdom, strength and power, enable me so to walk, as to experience an advancement to thy praise. What a favour to have the eye of the soul anointed to behold the dear Son of God as our advocate in affliction.

"12th.—I think my poor soul has been this day, as with Joseph in the prison house. In the Lord's season he was delivered, and set above his enemies. Trust in the Lord thy God, O my soul; though he may see meet to hide his comforts from thee,—hope in his rich mercy still."

On the 15th of fifth month, 1783, he was married to Sarah Hoskins, daughter of John Hoskins, of Burlington, New Jersey, respecting which event he writes:—"A day of covenant in the Lord's fear with my dear and virtuous friend. I was a little strengthened by the fresh revival of these expressions in my mind;—"Be content with such things as you have;" and it was satisfactory to hear dear George Dillwyn make use of the same for our encouragement. G. B. opened the public service with these expressions; 'Peace is sown for the righteous, and joy and gladness for the upright in heart;' and afterward George Dillwyn told us the same expressions soon struck his mind, and out of the mouth of two or three witnesses every word was to be established.

"20th.—Went to preparative meeting in an humble waiting frame, and therein my Master was graciously pleased to hear my petition, and cast up a way to walk in. May I ever be preserved from stepping out of it.

"Sixth month 1st.—A day of some enlargement; spoke in testimony at our own meeting in the morning, and also a few words in the early part of the evening meeting, which seemed as a text for dear Nicholas Waln to enlarge much upon; who it is probable, may not soon have the like opportunity amongst us in that meeting.* It was encouraging, thus as it were, to have a mantle thrown over me by an experienced elder brother.

"3rd.—A parting meeting with Nicholas Waln—a low time with me in the fore part, but dropped a few tears under that dear friend's instructive testimony in the latter part of it; and afterward took my leave of him.

"10th.—Several changes to-day, yet trust I have not given place to the subtle serpent, with whom my poor tried soul has such a controversy. O that the protecting arm may still be near.

"19th.—A dull heavy meeting to-day: it is a day of outward ease again; and there is a great stir in this populous city in trading and business; but where are the poor baptized mournful travellers to be found?—I believe there is a remnant preserved.

"22nd.—Apprehended it my duty to go to the middle meeting. It was exercising to me to pass by my own, and be engaged in such mortifying labour; but hope I complied with a good degree of cheerfulness. O that I might be enabled to feel more content in my allot-

* He was soon to embark for England, on a religious visit to the churches in Great Britain and Ireland.

ment, seeing I dare not climb up another way. I could rather desire my natural life might go for a sacrifice, than live to dishonour my God, after appearing in so high a station. Lord! preserve me—my desire is toward thee; enable me to love and cleave to thee, that in due time I may come to experience thy blessing.

“Seventh month 2nd.—O my soul, endeavour to persevere in patience under thy burthen. If the Lord delight in thee, he can bring thee unto what thou pants after. If faith and patience be graciously afforded, then let the fire burn.”

In the year 1784, with the concurrence of his monthly meeting, he paid a visit to the meetings composing the yearly meeting of New England. He attended the yearly meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, on his way; and learning that David Sands had obtained a certificate to visit the meetings in New England, he seemed to be impressed with a belief that it would be right for them to travel together. Under date of sixth month 3rd, he writes to his wife:

“O may my dear Master, who has seen meet to suffer near trials to beset me in days past, and has measurably preserved me as I clave to him, still be with me and provide for me, if it is his will that I should be longer from thee. I desire, in resignation and submission, to recommend thee, with my own soul, to his gracious care and protection.”

After the yearly meeting closed, it was some time before he could see which way it would be right for him to move; as the following extract of a letter, dated sixth month 16th, indicates.

“I humbly trust my being here has been in the will of the Lord; having been measurably favoured with enlargement, both in meetings and in some families, to my own comfort and the satisfaction of my friends; although I came poor amongst them, and now the meeting is over, have to return to the same safe spot again. I told Friends of the select meeting, near the conclusion, that they might find by the care in wording my certificate, how thoughtful my friends at home were about my right moving amongst them. That I felt like one who had left his father’s house, and Friends of this meeting seemed like my friends at home, on whom I desired to cast myself; not seeing it safe to return home, and further service amongst them did not clearly open. I find that thus simply casting my burden amongst them, has gained me some near sympathizers.”

After holding a conference with several Friends, the prospect of joining David Sands in visiting the meetings in the eastern part of the yearly meeting, seemed to open with the

most clearness; and David Sands having intimated to him that his company would be truly acceptable, they sat off together.

In a letter to his wife dated at Boston, seventh month 20th, 1784, he thus speaks of their progress.

“We have been kindly received by our friends in this place, whose families we have visited, and got through yesterday, and in the evening went to see a family about six miles out of town, where a few days past we had a meeting, amongst a people that I do not learn ever had the like appointed amongst them before. I have been pretty much exercised in my mind in this town. But thanks be to my kind Master, I have had renewedly to rejoice this day, in that he hath enabled me to labour in my little services in this place, to a degree of comfort and satisfaction, so that my mind is measurably set at liberty and my health renewed. We propose leaving this place in the morning to go on east, having had divers meetings, wherein considerable numbers of the gay inhabitants have given their company and conducted very commendably; and indeed I may say, we have been treated very respectfully by them. The services of my dear brother, David Sands, have been extensive, and I believe well accepted. I trust we increase in uniting love, and I have humbly to hope at seasons, I shall be enabled to get through my services in these parts, and return in peace. My heart is at seasons in company with thee, in such a manner as to revive my hope, that divine Goodness is not wanting to support thee; and thou hast my prayers for thee, though my bodily presence is wanting. Lift up thy head in hope, and still stretch heavenward in the desire of thy mind, believing that it is easy with the Lord to turn our wilderness into a fruitful field, after he hath sufficiently tried us. I have cause to speak well of his excellent name, who is my sufficiency in all my exercises; and no doubt it will be a comfort to thee to know that I have been so far helped, as not knowingly to omit any little service I have apprehended myself called to perform. We have met with divers friendly people here, with whom we have had some baptizing seasons; and I find as much engagement as ever to see the people in the back parts of New England.”

On the 21st, they sat off in accordance with their prospect, to visit the eastern settlements of Maine; in the performance of which service, it being an unsettled and wilderness country, they found considerable difficulty; having to swim their horses over rivers, and to lodge in cabins and other poorly sheltered places; notwithstanding which they were favoured with health and strength, and reached

Vassalborough on the 18th of the eighth month, where the following memorandum was made.

"Almost, or may be quite, at the far end of our journey in a wilderness land, where my mind is pleasantly turned home this first-day morning, to take a view of my dear family, feeling my heart a little comforted and strengthened, after many trying seasons. O may our dear Master be our comfort and strength; and if it be his will, bring us together again and more and more unite us in best love."

In a letter dated at Boston, ninth month 6th, 1784, he thus describes this visit: after speaking of a meeting held at Falmouth, in which he had an open encouraging opportunity, he says:

"It was like a time of healing, after many proving seasons since I left this place before. The close exercise I was under, I expect thou might easily discover from the contents of my letter, written from here before going eastward; wherein I mentioned that I believed it was required of me to stand resigned to labour in these parts until the quarterly meeting. I gave up with a good degree of cheerfulness to accompany my dear companion, David Sands, and have been pretty nearly through that wilderness country. I have passed through close trials of faith and love, in this journey; and have also found my gracious Master to be near in them, who hath from time to time, as I was willing to be emptied, caused the heavenly oil to fill the empty vessel, both to discharge the debt, and afford some to live on myself. Blessed be his name for his mercy and care over me, one of the least and most unworthy of his servants. A monthly meeting coming on, I found my mind drawn to attend it, as also the preparative meeting, held about twenty-five miles nearer. We left Vassalborough, accompanied by divers Friends who intended for those meetings, and rode to a new settlement called Winthrop, where we were taken in and kindly entertained by a friendly man; had a sitting with him and family next morning, when my mind was strongly engaged to be at their meeting of business; and David found a full stop in his mind, and told us, that with the friendly man's consent, he must stay and have a meeting at his house, but was very free for me to go forward. I did not see, when I parted with him, but that I should return and join him again after monthly meeting; though I understood by one of the Friends who came with me, that he said he did not expect to meet me again. We parted in that near love and affection in which we were favoured to travel together; one of

the Friends staying to accompany him, and two others came on with me."

He thus describes his subsequent engagement:

"A dear friend who came from Kennebec with me, had it on his mind to bear me company, and I believe was at that time dipped into my exercise, and has given up, with Friends' approbation, to accompany me, though not without some cost, and proves a valuable feeling yoke-mate. I have ventured in my journeying this way, to appoint meetings where David and I have not been; and hope I was favoured to get through to a good degree of satisfaction, both to Friends and myself; it was a new scene, and I have not been without trials in it. I reached this town last seventh-day afternoon, and was with much affection received by my kind friends, John and Rebecca Dean, who seem desirous I should stay until their monthly meeting at Lynn comes on, and rest myself. I found a considerable draught to this town, and sat with Friends yesterday in two meetings. There seems to be considerable openness and love amongst them, and also other societies, that is very encouraging and comforting."

The remaining memorandums of this visit are principally an account of the different families with whom they put up. On the 28th of the tenth month, 1784, he arrived at his own residence, as he says, "in peace."

In the fifth month, 1785, he obtained the concurrence of his monthly meeting to pay a religious visit to the yearly meeting of Friends on Long Island, and the meetings composing the quarterly meetings of Oblong and Nine Partners. After attending the yearly meeting, he went to New York with a Friend who had offered to accompany him to some of the meetings, but the way seemed to close as to proceeding further. In a letter to his wife, dated sixth month 10th, he thus describes his feelings:

"My prospect was to go towards Oblong and Nine Partners, and so continued until second-day afternoon. We sat down with Henry Haddock, and some other Friends who came in; and here I was plunged into such a condition as I have not often experienced. The importance of the undertaking spread with solemn weight over my mind, joined with a sense of weakness and incapacity without the interposition of divine help; under which I was much broken into tears, in humble resignation to follow my gracious Master, who had been pleased to lead me thus far, measurably in his counsel and will. I endeavoured, as well as I could, to inform my friends how it was with me, and we con-

cluded it would be safest to wait until morning. Retiring to my room, I got vent, for indeed my cup was made to overflow much in the same manner as when I left you, only with this difference; that then I moved in the clearness and in sweet peace; now there seemed a cloud in the way of going forward. Next morning my mind was settled into sweet quiet, with a release for the present from proceeding; and concluded to let my beloved companion leave me and move homeward. Since he has left, I remain easy to set my face homeward, with a heart resigned to return and finish the visit when my heavenly Master may be pleased clearly to open the way."

On the 11th he set off for home, and having two meetings by the way, arrived there on the 13th.

On the 29th of the seventh month, he again obtained the certificate of his monthly meeting to perform this visit, and sat off in company with his brother-in-law, "feeling," as he remarks, "very poor, with many discouragements, but endeavouring to wear the sackcloth underneath."

On the 1st of the eighth month, they arrived at New York, where he parted with his brother-in-law, and proceeded to James Mott's, at Mamaroneck. On the 4th and 5th, he attended the quarterly meeting of Purchase; "at the conclusion of which," he says, "I was free that mention might be made of my willingness to sit with Friends in several meetings.

"On the 9th, to the meeting appointed at Mamaroneck. Went poor and empty, and in the fore part was humbled under a sense of my unworthiness; and whilst pondering thereon, a language like this arose with a degree of strength to begin my testimony with. 'It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God;' and with it I arose with tears; and hope the meeting was to some profit.

"10th.—My friend James Mott, having got himself in readiness to accompany me, we sat out together this morning to the appointed meeting at Purchase, which I hope was to satisfaction. Lodged at Jacob Underhill's, who told us he remembered when there were no Friends further north than this neighbourhood. My companion also informed me, that in looking over the monthly meeting minutes of the year 1727, he finds there was but one monthly meeting and three particular meetings on the main; and now there are seven monthly meetings, two quarterly, and twenty-five particular meetings on the main; which shows the great increase of Friends in this government.

"11th.—To the monthly meeting at Shapqua, which was satisfactory. Went home with John Griffin, of Amawalk; in going to whose house, a distance of six miles, we had a mountainous road to travel, and near it the river Croton to ford after night; through all which I felt pleasant.

"On the 14th went to the meeting called the Valley, and then proceeded to Daniel Merri't's. After ascending a rough narrow passage, on a desolate mountain we passed over to-day, there opened to view a small plantation with a dwelling house. On riding up to the door to inquire our way, a goodly woman came out with a bible in her hand, and gave us directions. I engaged her in a little conversation, and found she was a member of Society. I was made renewedly sensible, that He who formed the mountains and planted the hills, whose presence is every where, could be worshipped here, and my mind was favoured with content in my present allotment; blessed be His name, whose work it is to bring into such a condition. Even in a waste wilderness, far away from family and friends, he can enable us to visit them in spirit, and engage in humble prayer for our own and their preservation. Thus I may thankfully acknowledge it has been with me to-day, although much exercised and tried in setting out from my dear wife and family.

"15th.—Went to monthly meeting, and on the 17th attended the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders held at Nine Partners, and on the 18th and 19th, the quarterly meeting for business.

"20th.—The usual time of holding the monthly meeting at the Creek, being yesterday, it was adjourned until to-day. We attended it, and it held from eleven o'clock until night. A committee was appointed to visit the meetings of Hudson and Coeyman's Patent, respecting settling two preparative meetings.

"21st.—Went to a meeting about twelve miles further, called Little Nine Partners, held in the barn of Obadiah Gifford. This was an encouraging meeting to me, and after it we took a little refreshment and proceeded, accompanied by divers Friends, who were going to the new city of Hudson, thirty miles.

"22nd.—Was not easy to appoint a meeting in this place, but concluded to let Friends appoint one to-morrow, about sixteen miles further on the other side of the river, and move on with the aforementioned committee.

"23rd.—Crossed the North river opposite the town, and rode to meeting, and after an open time with Friends and friendly people, opened the business of the monthly meeting, respecting their holding a preparative meet-

ing; and after a solid conference it was concluded they might hold one. The first meeting in this place was held by a Friend on a religious visit, five years ago, and I have a comfortable prospect there will be an increase. The meeting was held in a log-house.

"25th.—Attended their week-day meeting at Hudson, with the monthly meeting's committee, and at the close mentioned to Friends a prospect which accompanied my mind, to engage in visiting families, if they united therewith, which being approved, some Friends were appointed to accompany me. In the afternoon we visited four families."

On the 26th ten families were visited; and he says, "this has been an arduous laborious day's work, under which I seemed at times near fainting, but was favoured to go through to a good degree of satisfaction to myself, feeling peaceful this evening."

On the 27th, after enumerating the families visited, he remarks; "another day of exercise and close labour."

"28th.—First-day of the week. Went to their meeting held at Hudson, which proved an exercising, searching time; wherein an invitation was held forth to all ranks, to come and join themselves to Christ Jesus, the free teacher of his people, and to beware of false and hireling teachers. In the afternoon finished visiting families.

"29th and 30th.—Spent pretty much alone at our lodgings, being much shut up as to any prospect of moving from this place with clearness; find it safest to endeavour to stand still and wait to see what will turn up."

On the 3rd of the ensuing month, accompanied by several Friends, he went to New Britain; on the 5th they were at Hoosack; on the 8th at the monthly meeting of East Hoosack, and on the 10th at an appointed meeting at a settlement called White creek; to which he says he "went poor and distressed, and so remained for a time, but Truth arose and a remnant was thankful we were together."

11th.—He says, "we crossed a mountain, and arrived at our friend Stephen Rogers', and after resting a little went to meeting, in which my heart was more enlarged than at any time since I left my home; there appearing something lovely amongst these mountain people. Returned with Stephen Rogers, where we met with several friendly seeking people, with whom we had a solid time. I showed them my certificate; and the care and order of Friends in such cases were satisfactory to them, having never seen the like before. This has been a day to be remembered with reverence and humility, under a sense of divine favour and love. I had a good time with the family and several of the neighbours.

"Ninth month 12th.—Our kind friend provided us fresh horses to go forward to monthly meeting. From about half-past one to near six o'clock this day, we rode through a wilderness, where we found but one path. We were overtaken in this wilderness by a man, who from his appearance, we judged to have been an under officer in the late war, who was helpful in piloting us through to his house. On the way I saw it to be my duty to show unto him the way of life and salvation, and concluded I would leave it until we were likely to part, which would be time enough. When we came up to his cottage in the wilderness, doubts and weakness so prevailed, as to induce me to endeavour to pass him by; but on riding a few rods forward, I found I must go back. My dear companion, James Mott, told me afterwards, he was just going to say to me, that if I had any thing for that man, to be faithful and do it. We turned back and went into the house, where I found my mind concerned to declare the way of life to them. Beside the man's wife, his aged father, who was deaf, and his mother who was sick and in bed, were there, and also a brother and his wife, and one or two young women. I told them I had something to say to them if they would be silent and hear me. The sick woman answered that they were not of my profession, and they knew enough. I was grieved with her conduct, and told them I had freely offered, and if they would not hear me, I should be clear; and taking out the man who came with us, I opened my concern to him, and also to some of the rest at the door, on parting. I believe they were concerned at the old woman's behaviour, and one of the young women appeared tender. I was glad there was a little stir made among them, although this act of duty might appear small.

"13th.—To the meeting held at Daniel Hull's, which was a good time amongst both Friends and others. In the silent part I apprehended I felt the gospel of Christ Jesus to flow over this wilderness land, even to Canada; and after dinner had a baptizing time in a Friend's family, wherein one of the children was spoken to particularly.

"14th.—To meeting; a searching, but toward the close a good time, and was glad I was there. After meeting we had a baptizing time on parting from the family where we dined; then rode to the river, three miles, and crossed it in a boat which sunk in taking Friends over to last monthly meeting; one of whom was drowned.

"15th.—To Saratoga monthly meeting, and had a good time in the meeting for worship. The meeting for discipline held until night.

"16th.—After a tendering opportunity in the family where we lodged, set out for Hudson, and attended the morning and afternoon meeting on the 18th."

On the 20th he visited David Sands, in whose family they had a solid opportunity.

"On the 22nd reached James Mott's residence, and went to the week-day meeting with the family, and therein was employed in looking a little over my labours; and although I feel poor and like an unprofitable servant, nevertheless am favoured measurably with a reward of solid peace in looking back, and feel easy to endeavour to be with my brethren at our yearly meeting."

Soon after this he went to New York, from whence he proceeded homeward, and arrived there on the 24th, as he says, in "sweet peace."

In the eleventh month, 1786, he made a religious visit to the quarterly meeting of Fairfax, in Virginia, accompanied by his friend Charles Williams, a valued member of the same monthly meeting. In relation to the quarterly meeting, he thus writes: "I have been favoured with an open door amongst my friends during the time of the quarter, and have occasion, with thankfulness of heart, to admire the goodness of the Lord, who hath a right to turn and overturn at his pleasure, and who can change or alter the condition of men as a man doth the water course in the field."

He appears to have been detained in the neighbourhood of Fairfax, visiting families and appointing meetings in this and some of the neighbouring villages, in relation to which he says, under date of 18th of twelfth month: "My religious prospects are much closed up: have been working in a circle; and am now at this place again, and see no way out. Wait in patience, O my soul, for the further opening of duty, seeing thou hast been enabled hitherto from place to place, to set up thy Ebenezer."

Again, in a letter to his wife, under date of 19th of twelfth month: "In these parts I frequently have not seen my way but a few hours beforehand, but as I am at times favoured to set up my Ebenezer, though led in a trying path, I am encouraged to move on in the faith, and hope thou hast been and will continue to be, favoured to partake of that precious reward which the Master gives his servants, both those who go forth to battle and those that stay by the stuff."

Under date of 21st of twelfth month, he says: "Went home with J. R., where we met with an open kind reception. This man and wife, when I was here seven years ago with George Dillwyn and Samuel Emlen, requested a religious opportunity in his family. I am

informed that in the beginning of our late troubles and war, he was a captain of the militia, and led his men over the mountains against the Indians; he is now a valuable member of Society, and has offered to accompany me on my religious errand, on the same rout over which years ago, he led forth his men to war."

On the 9th of the first month, 1787, he says: "A day of close exercise of mind yesterday, because of so long confinement in this neighbourhood, and no opening to any religious service. I had a wakeful, thoughtful time last night. Individuals in this neighbourhood are frequently brought into view, but no clear prospect opens to visit them."

"10th.—Attended the week-day meeting again at Fairfax, where, to my own humbling, and I believe the comfort of others, we had a favoured time: the meeting is increasing; it was small on our first coming here, partly arising from an idle irreligious disposition, and partly from the fear of getting the putrid sore throat, which has been prevalent."

"11th.—We are yet detained in this neighbourhood; no way appears to move out, and no clear prospect to proceed to a family visit. Soul wait in patience, willingly disposed to do any thing which may make for peace."

"12th.—A pleasant scene opened the latter part of last night in my wakeful moments, confirming me that I am in the way of my religious duty. I had also an agreeable turn (mentally) into my own family and amongst my friends, being enabled to put up a petition for them." He visited a few families on this and the following day, which were generally favoured opportunities, and produced a feeling of peace and consolation to his mind.

On the 14th he again attended Fairfax meeting; in relation to it he says: "It was the largest we have been at here, and I found much enlargement of heart to speak to various states; there appears to be a precious visitation renewed to this people, and I believe some are made truly sensible thereof. I have found that my trials in this place have been for good, and have seen the end of them, even to baptize into a feeling sense of the state of this people. What is revealed in secret in a time of mourning, in the night season as well as by day, is afterward to be proclaimed as on the house-top. I have found it good to wait and quietly hope for God's salvation; for when the Messenger of the covenant appears at seasons, his work is before him; for his work it is, and his precious reward he gives to his humbly devoted servants. Trust in him, O my soul."

From the 14th to the 22nd, he was engaged in family visits to Friends and others, in many

of which he was qualified to speak to the states of individuals in a remarkable manner. In relation to one of the opportunities, he says, under date of 22nd: "Felt my mind exercised with something to say to a particular state present with us; and remarked, in conclusion, that I was willing to wait for days, under probation, dipping into the states of others, to find the way open and ability afforded to speak, if it were to but one individual. Amongst the little company was one who appeared much reached and tendered."

Another instance is thus related: "After we had dined, came in a young man whom I wanted to see, from some feelings which had accompanied my mind at times, though he was much a stranger. Frequently when I heard his name mentioned, I thought it was likely I must go to Leesburg almost on purpose to see him. After he came in amongst us, although I felt poor, being thoughtful of my own trying circumstances, a weight of exercise came over me, and we had a tendering baptizing time; and by the account Friends gave me afterward of what he had been, the thoughts of his heart were plainly told him by a stranger, who knew nothing by outward information. Thus am I detained in this neighbourhood, in a stripped and tried condition, but not for naught; so may thanksgiving be rendered by my tried soul for past preservation under such dispensations, and a dedicated mind lived in for time to come."

On the 28th of the month, he again remarks respecting the meeting at Fairfax: "I was silently exercised for some time with the consideration of Saul's assuming to offer, at the desire of the people, without the presence of Samuel; and willingly resigned to wait until right ability was given. I had to stand up in weakness, not clearly seeing what to open my mouth with, yet we were once more favoured together, and I ventured to conclude the meeting in supplication."

After this meeting he was released from further labour in this neighbourhood, and felt his mind drawn to Redstone. He started on the 30th, accompanied by several kind friends. In the families of Friends on the way, and also at the meetings he attended, he appears to have been favoured in his ministry, and some of the opportunities he describes as being "tendering seasons to many."

At that time when the most fertile parts of our widely extended country were but thinly inhabited, and the roads through them but little attended to, a journey across the mountainous district which separates the western from the eastern portion of Virginia and Maryland, must have been lonely, if not hazardous. To one constituted as he was, it must

have been especially cheerless; he however, appears to have been preserved in a resigned state of mind, and favoured generally with a cheerful spirit. On the 7th of the second month, at a tavern on the mountain, they were much annoyed with some rude persons, who kept him awake much of the night: "As I lay," he observes, "it was my concern to endeavour to get to my watch tower, and examine how I had conducted since we crossed the Blue mountain, being desirous to renew my acquaintance with the Lord my master, who I believe had called me forth."

On the 10th of the second month he attended the monthly meeting held at Redstone, and the next day, their first-day morning meeting, in which he was silent and clothed with "much peace of mind toward the latter part."

From a letter dated Redstone, second month 11th, 1787, the following extract is taken; "I got as far as this place on sixth-day evening last, after a long and lonely ride over the Alleghany mountain. I have been much favoured with health, and also, to perform what I apprehended I was called unto, and some seasons of precious favour, which have proved like seals of encouragement when under more trying circumstances, have been mercifully afforded. But for the most part, it has been my lot to travel along in a little and low state, which I have believed to be a safe one. I think I have also seen that those who come as far as this remote settlement, had need to know their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. I have experienced my faith to be tried, and have had to look back and inquire what brought me here, and have concluded it must have originated from best motives, even love to the brethren—I remembered that when under the chastening hand three years ago, this place was opened before me, and I felt a willingness to set off then, if the Lord, my heavenly master, would be pleased to restore me to health of body and grant me peace and serenity of mind. I trust at that time the will was taken for the deed; and after a season He was graciously pleased to grant my request and open the way for me to go to New England. The visit I am now engaged in, appears to me like endeavouring to fulfil my part of the covenant entered into in a season of sore affliction, and like performing my vows.

"I think my lot may be a little compared (if so unworthy a servant may so speak) to that of the prophet Ezekiel, when he digged through the wall. I do not find that it is expedient, at every meeting, to open what it may be given me to see,—it has been so at this place, having been at two public meetings,

one of them the monthly meeting held yesterday, and the other held to day, and have been silent in both. Toward the close of that held this morning, my mind was clothed with thankfulness in a full belief in the truth of those expressions; 'To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.' I am desirous that I may be favoured to conduct myself through the course of this journey, so as to return to you again in peace. My friends feel near to me, and I desire the help of their spirits, having frequently had to remember you, and thy kind desire for me when parting. I had not a prospect of staying so long when I set out, but find it good for me to labour from time to time after a state of resignation, having experienced in past journeyings, being favoured to return home in peace, and this is my aim now, whether my absence be lengthened or not."

On the 13th, he says, "exercised in mind this morning, but was favoured with a good degree of resignation to my allotment, nothing opening with clearness, and was content to abide this day at our friend Reese Cadwalader's. O! my weakness and blindness."

The next day he thus writes: "a poor creature this morning, compassed with weakness; I set off to a week-day meeting, about seven or eight miles distant, on the other side of the river, called Dixon's meeting, and a miry road to travel. We got to it however in time, where we found about fifteen or sixteen friends, men, women and children, collected in a little log cabin:—I sat the meeting through in silence, and was favoured to drop a tear in resignation, not daring to put forth a hand to steal.

"Attended Westland meeting, which came next in course: I was closely exercised in humble silent waiting to know my Master's will concerning me; and was favoured to drop my silent tears in resignation to my allotment; the way appearing closed up as to any public communication amongst this people, whom I have taken so much pains to come and see."

A striking trait in the character of this dear friend, was the great care he manifested not to move in any religious engagement, without satisfactory evidence of its being the will of the great Master in whose service he was engaged. This may account for the following remarks which he makes about this time:—

"19th.—At a stand which way to move: feel a willingness to go toward home if my divine Master pleases, having I trust been concerned to act, so far, measurably in his counsel and will, as made known to me a poor creature."

Upon conferring with some friends, he concluded to move on, and prepared to cross the mountain, but after riding some distance into the woods, all seemed to close up, and it appeared most pleasant and easy to him to return back to the friend's house from which they started; where he says, "I feel easy under this roof, and remember with instruction, that when the cloud rested upon the tabernacle, Israel was to abide in their tents. Laboured patiently to content ourselves here this night."

The next day he says, "no way opens and the pain of my heart is not easily described; but in all these laborious seasons how good it is to sink down into that which endureth the raging of the sea of affliction. O! how am I tried with jealousy and fear that it was not right to come across this mountain, and no sufficient clearness can I find—wait in patience, O my soul, and reverently hope, though it may be against hope, that thy Saviour is not far from thee; believe him to be as in the 'sides of the ship.'"

Towards the close of the evening of this day he was favoured with so much "calm as to cause thankfulness to arise, in that the bitter cup was a little sweetened, so retired to rest." In the morning "felt rather easier," and after breakfast sat down with the family, amongst whom there appeared tenderness, and it being their week-day meeting at Redstone, he attended it;—respecting which he says, "another silent meeting, in which my mind was deeply exercised; and I was wrought into a willingness to leave this settlement, and move on towards Hopewell; and whilst thus looking and thinking, not knowing but that I should be clear—having endeavoured to be found in the way of my duty, as far as I could find it, this thought presented to my mind; suppose I should have to return back from thence or further, how then? But even to this proving prospect I was resigned, for the sake of my dear Master's owning presence, and was ready to conclude it might be a sacrifice called for at my hands to humble the instrument, and for a sign to the people. Whilst these thoughts possessed my mind, I was brought into a state wherein I could conclude on nothing, and so was fain to become a blank; nevertheless, at intervals under these provings of soul, the states of my fellow professors seemed to be opening before me—so broke up the meeting and lagged behind my companions, and breathed forth my complaint unto God, desiring to be preserved in patience.

"22nd.—Awoke this morning with fervent desires, if the cause of this detention was in myself, that it might be searched out: my youthful days, and days of vanity were brought

up into remembrance, and I found a willingness to look over the past days of my life, from my very youth to this day.

"Went to Westland meeting, and therein was solemnly engaged in a continued deep search into my past life, unto the present time; and although blushing and confusion attended in the remembrance of past transactions, mercy is with the Lord that he may be feared and served with dedication of heart. 'Such were some of you,' said the holy apostle. What were some of them in that day? Unthankful, unholy, disobedient to parents, covenant breakers, and guilty of many other evils! O that I had been more careful to keep my covenants with the Lord my God in youthful days; then had I escaped many of the evils which he mentions, which came down upon me like a mighty stream. But why does a living man complain; a man for the punishment of his sins? may not my tried soul join company measurably with them to whom that servant also wrote, and to whom he says 'such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.' Reverent thankfulness arose in my soul at the close of this meeting, for sensible enlargement of heart, with a secret belief I am in my place; so I ventured to tell friends after this sixth silent meeting of worship, (that is, as to myself,) of what had weightily impressed my mind, which was, with their approbation, to assemble their children—and appoint a meeting for them to be held next day but one after."

The next day being peaceful and easy in mind, he visited a family, one of the members of which was sick. He had a religious opportunity with them, and in the evening remarks: "a lonesome evening in the midst of company."

After a refreshing night's rest he says, "was measurably favoured with a calm this morning. O! that I may be favoured to feel after and discharge my religious duty amongst this people, to the honour of truth and my soul's peace. I went to the meeting appointed for the children, feeling poor and in a stripped condition in the fore part of it, and though I thought I dare not say much about it, yet Friends concluded it was a favoured time.

"The next day attended the first-day meeting at Westland—went to it with my usual poverty; so stripping a time with me in the forepart, that I thought it likely we should have another silent meeting; but feeling some little reviving of religious concern, I laboured honestly in a close searching manner. Found but little ease after this meeting, and my way being again much shut up, conversation was as much so. After dinner opened my mouth

amongst the Friends present, and told them, though some were ready to wonder at my being thus led, I believed if I returned home without saying any thing more, my honest concern would have its use, and the Master could sanctify it, and like bread cast on the waters, bring it up after many days, when we were far from each other. I also remarked that I was willing to move towards home, if consistent with the divine will. It was a broken, tendering time, and some dear Friends expressed sympathy with me."

He appointed a time to see the children of Friends together at Dixon's meeting, and had an opportunity in the family of the Friend at whose house he stopped, which "appeared to be a time of brokenness of heart." He observes: "After breakfast, retired into the woods, where I am now finishing these two days' notes, with a thankful heart dedicated to God, under a sense of his loving kindness and favour."

On the following morning he attended the meeting appointed for the children, in which he was favoured, and had renewed cause to believe it was in the ordering of divine Wisdom that he appointed it.

On the 28th, he attended the week-day meeting, "which," he says, "was a favoured opportunity, to the comfort and rejoicing of more than myself; after which had a solid opportunity with divers Friends, and felt refreshed and comforted in this day's labour."

On the 1st of the third month, he attended another meeting, and was again shut up in silence. "There were some here not professing with us, to whom I felt a tenderness, and after expressing a few words to turn their minds to the everlasting Father, in whom there is no disappointment, even in silent meetings, I requested they would leave Friends together and withdraw. After this I relieved my mind in some degree in close labour with them; directing all to a deep examination of themselves, as had been my concern, to see what the cause was that it should be thus with them. Little but barrenness have I felt amongst this people. At the close appointed a meeting for the children, to be held to-morrow at the eleventh hour.

"Third month 2nd.—A refreshing night's sleep. The meeting for children is coming on, and what am I! O for the washing of water by the word. Went to the meeting at the time appointed, under exercising discouraging thoughts, and continued silently shut up until it appeared near time to break up, when a concern arose in my mind to tell such of the elders or parents as were present, what had been my employment in the meeting. This was, to have my own

heart searched, and my desire remained that they might be found engaged in the same work. After which I was turned toward the children, and also in a particular manner toward a seeking state present, not of our Society, unto whom I found considerable openness, and was informed after meeting, that there were several of that number present; some who had left the Church of England, and were now looking toward, or had joined the Methodists; and one seeking man, who heard of this meeting, rather chose to come to it than go to a marriage he was invited to. With this day's labour I found peace, though trying in the beginning.

"On the 3rd, attended another meeting for the children at Redstone, in which I had an open time, which was cause of thankful rejoicing." The next day after attending the regular meeting at Redstone, which he describes as a laborious painful time, he returned to Reese Cadwalader's, where he had the company of several Friends, amongst whom and the family, he remarks: "I was once more favoured to feel the spring of gospel ministry arise in such a manner, as to water others and be refreshed myself.

"5th.—Favoured with a good degree of serenity and peace of mind this morning, under a sense that I have so far laboured to be found in the way of religious duty."

Charles Williams feeling released from further duty, left him; respecting which he says: "This morning I took an affectionate farewell of my tender hearted companion, who has gone toward home; after which I laboured in retirement of mind to feel after my divine Master's will concerning me. O that I may be preserved under a solemn sense of the importance of the business I am engaged in, and that the good hand may accompany this dear youth to his parents and friends. After dinner we went to C. G.'s, and with him and family had a solid time. I thought it was solemnly so, and these expressions arose with weight and were delivered amongst them; 'I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye salve, that thou mayest see.' From thence went to P. G.'s, where we had another searching religious opportunity. My mind is often depressed under a sense of the low state of things amongst the professors in our Society, and I meet with various provings, in the manner in which I am led when abroad.

"On the 7th attended their week-day and preparative meeting at Redstone; a painful suffering time. In the fore part thereof this

language was uttered, 'Awake, arise thou sleeper, call upon thy God, if happily he may save us.' I had some prospect in the morning of appointing a meeting in the little town this evening; but now it is gone. There must be faith, love and desire, in hearers as well as preacher, to labour to profit. This has been a dark and heavy day to my spirit."

On the 8th he visited the preparative meeting of Westland, and had an opportunity with the children of a Friend in the neighbourhood, and during the two next days was principally engaged in visiting families.

"On the 11th, went to meeting, which, after some struggling and conflict, was pretty open. The people were exhorted to labour in all their religious meetings to know the true place of waiting, and to beg for their daily bread. Whilst speaking I met with a sudden stop in my mind as to the expression of more words, and found it safest to sit down, and experienced peace in doing so. After some time, the situation of Abraham and Lot, with their being so mercifully delivered out of Sodom, very suddenly impressed my mind; with which I stood up again and expressed, that I dare not doubt that the good and great Remembrancer, or quick and powerful Word, which is sharp and sharper than a two edged sword, to the dividing between a man and his lovers, flesh and spirit, influenced my heart to warn some to be content with such things as they were favoured with; reminding them of the annexed blessing: 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;'—and not indulge a roving disposition, and leave their friends with whom they were so favoured as to be embodied into a little Society; and as they kept their places they would yet be favoured. But if any should break through, and go contrary to the mind of concerned brethren, and get several hundred miles off—if any unforeseen distress should come upon them, how would it fare with them? This little testimony appeared close and searching, and I did not find my peace disturbed in delivering it. Some Friends after meeting expressed their satisfaction therewith, believing it would have a tendency to strengthen the hands of the honest labourers. No way opens with clearness to leave this place; and this evening felt so impressed with a sense of my own weakness and unworthiness, that it led me into the fields to seek counsel of the Lord, where I experienced a little quiet and calm, in a solitary situation.

"12th.—A restless night, under the painful thought that the flesh prevailed too much over me in one instance. O what small things grieve a tender conscience! May I be favoured to labour after more perfect victory,

and at present rest humbled under this petition; 'Lord forgive what is past, and condescend to be near to help in future.'

Although he was for some time considerably exercised as to what step to take, he finally concluded to go homewards; and had parting religious opportunities with several families and Friends; in relation to one of which he thus writes, under date of 13th of the month.

"Had a parting opportunity with this family, which I hope will not be easily forgotten by us or them; after which I found considerable ease of mind, and rode to Beesontown, twelve miles, where we dined; and then collected this large family together, with some others, and were favoured with a baptizing season. My soul was bowed in supplication, and also in reverent thanksgiving, to the gracious Author of my life and well being, who led me here, and has preserved and fed me, and now is opening a door out, to my solid peace and comfort. Parted with dear R. C. at this place; and I thought the ancient language was measurably experienced by my thankful mind: 'The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'

In crossing the mountain they met with the usual difficulties experienced by travellers at that period, in consequence of the rugged character of the road, and the poor accommodations both for man and horse, which they were obliged to submit to. At the taverns, as well as on the road, when he believed it to be his duty, he did not fail to exhort persons with whom he met, to flee from the error of their ways. With respect to the scenery of the mountain, with which he was much interested and gratified, he says: "Heard the sound of the frogs, denoting the approach of spring. What harmony in the outward creation! nothing, however minute, was made in vain. Even these creatures seem to be uttering thanks to the great Creator, for the opening of a new season. I was delighted with seeing the birds sporting themselves in the woods: the voice of the turtle-dove was also to be heard, and the husbandman was seen at the plough. All this perhaps not more than fifteen miles from ice and snow. It has been a day of solid thoughtfulness, in meditation on the wonderful works of Providence. When viewing the beautiful springs gushing from the sides of the hills, amongst the rocks and stones, I had to remember that 'springs were to be found even in the desert, and fountains in high places.' Various landscapes opened one after another, in viewing which I frequently found profitable employment on the road. But over and above all, this day, and pecu-

liarily so this afternoon, was the fresh feeling and sense of the love of Christ my Lord and Master, shed abroad in my heart, making it like spring time in a spiritual sense. The remembrance of the poverty of spirit in which I crossed this mountain about one month ago, of my close exercises on the other side, of the preservation vouchsafed under them, and how the way and time to return homewards, were set open so clearly before me, brought feelings over my mind, in which that saying was measurably fulfilled; 'He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall return again bringing his sheaves with him.' My mind was bowed in reverent thankfulness, and many passages of Scripture were opened to my understanding, wherein I was measurably favoured with a taste of the same experience which holy men of old spoke of. This made it feel like a spring time indeed, the wintry season of trials and close provings being for a moment past and hid, and the singing of birds heard, as also the voice of the turtle spiritually. My dear family and some of my friends were brought feelingly into remembrance, and as I had been engaged for the good of the children of others, so now my desires and my prayers have been put up to my gracious Redeemer, that he would look down and remember mine. May I still be engaged to give up in the littleness and weakness, but in the faith, to follow my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is abundantly able out of weakness to make strong."

On the 17th, after having been kindly entertained at a Friend's house, who since they passed that way before, had experienced considerable affliction, he says: "I remembered when about to leave this house on our outset, I ventured, on my bended knees, to supplicate my dear Lord to go with us, as he did with his poor prophet formerly, whom he caused the ravens to feed; and now considering how he had preserved and brought me back again in peace, and had so eminently visited this family, my mouth was again unexpectedly opened to express the grateful sense received, and to pray for further preservation; which proved a tendering time I believe to most present."

After attending Centre meeting, in which he had to set an example of silence, for which he remarks, he thought there was cause, he felt a drawing to visit an individual and her father, who were Methodists, where it appears he lodged and was hospitably entertained. "In the morning," he says, "family duty was performed before we were out of bed. When we were about setting down to breakfast, grace was said by the master, as was last evening; and my heart being exercised in a thoughtf-

concern for them, I kept my standing, and after a season kneeled down in supplication; after which I found peace to flow as to my own particular. Breakfast being ended, the daughter expressed something in a low voice, like giving thanks for benefits received; and being about to leave them, I requested a silent opportunity, when I was favoured I trust, to declare my exercise faithfully: some tenderness appeared, and the religiously minded woman on parting, desired the Lord might bless me."

From the 20th to the 30th of the third month, he was detained in the neighbourhood of Fairfax, visiting meetings, and also many of the families composing them. On the 29th he says, "he went to M. J.'s, in order to get ready to leave this settlement in the morning; the way and time seem to be opening. I trust all my debts here are nearly paid, and may I not stay one hour longer than the precious oil which is due to others, is experienced to run."

On the 31st, he proceeded some distance toward home, which he says, "looked pleasant, but at the same time I felt a care of indulging the prospect of reaching it in a few days." A concern arose in the evening to visit Pipe and Bush creek meetings, which had been hid for some days previous. This, he remarks, would be work enough for six or eight weeks more, and having no steady companion, his beast lame, and "the instrument poor and empty," he was introduced into much exercise. The next day he attended two meetings, in which he was favoured to labour to the ease of his own mind and to the encouragement and comfort of some others; yet he thus writes: "What a poor creature I am this evening: my enemy is very near, and has been labouring to cause me to break rank. How careful should gospel ministers be—those who make use of such exalted language as is at times put into their mouths—to keep their bodies in subjection, lest they be caught in the snares of the wicked one, and after such high favour, become cast-aways. Went to bed under exercise; my way closed up."

For some time his way continued hedged up, and under deep exercise he thus writes: "Dearest Lord, have I not given up to be thy servant? lead, O lead and guide me in the way I should go. If there be any thing more for me to do, baptize and fit me for the service, and if there is no more, be pleased to preserve thy servant, and bring him in safety to his outward habitation; for thou canst abundantly bless all them that love thee."

On the 5th, he attended the meeting at Bush Creek, in which he had an open satis-

factory opportunity; on the 7th the monthly meeting of Warrington, which he sat almost through in silence, but near the close these expressions impressed his mind to deliver; "it is a precious thing to be found a learner in that school, wherein Jesus Christ presides as the heavenly teacher; and where this lesson is to be learnt, 'not my will, O Father, but thine be done;' it is a lesson I found necessary for me to learn, and I had peace in dropping the same."

Soon after he was permitted to turn his face homeward again, and arrived in York, Pennsylvania, on the 10th, where he writes:

"It has been a proving dispensation since I left this place; somewhat resembling my outward journey over the mountains, where a place called 'the shades of death,' is to be passed through on the way to a beautiful prospect, from the mountain over the good land! O, that I may be favoured with renewed faith and patience; and experience a returning home in peace, when this religious pilgrimage is fully over, to the honour of the great Master; who knows best how to break the spirits of his servants, and fit them for the reception of himself in his blessed appearance of sweetening encouraging love."

Having been considerably indisposed, he staid a day or two at York to recover his health; and Peter Yarnall having offered to accompany him to Lancaster, where he understood John Townsend, a ministering friend from England expected to be, they started for that place on the 13th. But on the 14th, he believed it to be his duty to return and visit Monallen meeting and some others in the neighbourhood, though he says, "with very little prospect of any good resulting, unless for his own mortification."

He visited these meetings, and found in one at least there was cause for his returning. He had the company of his elder brother John Townsend, who proved to be a sympathizing father and encourager to him, and he remarks, "it was a peculiar satisfaction to find we have been led so much alike in religious communication."

On the 19th after attending Monallen meeting, he says: "I find much relief, and it appeared as though my release from more religious service was near; my mind being turned toward my own residence."

On the 20th he set off, and at the ferry over the Susquehannah, he says he felt his mind religiously concerned to caution and advise the inn-keeper, which he accepted kindly, and he was also engaged to reprove the ferry men for their vanity and swearing, to which they seemed to listen with attention. O! how

many poor abandoned creatures there are up and down, who are drinking in sin and iniquity as an ox drinketh water."

On the 21st of fourth month, 1787, after an absence of nearly five months, he was permitted to return to his family and friends with "the sweet reward of peace."

On the 27th of the eleventh month, 1788, he again left his family and friends, with the approbation of his monthly meeting; on the 28th attended the youths' meeting at Middletown, Bucks county, Pennsylvania; on the 30th Plumstead meeting and taking Buckingham monthly meeting, Wrightstown and Falls meetings, he crossed the river to Burlington, and on the 7th of twelfth month had a meeting for the inhabitants of his native city, which was large, and thought to be a solid good time.

On the 8th he attended an appointed meeting at Mansfield neck, and the next day their monthly meeting, and being joined by John Hoskins and John Cox, they were at meetings at Vincentown, Mount Holly, and Upper Springfield.

On the 16th he says: "had a solid time with the widow Newbold's family, and then went to see a young man, about twenty-five years of age, with a lovely wife and child, who lies ill in consequence of a fall from a horse, which he was running on the afternoon of the last youths' meeting at Crosswicks. He left home on business, but attended the meeting, which I have understood was a favoured time, and from thence he went to a tavern and got amongst some company who induced him to join them, against his judgment and inclination, and at last persuaded him to run his horse against one of theirs. As he was doing so, he was knocked off the horse by striking a tree, and was taken up for dead, and has been in a deplorable condition for three weeks past."

On the 17th attended Mansfield meeting in a stripped condition; on the 18th shut up as to any prospect, so remained at C. Newbold's, our kind friend John Cox remaining with us in sympathy.

"21st.—Learned that the young man above alluded to was still alive, and expressed some concern that I did not come to see him; so concluded to do so, and found him sensible; I laboured in the ability given for his everlasting welfare, and he expressed his satisfaction and thankfulness for the visit.

"22nd.—This morning received an account that L. N., the beforementioned young man, deceased last night. Went after breakfast to see J. F., who lay in a sorrowful condition, and then to another family who had kindly invited us. After we had dined and

were about sitting down together in a religious way, Daniel Offley came in; which put me to some trial, but I found there was no time to lose, and my beloved brother, D. O., soon perceived what was going forward, and proved a fellow-helper. The next day attended the funeral of the young man, and held a meeting on the occasion, in which D. Offley was a fellow-labourer. Then I found a liberty gently opening in my heart, but in much weakness and fear to appoint meetings forwards. I called to see the poor afflicted widow who did not go to the funeral; and returned to M. Newbold's, peaceful and easy, being now favoured to see the end of my detention and trials in this neighbourhood, and hope the aforesaid meeting was a solemn time of warning and caution to numbers. My heart is thankful to the Lord for his merciful preservation in patience.

"On the 24th attended a meeting appointed at Bordentown, and on the 25th at a large meeting at Crosswicks, where my Lord and Master favoured me with strength to relieve my soul fully; having in the course of religious communication to revive the melancholy circumstance of the poor young man before recited. After dinner visited the tavern keeper and wife, near by where the race was run, and then to Nathan Wright's, where we were affectionately received and owned.

"26th.—To Arneytown meeting, which was large, but a very exercising time to me. As we were riding towards N. W's., about one mile from meeting, over a very rough road, my mare fell down and threw me over her head, but through preserving mercy and care I received not much hurt. For which favour, as soon as I was a little recovered from such a sudden surprise, I found reverent thankfulness to spring up in my heart, unto the upholder and preserver of his creature man. Spent this evening at Nathan Wright's, partly in a solid religious opportunity with this family, and some others present, I hope to profit."

After attending meetings at Robins', Shrewsbury, Freehold and Trenton, he writes:

"First month 1st, 1789.—Awoke this morning with renewed desire to be found walking in the way of my duty, and that it might be as the day of a fresh setting out under the guidance of the heavenly pilot, Christ Jesus. Was also favoured with some precious openings in regard to my present journey; went to meeting at the time appointed,—my companion, I thought had something lively to offer, but found it my business to sit silent, in which I was favoured with renewed satisfaction and comfort; yet on the close was not easy without appointing another meeting at six o'clock this evening, desiring such as were with us to

come again, and also to invite their absent neighbours. Went to meeting at the time appointed, which was pretty full, and trust it proved a solid baptising time."

Went to Burlington, and on the 4th opened in their monthly meeting a prospect of visiting in their families, all the inhabitants of the town who were willing to receive him, which being solidly considered, some Friends were appointed to accompany him—John Cox offering himself a volunteer. From this time until the 6th of the second month, was spent in accomplishing the service; after which, accompanied by John Cox, went to the Falls, and from thence to Makefield, Wrightstown, Kingwood, Hardwich, and Mendham; from thence to Plainfield, Rahway, Stony Brook, and through Trenton to Burlington quarterly meeting. After this he returned to his own home with sheaves of peace in his bosom—and adds, "may the Lord, the helper of Israel, be praised."

In the summer of this year he again left home in the service of his divine Master, being engaged to pay a visit in gospel love to some meetings in New York, and on Long Island, in which engagement he had the company of his friend John Cox. After attending a number of meetings on Long Island, he was at Oyster Bay on the 26th of seventh month, which was a solemn and profitable season, as was also a religious opportunity in a family: he remarks, "here it may not be unprofitable to record the mercy and goodness of the Lord to his devoted children, who at times is pleased to make them helpful one to another, and encouragers of one another when favoured of Him."

He attended the quarterly meetings at Purchase and at Flushing, and also the monthly meeting at the latter place, at which were a number of Friends appointed by the quarter, and it proved a strengthening and comforting season, wherein they were enabled to thank God and take courage. They soon after returned to the city of New York, where they met with Rebecca Jones, and the following memorandum occurs:

"Eighth month 9th.—Attended the meetings in New York, wherein my elder sister Rebecca Jones had a large share of public service, and I also had some labour, which afforded satisfaction and peace to myself.

"12th.—Went to the week-day meeting at New York, accompanied by a friend who had been low in his mind, and had not been at meeting for upwards of six years. It proved a good meeting to more than myself, and in the evening, to the great comfort of his relations, prevailed on the above mentioned friend to return to his lovely family, from whom he has

been absent several years. When I was here four years ago, I was concerned to visit this poor disconsolate man, and on bended knees to pray for him. I also went to see his wife and children, and in an opportunity with them, had to express my prospect, that the time of deliverance from this affliction would come, and perhaps was not afar off; and it has been strengthening and encouraging to me now, to see him again restored to his family, and in his right mind."

On the 14th he left New York, and the 15th and 16th he attended the quarterly meeting at Rahway, in company with Rebecca Jones and M. Robinson; after which the following memorandum occurs:

"17th.—A very large meeting, and a great mixture of different sorts of people, many of whom could not get into the house. I believed it my place to stand forth amongst them with a heart much exercised, on account of the looser sort, not only amongst Friends, but of all ranks. I was led to caution and warn the unwary and frolicksome youth, and to tell them of the circumstance of the young man who was killed at a horse race, see page 20; remarking that the Almighty warned his creatures in various ways, sometimes by night in dreams and visions as Job says; and sometimes by day also. After this our dear friend Rebecca Jones, was favoured in a large testimony, chiefly to Friends; and at the close of the meeting when about to part, I had again to stand up, and warn the youth in a particular manner, that they should return from the meeting home, under a thankful sense of the favours received, and keep out of lightness and frolicking.

"On the 18th was a large meeting, wherein there was acceptable service; we had the company of our dear friend Joseph Delaplaine, of New York, whom I felt near to my life in inward labour, although silent.

"19th.—Went to Plainfield monthly meeting, accompanied by my friend J. Whitall, who has been with me during the time of Rahway quarterly meeting. Rebecca Jones and John Cox staid at Rahway poorly, not venturing out in the rain. I think we had a favoured good meeting at Plainfield, and then returned to Rahway."

In a letter to a friend, dated Rahway, eighth month, 1789, he says:

"I thought I would send thee a few lines by the bearer hereof, E. R., who attended Plainfield monthly meeting yesterday with his offering. I was glad for E.'s sake that I was there, and thought there was a solid weight attended. Friends readily received him into

membership, and a certificate to our meeting is to be prepared, to be produced next month. I thought it would be satisfactory to hear this much, and a little also of what thy poor and often enfeebled brother has been about. I went no further than Purchase quarterly meeting, about thirty miles above New York. Finding that Nine Partners quarter was held the same week as this at Rahway, I was easy to cross to Long Island again. I was much shut up and exercised in that Island, but favoured to come away easy and peaceful, and my visit to friends in New York, as to myself, has been the most peaceful and pleasant of any time I have been there.

“My companion John Cox, sets off presently in company with E. R., and I have James Whitall of Woodbury with me; he came with a minute from their monthly meeting, to see me round within the compass of their quarter; but here I am this morning, as frequently is my lot, a poor blind servant, waiting for future direction, seeing no way to move with sufficient clearness. I have been favoured with the acceptable company of our dear Rebecca Jones, both at New York and in this place, which has been strengthening to me.

“20th.—John Cox left us pretty early;—some time after which dear M. Robinson, J. Delaplaine, and other friends from New York, being ready to return, we sat down together and were favoured with a precious season. After parting with so many near friends, my mind was tenderly affected, and gathered into a quiet habitation, wherein it was nearly turned toward my beloved help-mate in life.

“On the 21st, Rebecca Jones left in company with Joseph Shotwell; and after they were gone my mind was thoughtfully engaged to know for what end I was thus left as it were alone; and all prospect of religious service removed. I had laboured fervently during the time of the quarterly meeting, and had thoughts of appointing a meeting on Staten Island, but that was removed, and here I was left, a poor blind exercised servant; and was sunk under such a weight of exercise, that I thought of going up to lay on my bed. Whilst sitting in this exercised condition, James Shotwell came into the room where I and my companion J. Whitall were sitting, and informed us that a sorrowful circumstance had happened; a number of young people going into the water at Sandy Hook were drowned, and the bodies of four young women were just brought up in the shallop they went out in. We walked down to the landing, and there saw them lying on straw on the deck, side by side, and a very serious sight it was. After we returned home to J. Shotwell’s, I was soon informed by my blessed guide, there was more work for me

to do in this place, and I was strengthened to desire Friends to go to the houses of the relatives of the deceased, most of whom it was expected would be laid in Friends’ ground, and make way for a meeting after the burial, which they did, and it was concluded to bury them all in one grave in Friends’ ground; and there being a burial this afternoon of a young woman of the Presbyterian Society, who died of a putrid fever, and some Friends attending it, gave notice of the burial to-morrow. I went to the house of a relation of one of the persons drowned, where we had an humbling time amongst a number of the relations and others, who escaped the jaws of death.

“22nd.—Went to the burial, which was a solemn scene: such a grave I never saw before—wide enough to lay the bodies of these poor young women side by side, who but a few days before were mostly in full health and strength, and most or all of them at meeting. Solemn it was to see the coffins one by one, brought into the grave yard. We went into meeting, which was made up of various ranks and classes of men and women, the passages filled up with those who stood, and many out of doors who could not get in. I had a laborious time amongst them, but trust, through divine help, the free and everlasting gospel was preached, and truth not dishonoured. The people behaved quietly, considering the great throng. It was a relieving time to me, although spending to the body; but the Lord can help and does help his poor servants in the needful time: praised be his name, and may the mouths of the servants be kept as in the dust before him.”

The following account of this mournful event, is furnished by another hand:

“At our last quarterly meeting, our beloved friend Thomas Scattergood, in the course of his public testimony, in moving language, warned the youth present to beware of wanton behaviour, dancing, frolicking, &c.; stating, that he had known several instances of divine displeasure being manifested to individuals, who had attended such meetings as these, and directly afterwards had gone to horse races, or other sinful pastimes. One instance he mentioned, of a young man, who, on his way home from a favoured meeting, falling in with a company of persons who were collected for a horse race; they urged him to ride one of the horses—he at first refused, but being pressed by some of them, at length yielded; and in the race was thrown from the horse, which occasioned his death. He said it appeared to be his business to warn the youth present, to beware of such conduct,

lest some of them might be made like examples. 'I do not say,' said he, 'it will be the case, but I find it my place to proclaim a solemn warning.'

"On third-day our meeting ended:—twenty-seven persons, chiefly young people, embarked on board a boat, bound for Sandy Hook; but before they set off, it was observed that several of them were discouraged, and ready to give it up; and on their way it was remarked, how dreadful it would be, if any unfavourable accident should happen, after having been at meeting, and hearing the advice then given. On fourth-day they went to view a monument erected over a person of distinction, who with twelve others perished there not long before. On fifth-day, they walked to the light-house, and on their return went on a narrow reef of sand, which is bare at low water, as also the way to it; on this they spent some time in walking, &c. At length, observing the tide to run fast, they were alarmed and concluded to return. But alas! the sea had hidden their path, and covered all their way-marks! However, they made the attempt, and as they were pressing on, eleven of them suddenly stepped into the deep, were overwhelmed as in a moment, and seven of them perished. The others, with the assistance of some of the company who could swim, got to the shore, though almost spent. Four of the bodies were found, and brought up here [Rahway,] on sixth-day. The next day was appointed for their interment, and notice being given, a great concourse of people attended; after which a meeting was held, wherein our beloved friend Thomas Scattergood was enabled to preach the gospel, pertinently to exhort all present to profit by the present calamity, and feelingly to impart a portion of consolation to those who drank largely of sorrow's streams. He had not felt easy to return home after our quarterly meeting ended; but waiting in great exercise of mind, was not able to discover the cause of his being thus detained. On sixth-day morning, he retired into a private room, and sitting a while under the like pressure of exercise, a messenger stepped in with the foregoing sorrowful tidings. Then he could account for the trying dispensation he had passed through, which he related in his discourse to the crowded audience, observing that it might be said of him as of Nehemiah, 'why art thou sad, seeing thou art not sick?' 'I was not sick,' said he, 'but felt such oppression of exercise, that I thought of taking my bed.'

"23rd.—Attended two pretty large meetings in Rahway—had large open service in them; and in the evening went to visit the

afflicted widow of ———, who perished, and is not yet found: here we met with a number of neighbours, and it was I hope an humbling awful time, which will be remembered, and the poor widow I trust, was somewhat strengthened and encouraged."

After holding a meeting on Staten Island, he again attended Rahway meeting on the 25th, and proceeded to Stony Brook, where he appointed a meeting the next day, in which he was silent; from thence he went to Trenton, where a meeting was held, in which he says, "I hope we were favoured to offer an acceptable evening sacrifice."

After this he attended Bucks quarterly meeting, and went to Burlington, where he remained visiting the meetings as they came in course, until the 4th of the ninth month.

On the 3rd he thus writes: "Attended the week-day meeting in Burlington, in which my mind was very particularly turned to speak to the state of an individual, who appeared to me to be present; and next day I met with a person, whom I knew not was at meeting, but he acknowledged frankly, that he was the person thus spoken to, and hoped he should be favoured to improve by it. This was cause of renewed encouragement to me, it having been trying thus to be detained in this place.

"Ninth month 5th.—To Joseph Shotwell's at Rahway, and feel myself a poor exercised servant, not knowing for what I came here again, but am favoured with peace of mind, the great blessing promised by our Lord himself to his devoted followers: soul wait in patience. On first-day, the 6th, I attended two large meetings, and in the close of the day was made thankfully to rejoice. On the 7th appointed a meeting for those of other religious denominations, and which was a laborious one to me.

"On the 9th went to Plainfield meeting, which was also laborious. On the 10th to a large and favoured meeting at Rahway. On the 11th to an appointed meeting at Elizabeth Town. Here we had some of the heads of the people, and hope this meeting was to some profit: the governor being at it, kindly invited me to go home with him and was very friendly. Dined with a friendly tavern-keeper, who with much affection, entertained a number of us, and after dinner we were favoured to partake together of a measure of that which exceeds outward bread.

"On the 12th attended an appointed meeting in the court-house at Amboy, which was large, and I thought a solid good time. Had an exercising time at the tavern where we left our horses; thanks be to him who is ever worthy, for the strength vouchsafed to relieve

my mind amongst a company of wild youth and others; and O the thankfulness of heart I now feel, under a sense of the Lord's goodness in thus preserving me through this one more weighty and arduous week's work.

"Ninth month 13th.—Attended two large meetings in Rahway; and in the morning was favoured, I thought, with much strength and ease to unburthen my mind; but that in the afternoon was laborious. A large number of Friends came to our lodgings in the evening, and hope it proved an opportunity to be remembered in a future day by some of us. My soul desires to lay prostrate before the Lord, that I may do nothing to mar his blessed work,—feeling much jealousy and fear on my own account: ever keep thy poor servant, O Lord, in a sense that thou art good and I myself am blind.

"15th.—Went to an appointed meeting held at Newark court-house; which was large, and appeared to be to general satisfaction; it being the time of the sitting of the court, the judges were so respectful and kind as to adjourn to a public house to accommodate the meeting, and several of the lawyers came to it.

"16th.—To an appointed meeting at a place called Westfield, where there never had been a Friends' meeting; it was held at the house of Dr. Elmore, who not only opened his house, but we had reason to believe his heart also was opened, and it proved a time to general satisfaction: the priest of the place attended, and in the presence of a number of his hearers owned the doctrine delivered.

"On the 17th to the monthly meeting at Rahway, which proved an open comforting time.

"18th.—Waiting to see with clearness which way to move—feeling much peace and comfort on looking back, and remembering the supporting hand of the Lord that has been with me and upheld in the arduous labours in and around this place. 'I will thank thee for thy mercies past, and humbly hope for more.'" After this he returned through New Brunswick and Stony Brook, and reached his residence on the 21st, in peace, for which he says, "Thanks be to him who is ever worthy thereof."

From the 22nd of the ninth month to the 11th of the tenth month, he spent at home, attending the yearly meeting and looking after his outward affairs.

From the 11th of tenth month to the 18th of the eleventh month, he was engaged in visiting the meetings belonging to Haddonfield and Woodbury quarterly meetings, and between this and tenth month 1791, performed several little journeys to quarterly meetings.

In the tenth month 1791, accompanied by his friend John Pemberton, he visited Shrewsbury quarterly meeting, and a number of families at a place called the Branch; and in the latter end of the first month 1792, again attended Shrewsbury quarterly meeting and visited a number more families at Deal and Poplar Swamp, and appointed several meetings in and about that neighbourhood. He then parted from J. Pemberton, and taking the monthly meetings in his way, beginning at Upper Springfield, went as far as Cohanssey; in which journey he met with some singular occurrences, as often heretofore; "through which," says he, "the Lord supported my exercised soul unto the end, and favoured me to get home to my family in peace. I went forth weeping and in great strippedness and poverty, and yet was favoured to discharge my religious duty in such a manner, as to return with sweet peace. O Lord, my gracious helper, favour me still in my passage through life, with thy light to enlighten and guide my steps. Returned home on 3rd day of third month 1792."

Extracts from a letter written while on this journey to his family, dated Poplar Swamp, second month 4th, 1792.

I left you in great weakness as I expressed; and my going forth was I knew not whither, and to receive the inheritance of peace, I knew not when. I have rejoiced heretofore in sitting down with you, and parting under a solemn covering of divine love,—but at this time I saw little but to go forth, and so I left my home, committing you all, with myself, to the keeping of the good Shepherd, who puts his servants forth and goes before them, and provides all things convenient,—and all this in faith, without much prospect of service. I received a small portion of encouragement in a parting opportunity at James Thornton's; on taking a view of his diligent labours in the gospel in younger life, when of ability, who now is rendered unfit for travelling by infirmity of body; in the revival of those expressions of a primitive labourer in the same blessed work and calling; 'Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God we have had our conversation in the world.' Very simple, poor and destitute I often felt whilst with you, when weaning from the breast of this world, and preparing to leave all that is near and dear in life, to follow the leadings of that good hand, which has, in adorable mercy, plucked me as a brand from the burning; and redeemed my soul from the

pit of destruction and misery. When I am thus separated from you, fervent have been the desires of my soul, that he who leads his poor servants forth to war a good warfare, under his safe-conduct, may be with those who stay by the stuff."

Extract from a letter to Hannah Cathrall, dated, "John Wistar's, Salem, N. J., second month 23rd, 1792."

"I received thy encouraging lines this afternoon on my way from Alloway's Creek to this place, and thought I would inform thee how acceptable they were to me, a poor exercised traveller. They brought into remembrance thy sympathy with me whilst I was in New England, at a time when I thought I stood in need of such remembrance. My path is singular when abroad, and with reverent thankfulness I may acknowledge, that strength has been graciously afforded me in every trying and needful season,—and some such I have met with in this journey. I left my own habitation very poor in mind—indeed I felt in this condition when my friends set me at liberty, and could but admire at the cheerfulness which appeared in some minds to do so.

"I do not recollect that any testimony of approbation which dropped from the lips of any of my dear friends in that low season, has proved more of a refreshing cordial, than a few expressions which were uttered by dear E. H. What a small portion of bread, if really bread, and sanctified and blessed, is truly nourishing and refreshing.

"Therefore, beloved sister, there is abundant reason for humble hope, that in present provings and succeeding conflicts, he who is Lord in Zion will furnish the necessary qualification. Be therefore strong, let not thy hands be slack. How often have I wished that strength might be the girdle of thy exercised mind, with respect to the fulfilment of thy duty in the line of the ministry of peace and reconciliation. Dost thou not undoubtedly believe that a gift, received from the great and bountiful Giver of all good and perfect gifts, will prosper in every turning of it? O then, dear friend, let us follow it closer; let us say with devotion of heart, 'draw me and I will run after thee,' not waiting for great manifestations, or tempting our divine Master with saying 'show us a sign,'—but rather let our language be, only condescend to show me that the requiring is from thee, the Lord my God, my heavenly Prophet, and I will follow thee whithersoever thou art pleased to lead. Mayest thou be the companion of such as these. How many are there up and down in the land, who

would rejoice and be refreshed, in the exercise of that precious gift and talent conferred on thee, my sister,—therefore let not him who bringeth in strong reasonings, have place for a moment; but exercise that faith which removes mountains out of the way—making them at times to skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs, that thus we may do our day's work in the day time."

VISIT TO THE SOUTHERN STATES.

His mind having been exercised with a prospect of paying a religious visit to Friends and others in the southern states, in the fourth month 1792, he obtained certificates of the unity of his monthly and quarterly meeting, and soon after proceeded to perform it. From the memorandums made during the journey, the following are extracted, viz:

"Fifth month 20th, 1792.—Left my habitation, after first sitting down and being favoured with a comfortable opportunity with my family and several Friends, who came to take leave of me, and accompanied by a number of Friends went to the house of my companion, Josiah Bunting at Darby, and attended that meeting, which proved a strengthening one.

"21st.—This morning sat down with a number of Friends, and were favoured with another confirming opportunity, and a sense that we were in the line of divine appointment. 22nd.—To the youths' meeting at London Grove and lodged at Joshua Pusey's. Here we met with our dear friend Sarah Harrison, from whom we parted in near regard, not expecting to see each other again for a considerable length of time, she being shortly to embark for England." He then attended Sadsbury monthly meeting, meetings at Yorktown, and the quarterly meeting at Pipe Creek;—"in all which," says he, "I was favoured with something to communicate; and it has been a time of humiliation with me since I left home—feeling a strong current of affection at times prevalent, toward those I have left there, and the length of my present journey closely affecting; but the Lord is good and bears up my spirit.

"30th.—To the week-day meeting at this place, wherein I was led in an encouraging line, particularly to the youth.

"31st.—To Bush Creek meeting which was large, and a number of other societies collected, to whom my mind was drawn forth in gospel love. Sixth month 1st.—To Fairfax, stopping by the way at Richard Richardson's, and whilst sitting with them, I had to look back and remember the time I was there with Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn, and the deep sorrow I waded under; but this was a different

dispensation, wherein Jacob's acknowledgment, through adorable mercy was mine, and I had to mention it, 'The Lord was in this place and I knew it not.' 3rd.—To Fairfax meeting, and although it was silent throughout, and painful and exercising in the fore part, the latter part thereof was a sweet time of renewing my own strength, wherein my dear wife and family, and very particularly my dear aged mother, were brought into remembrance with fervent prayer on her account; and the length and breadth of the land was opened before me, with animating strength of mind to follow my great and good Shepherd."

Extract of a letter dated Fairfax, sixth month 4th, 1792.

"I have not doubted the fitness of my leaving home, neither the time nor the getting along so far, although I travel in the usual poverty and blindness from day to day; yet am at seasons comforted in the hope of being favoured to journey forward, so as to secure the best of treasures, which is peace. It is not the largeness of the offering, neither thousands of rams, nor ten thousands of rivers of oil; it is not barely giving the first born, or surrendering wife and children and all, but continuing in the Lord's will, subjectly given up thereto, from day to day, which I have found to be my sanctification. May the same good hand which hath led forth and preserved me in a state of resignation, be with thee my dear companion, and support and succour in the needful time. My heart at seasons when looking toward my dear family has been broken within me, and secret breathings have arisen to the Strength of Israel, for your protection and help as for my own, in this widely extended journey."

"6th.—To South Fork meeting; the house could not hold near all the people, and though there appeared much rawness, yet strength was given to preach the word to some good effect, and we left them in peace.

"7th.—To Goose Creek meeting, which was an arousing searching time, and I had peace.

"9th.—To the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, which was a close time, but was favoured with peace. 10th, first-day.—Had an open good meeting, as was also the meeting for business on the 11th. 12th.—The youths' meeting was large, and an open relieving time to me. I believe the Lord, who is worthy of all praise, was near with a visitation of love to the people. Visited a number of families here, and was at their week-day meeting, which was an exercising time,

under a sense of the low state of things, but strength was afforded, after a time of waiting, to labour honestly for the good of the members, particularly the airy youth. Whilst we were sitting with a family and some other Friends in the evening, a few expressions impressed my mind, respecting the care of youth and timely stretching the line of discipline over transgressors. When I ceased speaking, my mind did not feel relieved, and it appeared to me that there were near the house some of a different class from those I had been addressing, and on opening the front door, found the porch and steps round about crowded with most of the young people of this licentious little village, and it afforded an opportunity greatly to relieve my mind, and so went home to our lodgings in peace.

"14th.—To the Gap meeting, which proved a very open time; my mind was affected in beholding the people along the road going to meeting, as well as in the house, it not being large enough to contain them by much: left this place in peace. 15th.—To Bullskin meeting, which, after the expectations of the people were starved, proved through divine help, an open good time; a number of strangers being at it.

17th.—To a large meeting at Hopewell, which was low and discouraging in the fore part, but through favour ended more solidly and well; next day after a comfortable sitting with the family of children where we lodged, set off to go over the mountains.

"23rd.—To the monthly meeting of Redstone, in which I was silent until near the close of that for business; and then after a season of painful conflict, I was favoured to relieve my mind in a remarkably close line; and to my admiration it proved a baptizing season, and I trust through the fresh extension of heavenly regard, brought a remnant near one to another: thanks be given to him who is worthy of the praise of his own work.

"24th.—To Redstone meeting, which was large, and after a season of waiting, I stood up with an opening, which appeared mostly for people of other persuasions, as there seemed to be pretty many there, but found it hard work to get along, and at length all closed up. In this condition I quietly sat down, and passed the meeting through in silence. In the afternoon met with a committee appointed in the monthly meeting yesterday.

"25th.—A morning of close conflict, wherein all seemed closed up. I could not see it right to appoint a meeting; but in a season of inward retirement was favoured with resignation to my lot, and after strewing a few tears was a little easier.

"26th.—A morning of renewed exercise:

no way opening to move forward, which was trying indeed, when I considered the length of my journey from home. Surely I had failed, if a secret hope had not been granted that I should yet behold the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. In this proving state, A. W. proposed to leave us and visit his daughter, as no prospect of service seemed to open; and almost immediately on his mentioning his thoughts, there appeared a little ray of light arising toward two meetings on that side the river, and I found liberty in my mind to send word to Friends and only Friends, to get together at Fallowfield to-morrow, and on sixth-day at Westland.

"Sixth month 27th.—Crossed the river to Fallowfield meeting, which was a laborious one. I sat nearly or quite two hours before I could stand up; but it ended well, after which I was much depressed. Went home with Mary England and lodged.

"29th.—Crossed the river again to Westland meeting,—stopt by the way to see a sick friend, which with some detention at the ferry caused us to be rather late. The fore part of the meeting was trying to me, although on my first sitting down there seemed something good spreading. I sat nearly two hours before I felt the revival of that which would enable me to minister to the people, but it was vouchsafed in the Lord's time, which may my soul be more and more engaged to wait for. It was thought to be a good meeting and ended comfortably.

30th.—Went to Redstone meeting, where I was favoured to relieve my mind in a close but tender manner, and returned with a good degree of peace; and after a religious opportunity with a number of Friends went towards a little meeting near Beesontown, with resignation to the divine will, either to go on toward the Alleghany, or to labour further in this land.

"Seventh month 1st.—This morning walked out into the field and woods, and had to commemorate the Lord's goodness and love, wherein my dear wife was brought into remembrance. O Lord, my soul reverences thy name, in that thou art pleased to accept the feeble efforts of an unworthy servant, who desires to thank thee for thy mercies past, and humbly to hope for the continuance of them, through this trying journey. Be pleased to remember my dear family and friends left behind;—graciously be near to my dear help-meet and my aged mother. O Lord, look down in tender mercy on my dear children. Went to this little meeting, held in a cabin about sixteen feet square, without a window in it, and a very warm day; but through mercy it proved a good time. After dinner my mind was closely exercised to know what

step to take next, and towards evening was easy to go to Beesontown; this night was a wakeful conflicting one.

"2nd.—Thoughtfully exercised to feel my way in this land: after breakfast, taking a walk abroad, and seeing the reapers in the field of our landlord, (who is a Presbyterian, but his wife and several of the children of our Society,) my mind was turned toward them in gospel love, and when they came in to their breakfast and had done, I requested that they, together with this large family would sit down quietly with me, and to my humble rejoicing I had a good time with them, from these words of Boaz to his reapers, 'The Lord be with you;' and they replied, and 'may the Lord bless thee.' I now felt easy to leave these parts, having laboured with much honesty and plainness amongst them; and after dinner we rode to Samuel Morton's in the Alleghany mountain, a place called Sandy Creek Glades, where there are a few families of Friends and a little meeting,—a more wilderness, desolate road or path, I think I have not travelled. We got in after night, and they kindly entertained us.

"3rd.—I went to the little meeting, held in a cabin about two miles off; in as wild a place, I think as I ever was in. In the fore part of it my mind was led to view the situation of our first parents, both before and after their sorrowful fall,—how the ground was cursed because of man's disobedience,—and that though they were few in number, yet they were favoured with a merciful condescending God to converse with and instruct them. The wilderness and solitary place surely must have been glad and rejoiced at such a time as this. And O! gladdening thought, that the Lord is the same to day as then, and remains so forever. Praise him O my soul! We went home with our friend John Smith, five miles, by a lonely path through woods and glades; and on parting from them the great Lord of the universe refreshed our souls with living food from heaven—I have not often seen more brokenness; and they remain as epistles yet to be read at this time.

"6th.—A dull morning; my way being darkened and blocked up, although I thought on the road yesterday, that I saw it would be right for me to go on for Hopewell, be there on first-day and come back to this place, Bear Garden, on second-day, and so take the meetings hereaway next week. But this morning all was gone, so concluded to move on, but could not leave the family without a space of quiet retirement; and after expressing what occurred to this family, I thought we might pass on without a meeting; but the

opening returned with a degree of clearness, and we gave liberty to notify the people of our being back on second-day: wait the issue with resignation, O my soul!

"8th.—Went to meeting at Hopewell, and was shut up in silence.

"9th.—Attended Bear Garden meeting, which was exercising and laborious.

"10th.—Attended Back Creek meeting, which proved a close and laborious season.

"11th.—Poorly this morning; the weather close and warm, which tries my poor feeble frame. Inward provings also attendant, and the life of religion low. O, that I may be preserved as well as those I have left behind, from being swept away with the strong current in this day of outward ease. My prayers have been put up this morning for myself and dear wife. Lord keep us near to thee, the fountain of strength, and support in all trials of faith and confidence. Went to the Ridge meeting, held in a school house, wherein I had close things to say, but humbly trust I was in my place. Had an increase of inward conflicts, but was favoured with a comfortable night's rest, and in the morning (12th) with a degree of the overshadowing of the wing of divine love, in a sitting with this family before we parted; and on the road to a meeting called Tuscarora, felt brokenness of heart, which seemed as a preparation for cross-bearing afterward, both in the meeting, in which I was silent, and after it was over.

"13th.—To Middle Creek meeting, which was made up, as I found afterward, by a number of other societies, and it proved an open and I trust, through divine favour, a baptizing time in the latter part.

"14th.—To Crooked Run, a large, mixed, and open meeting; in the close of which received a request from a Methodist to have a meeting in a town called Font Royal, about six miles off, to which after solidly weighing it, we consented.

"15th.—To the meeting at Font Royal, which was held in an unfinished Methodist meeting house; it was hard work to preach amongst them, and although life did not rise into such dominion as could have been desired, during the greater part of the meeting, yet it was thought to end solidly, and their preacher after meeting, came and taking me by the hand, owned the testimony delivered.

"16th.—After a remarkable opportunity with J. F.'s family, sat off and stopped at a poor man's house, with whom and his wife and eight children, we had a religious opportunity.

"17th.—A poor night's rest, and unwell this morning. O! what a poor feeble creature I am, to move forward altogether amongst strangers. This day a sore and long fit of sickness I

had some years before, came humbly into view, and my covenant then made to serve and follow the Lord, even to the end of the land. Lord send forth thy light and thy Truth; let them lead me, let them guide me. Thou canst raise out of weakness and sickness into strength and health. I hope and trust in thee.

"18th.—Went to meeting, which was an open time, and after it felt comfortable.

"19th.—At Evan Thomas'; and it being a rainy day, staid mostly within doors; as in the outward, so in the inward, it seemed a cloudy, dull time. Attempted after dinner to set off and move forward, but after sitting down with the family under a painful cloud, in which I found nothing to say, had no liberty to move. Wait in patience, O my soul.

"20th.—After breakfast sat down with this family, and was favoured to relieve my mind of an exercise which lay on it."

After visiting several families, he remarks; "My mind was sweetly comforted on the road after the opportunity at the last house; but O the baptism I had to pass through on account of this family, in the evening, night and morning; but found an opportunity to relieve my mind in a serious opportunity, and then moved on toward the old settled parts of Virginia. We missed our road and got lost, and about one o'clock came to a house in a lonely place, where we sat down contentedly, as has been the case frequently, and ate our cake with some butter and milk. In the evening we got over the Blue mountain, at Rockfish Gap, to a friendly man's, where we were kindly entertained for pay; and in the morning when about to set off, took a serious opportunity with him, wife and some of the family, much to my own comfort, and it appeared to be to their satisfaction, and so moved forward in peace. Yesterday crossed six or seven considerable waters, and in the evening reached John Douglass', near Douglass' meeting: poor, exercised travellers, what need we have of faith and patience.

"21th.—To meeting, and for a time I was almost ready to conclude we might leave them as we found them, so little was to be felt; but in the latter part strength was given honestly to discharge myself, and felt peaceful and easy. On our road afterward, my soul praised the Lord for the extension of his arm of protection and deliverance, for of late it has been a time of sore trial. Had a comfortable ride, and when we arrived at E. J.'s, he came and affectionately saluted us, and gave us such a hearty welcome, poor pilgrims as we were, that it was truly comfortable; for which I am thankful whilst penning this under his roof; and yet desire to rejoice with becoming fear, seeing how good mortification, poverty

and abasement prove, when rightly submitted to and lived under."

In a letter dated seventh month 30th, after speaking of a meeting which he held on the 19th, he says:

"This is the first meeting out from amongst Friends, and hope truth was not dishonoured thereby; but it is not the line of service I have been led in, and am ready to think sometimes, may not be much so in the course of this visit. My cup seems full toward our own professors; and if my religious communications are not in all places so large as in some visits amongst other people, I think my cup of suffering, in and under a sight and sense of Zion's desolate state, is as large as ever I experienced, but the Lord, my helper, has been kind beyond expression, and in a sense of it, at seasons we can say, we lack nothing.

* * * * *

The way to have got over much ground, and made quick despatch in the visit, I suppose would have been to pursue our route up the country to South River, and from thence to New Garden, and also the way to have breathed a more pure outward air back of the mountains, but that road was shut up, and a little light shone this way into a sickly country, and at a sickly season. Times and seasons, health and sickness, life and death, are with the ever gracious Helper of all that trust in him, and having put my (or our) hands to his plough, we may not look back, and I may again say, with thankfulness of heart, I rejoice that I am favoured with such a true yoke mate in the various dipping seasons to be met with."

"Eighth month 1st.—To Black Creek meeting, a mournful time, under a sense of the low state of the church.

"3rd.—Had a religious opportunity, in which some of the poor negroes came near the door, and my speech was turned toward them; they wept, and I was comforted in the belief, that the visitation of God's love was towards them. Leaving them in this tender frame of mind, we went to the preparative meeting, held at White Oak Swamp.

"7th.—To Wain Oak week-day meeting; and notice having been given in the neighbourhood, it was pretty large, and thought to be profitable; had a serious opportunity in the family where we dined, with a number of neighbours who stopped; went on to Skimino, and stopped at a friendly man's and lodged.

"8th.—To Skimino week-day meeting; which was large, and an open tendering season, which had a tendency to brace me up a little.

"9th.—To James River, this was an exceedingly close warm night, and trying to my weak frame, but I humbly hope all will work together for my good, as resignation to the divine will is laboured after.

"10th.—Spent the morning of this day in a comfortable degree of quiet, after a tossing night, and feel desirous my love may increase to my dear Lord and master, who has led me forth in his work.

"11th.—Spent the morning of this day in a quiet sweetness; went to the quarterly meeting of ministers and elders, held at Black Water, which was a comfortable open time.

"12th.—To a large and mixed meeting; the weather continuing exceedingly warm, with the addition of very close exercise and religious labour, affected me much; my appetite failing—but the Lord being good and gracious to me, I was favoured with ease of mind, and in the afternoon also, was helped to discharge my religious duty towards both white and black of this family and others, although to the spending of my bodily strength.

"13th.—To the quarterly meeting; found Friends in the practice of discouraging all but members attending on this day; we did not sit long before the business of the meeting was opened, and in the mean time I was favoured with a comforting season amongst them, and also in the meeting for business; I relieved my mind much to my comfort and satisfaction, and trust to the edification of my brethren; and in the evening a solid opportunity in the family of A. Bailey.

"14th.—Set off accompanied by Jesse Copeland and Benjamin Pretlow, to the Western Branch; a long trying ride, and no house to stop at but the meeting, which although laborious in the beginning, ended comfortably.

"15th.—To Bennett's Creek, where was a mixed large meeting, and an open time. In the afternoon returned to a meeting held in Suffolk court-house, where I sat almost two hours in silence, and was thankful for preservation; and although no mighty works were done, I was glad in feeling the good and preserving hand near. Near the close had a little to communicate to the inhabitants, and before the meeting ended, to the poor African race in particular, a number of them being there; and left the place in peace.

"16th.—We went to Summerton meeting, which was large, the house not containing the people by many, and a pretty open time.

"17th.—A cold night, and this morning sat by the fire. To Johnson's meeting, where the expectations of the people appeared great. I sat nearly two hours in silence, and had but a painful season at last.

"18th.—To the widow Vick's, to the meeting held in her house, which was large and open.

"19th.—To Black Creek, where we found a large mixed gathering of people, more than the house could hold, and through the extension of divine strength, was a good meeting.

"20th.—To Stanton meeting, to which came many people, as has been the case for several days past; and the weather was hot, and the house close and crowded, and numbers out of doors, yet I may not forbear recording the goodness of Israel's Shepherd, who was as near to help this day as heretofore. May praise be rendered unto him for this, and for the preservation of my poor weak body through heat and cold, watchings and fastings; even to him who preserves his servants in burning climes and lands remote, and supports them by his care. With reverence I bow, in remembering that man is not to live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. O! dearest Master, preserve me in watchfulness and humble thankfulness for thy favours past and present.

"21st.—A trying night, and felt unwell this morning, with but little appetite. Went to the meeting called Seconk, which was crowded, the house not being large enough to contain the people. And O, how mercifully near was the Lord my God, furnishing with strength to clear myself of the people; there being a large collection of youth, and also others from different meetings, and after it was over parted from divers of them with brokenness. In this day's work I have been wonderfully supported, seeing I was so weak this morning.

"24th.—To Micajah Crew's; and for the favour of being permitted to arrive again at this kind friend's house, through such arduous labour as I have experienced since Black Water quarterly meeting, I feel thankful, and recruited in bodily health and strength.

"26th.—To the select quarterly meeting at Cedar Creek, which was a uniting season; and at eleven o'clock, to a very large and mixed meeting, wherein the Gospel of peace was preached, and through its prevailing many were reached and tendered, and my mind relieved and comforted. Let the praise and honour of this day's work be rendered unto the Lord, who is a present helper in the time of need.

"27th.—To the quarterly meeting for business, which began at ten o'clock, and held until near six. This was nearly select, and an open time in the meeting for worship, especially toward the youth, and I hope throughout it was a meeting to be remembered.

"29th and 30th.—Spent these two days in

an emptied state, seeing no way open to move; and it has been a time of renewal of outward health and strength, after such close labour in the heat of the weather; it being now and for a week past cool and pleasant.

"Ninth month 1st.—My mind was exercised this morning, not knowing which way to move, or what to do. O! what need is there of patience in such stripping seasons. After dinner set off in much weakness toward Genito meeting, accompanied by our kind friend Micajah Crew.

"2nd.—To Genito meeting; and no notice being given, it was small, but I was comforted in my present poor state therein. Prayed for my dear wife, mother and children, and was favoured with a small opening to move forward; and after dinner had a little to communicate to a number of young people of the family, and others who came to see us.

"3rd.—Set off on our journey, and crossed James' River, and staid all night at S. Pleasants', where we were favoured with a precious opportunity, and I had a sweet refreshing night. A measure of the same sweetness and love covered our minds on parting this morning, and the savour thereof remained with me for some time. Ate our dinners on the road, and in the evening arrived at our friend J. Johnson's, at Amelia.

"5th.—We were most easy to see the two or three families of Friends together, in their tattered meeting-house, with an earthen floor, an habitation for hogs; and although I went in weakness, the presence of Him who took up his abode in a stable and a manger (there being no room in the inn,) was near, and favoured not only with strength to preach the gospel to a few, but with a renewed prospect that the time will come, that the wise will be confounded in their earthly wisdom, and, weary of it, will be prevailed upon to follow Christ Jesus, the light of the world; even so be it in the Lord's time.

"6th.—We rode to an inn and lodged. Ate some provisions we had with us in a poor house by the way, and had some religious conversation with the woman, and sat off well refreshed.

"7th.—To our friend William Johnson's at South River, and lodged.

"9th.—To Seneca meeting which was held in a log building without a window in it. A close, hot time, as to the outward, and in an inward respect, very little good to be felt amongst the people, either within or out of doors: but being helped through my close and laborious exercise, it proved at the close a solid refreshing time, I hope to more than myself. Went home with R. B. and dined; here was but poor outward accommodations,

which to the flesh was trying; but on parting was favoured with a precious opportunity with parents and children.

"15th.—To South River monthly meeting, which held until almost night, and was a satisfactory time.

"16th.—To a meeting at the above mentioned place, which was large and favoured; I felt great unworthiness, but the Lord was merciful; went home with Joseph Anthony to a town called Lynchburg.

"17th.—Here we tarried until about noon, and several Friends came a number of miles to see us. We sat down together with the family, and I trust it proved an instructive time. We rode this day to a public house about twenty-seven miles. Ate our dinners by the roadside, were well refreshed, and in the evening my heavenly Master refreshed my soul in a plentiful manner.

"18th.—This morning on parting we requested a religious opportunity with the family, which was readily granted and proved a baptising season, there being several other travellers with us, among them two goodly Virginia gentlemen of some distinction; after which I had great peace,—the Lord be praised therefor.

"19th.—After some edifying conversation with our host this morning we rode to C. L.'s, and next day after a baptising opportunity with him and wife and also visiting the school, which I believe was satisfactory to the master, though not a Friend; we parted affectionately and went home with our kind friend Samuel Parsons, who has been acceptably with us in this tour since we left his house.

"21st.—Spent this day at our friend Samuel Parsons'; T. Pleasants coming to see us, was favoured with a solid opportunity with him and wife, who were much tendered.

"23rd.—To Genito meeting which was large, and I was much exercised, and found it hard work to get relief.

"25th.—I feel like a poor creature this morning; nothing presenting with clearness to my mind, and this staying in one place looks much like loitering away time,—but time is the Lord's and his time is the best. O my soul wait patiently for it, and when again opened into service be simply obedient. After breakfast walked abroad, and a prospect opened on my mind to visit a family and to appoint a meeting at S. Pleasants' house at noon to-morrow. On informing our friend Thomas Pleasants, it was readily complied with, and he accompanied us to S. C.'s, where we were favoured with a baptising season together, and next day went over the river to the meeting held in S. Pleasants' mill, which was large; but I did not find that relief and satis-

faction of mind which I have in some places; although the people appeared goodly and behaved solidly.

"27th.—Went to Genito week-day meeting under close exercise of mind, and as we entered the house found it almost filled up with people, which was unexpected, not knowing how they got notice, or what induced so many of them to come together. Great stillness prevailed, and my mind was so much humbled as to bring me on my knees, after which I was favoured with an open time in testimony. The Lord be praised for his goodness.

"28th.—A night of exercise, and feel poor, blind, and unworthy this morning; no way opening to move forward. O what a great thing it is to keep always shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and not to transgress or break the least tittle of the law. Truly I may not boast.

"30th.—To Genito meeting, which was pretty large, considering there is a yearly meeting of the Baptists' Society within six miles. It proved an open relieving time; went home with Samuel Parsons,—took our farewell, and came back with our kind friend Thomas Pleasants, where we met with a hearty welcome, and my spirit was set a little more at liberty, in a hope that way may open in the morning to leave this neighbourhood.

"Tenth month 1st.—I feel this morning as though we might be released out of this place, and know not that there is one stone left unturned with regard to any one. O that the Lord may bless the labour he has bestowed instrumentally on individuals, to their growth in the ever blessed truth. We left Thomas Pleasants' after another baptising tendering season, wherein my dear wife and family came into remembrance, and the Lord was prayed unto for the continuance of his strength and love to us who are abroad, and to those left at home, after which sat off in comfort and peace, and 'the trees of the field did clap their hands.' We arrived at Richmond before night, and on the 3rd sat off accompanied by Samuel Couch and Robert Evans, pretty easy in mind, and thankful that we could leave Richmond. Arrived at our friend Robert's before night at Petersburg, who with his wife and children received us with openness, and after they had refreshed our bodies, the Lord condescended to feed and refresh our better part together; and I thought it was worth being shut up a day at Richmond in blindness, and riding this thirty-seven miles for. Went to bed easy and comfortable, but my dear companion was taken very unwell in the night, which alarmed me.

"4th.—Went to Gravelly Run meeting,

notice having been sent forward,—and it was a season to be remembered by me. I could think of little in the forepart, but returning back to Richmond, to which prospect I cheerfully resigned myself, and was afterward favoured with an open time in the meeting. We had a remarkable time at the house where we dined, wherein I believe the strong was made to bow before Him whose power was eminently felt, and after it went on peacefully to Petersburg.

“7th.—Returned to Richmond and attended a meeting at the capital. We received a respectful letter from the person who occupied the most convenient room, excusing his not giving it up to us, as he was to preach a funeral sermon for a major, on the death of his wife. The meeting was not large at first, and many of those who had gathered were uneasy with silence. I felt willing, after a time, to get up and gently reprove them, and commend the few who kept their seats, and also invite them to come together in the afternoon and bring their neighbours, thinking that would be all that would be required of me to say. But when I began to speak, the people crowded into the house in such a manner, as caused me to pause and consider, whether it would not be best to sit down and recover strength to labour amongst them in the line of the ministry; but concluded it safest to endeavour to continue speaking, and through favour I was in some degree enabled to relieve my mind, and it was thought Truth arose and spread into some dominion.”

In a letter to Hannah Cathrall, dated “Richmond, tenth month 9th, 1792,” he says:

“We came into this place yesterday morning from Robert Pleasants’, accompanied by him, and although I feel a care on my mind respecting going too much to, or being too free in the houses of disowned members or others not of our Society, as ——— has appeared so open hearted and friendly since our lot has been cast here, I was free to stop at his door, and after meeting came back and lodged. I have thought more of thy lines, since a proving dispensation I had to pass through yesterday, than when I first received them; and some of thy expressions are as fitly framed as if thou hadst been on the spot. My beloved companion told me last evening, that he thought of the bow and battle axe mentioned by thee, whilst thy poor friend was exposed amongst a multitude of strangers, in this dissipated city. So it was in Boston, when I was under very deep conflict and exercise of soul, thy words through favour, were like apples of gold in pictures (or a basket) of

silver. But for all this, bear with me, I have felt at times something rising up in my mind by way of rebuke against thee, under a fear that thou dost not sufficiently avail thyself of that stretched out hand and arm, which with such clearness and pertinence thou canst write of to others. I want thee, my dear sister, to fulfill or accomplish thy task in the day time, knowing that the Lord of the harvest has blessed thee with a precious gift. Is thy bodily presence weak and thy speech contemptible amongst the people, or only in thy own opinion? There are many poor children crying for bread in places, and few, very few delegated feeders or shepherds to administer to their wants; and this thing is not of the Lord of hosts, but I believe for want of unreserved obedience in all things to his blessed will. Therefore it is, that strangers have to stand and feed their flocks, and the sons of aliens to be for husbandmen and vine dressers. Lift up thine eyes and behold what a field of labour there is; and although deep are the plungings of the labourers, yet sweet is also, at seasons, their reward; yea, it is preferable to an earthly crown.”

“11th.—Went to Curles’ meeting, which was small: I felt peace in going, and comfort and satisfaction on sitting down in the meeting, in the remembrance, that Truth will remain the same, although all men forsake it. I laboured in weakness and poverty, and although encouragement was held forth to the poor and needy, yet it was afflicting to feel the irreligious spirit that is so prevalent in this neighbourhood.

“14th.—To a meeting in the Assembly room in the town-hall at Richmond, which was large, and we had the company of many Friends from different parts of the country. Dear T. Harris and wife came thirty miles; and to my great comfort, dear Mary Berry came from Micajah Crew’s, at Cedar Creek, twenty-two miles, and arrived after the meeting had nearly gathered. She exercised her gift, both in supplication and testimony, amongst a mixed people, who behaved well, all things considered; and after it was over we were treated with kindness by several.”

Speaking of this meeting in a letter, after stating that his beloved friend M. B. came in late, he says, “I cannot fully describe the feelings of my exercised mind, when thus favoured with her company, and the help of her spirit. Indeed I felt a degree of shame cover me, in the remembrance of these expressions of the Master, ‘O ye of little faith, wherefore did ye doubt;’ perhaps this was on the sudden appearance or putting forth of his power formerly. It was a large gathering,

in which I was strengthened to stand forth in a good degree, I trust, of innocent boldness, carefully leaving room and time for this beloved friend, who appeared in prayer and afterward in testimony. I may with gratitude say, the name of the Lord be magnified for his mercy, and the stretching forth of his arm to help of late.

"17th.—To the meeting called Jack's Swamp; the fore part whereof was laborious, under a sense of an infidel unbelieving spirit resisting the truths of the gospel; and after the meeting for worship ended I was more confirmed in this belief. However, I had a good time near the close of the preparative meeting with Friends, both men and women, and the meeting ended with brokenness and tears.

"22nd.—Got to the quarterly meeting for business at Contentney, in North Carolina, which held until about sun-set.

"23rd.—After a comfortable season in parting, sat off the for yearly meeting, and in the evening were refused admittance at a house of entertainment; but riding a few miles further, we were taken in at a private house.

"Eleventh month 3rd.—The yearly meeting of North Carolina held until seventh-day evening. We lodged at our kind friend Aaron Morris'; and the last night did not get home until late, owing to one religious service presenting after another. The service of the yearly meeting was laborious: a lively spirited remonstrance was drawn and signed, to be laid before the Assembly, respecting the free black people being taken up and sold again into slavery. The yearly meeting was attended by a solid committee from the yearly meeting of Virginia, and I trust upon the whole, there was a moving forward in the great work of righteousness.

"4th.—This morning awoke early, and my mind was impressed with a prospect, which had at divers times opened, to go toward the Western quarterly meeting, and mentioned it to my companion, who united with it: so we got ready and sat off, after an opportunity with this kind family, and left them with sweetness. Got to Little River meeting, which was a good one, where we met with Mary Berry and her companion."

The following extracts are taken from a letter written to his wife, dated

"Symons' Creek, N. Carolina, Eleventh month 3rd, 1792.

"Thou hast often been the companion of my mind, my dear and tender wife, since the receipt of thy last letter, put into my hands at the yearly meeting; in which I discovered that thou wast closely exercised, not only on

my behalf, but also on thy own account, when reflecting on the frequent separation, which is our lot in this uncertain world of losses, crosses, and repeated trials. But let us remember that our Maker has declared himself to be our Husband, our gracious Redeemer, the holy One of Israel; that is, to those who look to him, trust in him, and lean upon his arm of strength and true comfort; and that he is justly called the God of the whole earth, who unites and knits our hearts together in the covenant of true love. May this still be kept in view by us in this present separation, that so we may be made a savour of life unto life, one to the other. My heart was affected on reading thy lines, and no part of them was more precious to me, than thy prayer for my preservation through the ups and downs which are to be met with. There is frequently an echo of the same language in my heart, and my fervent prayers both in private, and also when favoured with the gift of utterance, have been poured forth for thee, my dear mother, and our children. May thy desire and care increase, in the best sense, toward these, that it may please the Lord, who often turns the feet of their exercised father from them, to condescend to be their father and friend, and to make them truly his children. As I am favoured to keep my habitation in the Truth, which the Lord in his infinite mercy and love grant, through heights and depths, both at home and abroad, may be my happy lot; next to this, their walking in the Truth will be my greatest joy."

After mentioning some particulars of their journey from Richmond, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, he continues.

"I have been favoured with a sufficient reward for going round to Contentney quarterly meeting, and can set my seal to the truth, that the Lord is a rich rewarder of all that serve him in sincerity of heart; and I have no doubt it is in his will also, that our lot has been cast amongst Friends in this yearly meeting.

"I have met with various occurrences since I left thee; had many long rides and close exercise of mind divers ways; but I am not disposed to give an evil report of such a journey, lest I may unawares throw discouragement on the blessed work, for truly in and through all I have met with, the Lord has never failed to help with a little help, and my exercised mind has at times been set at liberty in the gospel of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, my merciful Saviour. Therefore, my dear, give me up now into his further keeping and care, for I know not when I may get through this journey.

"I often call to mind the deep, and I was going to say, horrible pit of distress and despair into which I was plunged, and which thou wast a witness of, not many months after our marriage, when the jaws of death seemed to open upon me, and I was looking with deep thoughtfulness at the house appointed for all living; when fearfulness overspread me, under an awful sense that I was not in readiness. Then, O then, was I willing to covenant with the Lord, that if he would restore peace to my mournful soul and continue it, I would follow him to the land's end. No marvel, that since that day it should be my lot to be often engaged abroad; and I feel sweet enriching peace of mind in a faithful dedication of all that I am favoured with, to divine disposal, however trying. I have also received this assurance, that as there is a continuance in the same, I shall not want for necessary outward good things; and likewise as thou continuest in that which has hitherto strengthened thee to give thy husband up to the all-wise Disposer, to run with alacrity his errands, thou shalt witness the blessing descending upon thee in a way which, at seasons, thou canst hardly believe."

Extract of a letter to John Hoskins, from the same place.

"The situation of the poor blacks, who, after being set at liberty by their conscientious masters, have been sold again by wicked men under the sanction of a law of this state, came before this yearly meeting; and although a petition was handed the Assembly last year and rejected, Friends were encouraged to move in it again; and a committee of nine Friends was appointed to attend the Assembly this month, with a lively, spirited remonstrance. I have a hope that if they use endeavours in opportunities with the members separately, when they go to Newbern, something more will be gained, favourable to the poor blacks. There was a pretty large committee attended from Virginia yearly meeting, respecting a junction with this, but they proceeded no further than to leave it for consideration, and appointed a committee to attend the next yearly meeting in Virginia. My mind has been closely exercised on these two subjects during the sitting of this meeting; although neither I nor my father before me, that I know of, was ever concerned with slaves; neither has it fallen to my lot at home to speak much in meetings on their behalf. It has not been so now; for whilst thinking of such gross wickedness, I have felt the fire to burn, which led also to speaking with the tongue. And I think Friends have too much

suffered their hands to hang down with feebleness in this matter."

"8th.—Went to Lewisburg to the house of a kind Methodist, who would not take pay for what we had. I was made sensible that religion had a place in his mind, and that of his wife, almost as soon as I entered the house, and we had a solid season with the family before we left them.

"10th.—To the meeting of ministers and elders at Cane Creek. In the ride this morning, I remembered the helpless condition I was reduced to this time about nine years ago, by weakness of body and mind, and now through mercy, this twenty-six miles ride appeared little to me. My heart was filled with gratitude to my merciful Lord and Master, and although I have had times of suffering and proving in this country, I have no doubt of being in the proper allotment. But O, how the dispensation was changed in meeting! Wait and hope, O my disconsolate soul, upon thy Deliverer, who never fails in the needful time.

"11th.—A large meeting; but alas! what a lifeless one. O! the rawness which appeared; there was not much room for public communication, and but little was given to me; it was a suffering time.

"12th.—To the quarterly meeting, which was an exercising, searching time; and in the close I felt peace, especially at the conclusion of the select meeting, which held after night.

"14th.—This day begins our work in appointing meetings in this country; notice having been given in the quarterly meeting until first-day week. This was thought to be a pretty good meeting.

"15th.—After a good opportunity in the family, we sat off before the sun was up, and rode to Spring meeting. As our friend John Carter and I rode together, he informed me, that in his young years, being visited by the day spring from on high, he sought much to find a place of rest to his soul, and joined the Baptists. After a time he grew dissatisfied with their mode of worship, not feeling that peace which he was in pursuit of; and one day after seeking the Lord with great earnestness, and begging of him to show him whether that was the people he must join himself to, he went to their meeting with a determination that if he felt an evidence of the owning love of God to attend his mind, he would submit to go into the water to be baptised, or any thing for peace sake: but on that day the preacher held forth such doctrine to the people, that it turned him away from them, in his mind, and led him more and more into a lonely seeking state. At this time, the little company of Friends in the

neighbourhood had grown so weak as to neglect their meeting, and had given consent for the Baptists to hold meetings in their meeting-house. For some time his mind was impressed with an apprehension, that it was required of him to go and sit down by himself in the meeting-house; but he put it off, being ashamed. At length he went by a private way and sat down alone and was greatly refreshed; but he could not do it privately long, feeling a necessity to travel the road openly, for his friends and neighbours used to wonder where he went in private. One day in going to meeting he met with one of them, who asked him where he was going, and he told him honestly, 'I am going to meeting;' 'strange,' says the other, 'what will you go there for?' He left him, however, by the way, and had peace in the meeting. Next time he went, seven of his neighbours hearing of his going, joined him; and in process of time he was united to the Society of Friends: zeal and religion revived amongst them, and there is now a large meeting, called Spring meeting, which we were at to-day; and this Friend is a valuable minister amongst them. We had a favoured meeting.

"16th.—To the meeting at Cane Creek, which, upon the whole was a good time.

"17th.—To Rocky River meeting, which was large for the place, the house could not hold the people, and it was an open encouraging time. Several Friends came after meeting to David Vestal's, to see us, and our parting was such a time of divine favour, as will not, I believe, easily be forgotten by some.

"18th.—Went to Nathan Dickson's, and when the hour for meeting came, we were agreeably surprised to find his barn well accommodated with seats, &c., but it would not hold the crowd of people that gathered; many were out doors, both sitting and standing; and through divine mercy it was a thorough, favoured time. After meeting a man came to me with tears, and said, 'I know that the glorious and ever-lasting gospel has been preached this day, although I am not of your profession, and may the Lord bless and protect you;' or nearly to this purpose. May the Lord have the praise of his own work, and flesh be laid in the dust.

"19th.—To the meeting called Tyson's, held in a log house, which was not large enough to contain the people, and an open time it proved; many of other societies being here, and I humbly trust the gospel was preached with some degree of demonstration. Stopping at a house to eat some provisions which a Friend had kindly brought for us, and several others also coming there, I had another

opportunity to preach the gospel of my Lord and Saviour, and so parted from our kind and hospitable friends and their sober neighbours with sweet peace.

"20th.—At Holly-spring meeting, which was large, and though exercising in the fore part, I hope it ended profitably. After it, a gray headed old man came to me, and asked whether I was of the family of the Scattergoods, in New Jersey; and after telling him I was, and some little more conversation passing, he said, 'Thou hast scattered much good to day; may we keep it.' May the praise, if any good is done, be rendered to the Lord, to whom it is due for all his tender mercies. On the 22nd attended meeting at Providence, and next day to Center. In the evening Peter Dicks informed me, that there were but four or five families settled near him, when he moved to this place, about forty years ago. They held their meeting first in a private house, then built a small meeting-house, which is yet standing, and used for a school; and near it is a large meeting-house, built within these few years,—and a large settlement of Friends. He also told me, that at the time William Penn came the second time into Pennsylvania, his grandfather was settled on Brandywine; and on William's return from a treaty with the Indians at the forks of Brandywine, for the land on this side of Susquehanna, called the Conestoga land, he came to his grandfather's, and offered him and others a large tract of that good land, for £5 the hundred acres, and left them to consider of it, which they did; and after consulting, concluded to send him word they would not take it, because it was so far back, that they thought it would never be settled, and it would only be money thrown away.

"24th.—Sat off accompanied by our kind young friend Phineas Nixon, who came to this place to conduct us to his house. It was a precious ride to me, through a piney wilderness, particularly the fore part, in meditating on the divine law. This day saw a fine buck near the road-side, and part of a flock of wild turkeys; and at a tavern by the way, a lad brought a fine buck on horseback out of the woods, which had been shot.

"25th.—To Back Creek meeting, which was very large and an open time.

"27th.—Whilst I sat in company and conversation at a Friend's house, my mind was very suddenly impressed with weight and solemnity, and giving way to it, my dear wife and family, and also companion's, and in a very particular manner my son, were brought into remembrance, and under a precious exercise of spirit I kneeled down and prayed for them. I trust the Lord heard, and in his

own time will grant the travail of my soul. It was an hour of love and mercy, and the sweetness remained on my mind along the road for most of the afternoon.

"28th.—A morning of close baptism and exercise; having very close things to say in the meeting at Marlborough, but after it felt pretty easy, and several told me that what was said was to purpose. Ah, what is yesterday's manna when gone! It is not to be looked to or depended on to day, but day by day we are to seek the daily bread.

"Twelfth month 1st.—Went to Springfield monthly meeting, where I was closely exercised in the meeting for worship.

"2nd.—O how very close was the exercise of my soul at Deep River meeting this day. It was a large assembly, and I sat long in silence, but at length had to deal out doctrine to very gross conditions, but was comforted in that a little food for the Lord's children, the sheep and lambs, was at length given me. Here I met with my old friend and father, David Brooks, and his wife, who appeared glad to see me. I have had close doctrine indeed to deliver in some of the meetings lately. O merciful Father, preserve me from saying anything which may prove a burthen.

"3rd.—To the monthly meeting, which was rather a more easy time than yesterday, and found considerable relief in my labour, although it was indeed close. After night rode home with David Brooks, and found a comfortable habitation, quite sufficient for a resting place for the traveller. Both he and his wife gave me a hearty welcome, and time passed away in the evening pleasantly, whilst engaged in recounting the gracious dealings of a merciful God, since we were together almost twelve years ago, in New England."

He then attended meetings at Muddy Creek, Upper and Lower Reedy Fork, Bull Run, and the quarterly meeting at New Garden. After which he remarks:

"11th.—After a sweet and refreshing night's rest, and feeling comfortable and easy in mind this morning, I have sat down with thankfulness to the Lord my helper, and made this little record, looking for baptisms and humbling trials, both inwardly and outwardly to succeed; but may I humbly hope and trust in the arm of Divine strength. At this meeting we had the company of a pretty large number of Friends from Cane Creek quarter. Dear old David Vestal, who has been as a father to me, said on parting 'I am grown old and cannot do as I have done in younger life, in going with and helping Friends; but I have felt such love towards you, that I have thought some times I could almost run after you on foot.'

"12th.—To meeting at Muddy Creek, which

was large and laborious, but was thought a profitable one, and solid in the conclusion. My dear friend D. Brooks stopped me in the meeting house, and desired I would not be discouraged in low seasons, for he could inform me, that the state of things had been spoken to.

"13th.—To Blue Creek meeting, which was an humbling baptising time to me; wherein I trust I was favoured to pour out my spirit in humble supplication, and afterwards in testimony; and I thought a state or states present were designed for the ministry, or usefulness in the church.

"16th.—To Westfield meeting, which was large and mixed. I was much exercised in desires that there might be a quiet settlement among the people, and got up to speak; but such was the instability manifested, and the want of life in the meeting, that I soon sat down, and waded under a travail for an hour or more. After this conflict, my gracious Master helped me to discharge myself to my own relief, and I hope to the warning of some, and to the comfort and help of others.

"18th.—Was at Deep Creek meeting, which was the most crowded we have attended; the house could not hold the people by many, and although it was very spending and laborious, my companion says it was a good meeting, especially the latter end. I was informed that George Dillwyn was the first Friend who had a meeting in this place, and now they have requested to hold a monthly meeting.

"19th.—This morning's ride has been a serious humbling one to me; and after we got here my spirit was brought into great exercise, in which I sat nearly an hour in much conflict, like one bound hand and foot; but through the arising of divine love and mercy, I was at length set at liberty to appoint a meeting. The husband was prepared for the word of command, for which my exercised soul had been also waiting; and he soon went off to notify his neighbours; the daughter, about thirteen years of age, as soon almost as I mentioned the liberty I felt to have a meeting, said she did not doubt that the neighbours would be glad of it, and with great cheerfulness mounted a horse, and went to give notice. Soon after, we saw her aged grand-mother, a Baptist, who was here on a visit, walking along a path which led into the woods, as briskly as a young woman. O my soul, wait the issue of all this unexpected faith and love! My faith and patience have been closely tried; truly it is a precious thing to be passive and willing, waiting the Lord's time for his holy will to be done. Lord keep me in the way thou pleasest I should go.

"20th.—A mixed meeting of Anabaptists and Methodists: I sat long in silence, and be-

lieve it was right to do so, but at length my gracious Master appeared for my help and strength, and it was thought to be a good time. At the close, some of the people parted from us with the appearance of affection.

"21st.—Proceeded on our journey by a way which none of us knew, and after crossing the Catawba River got to a friendly man's house where we staid, and I feel humbly thankful that my spirit is borne up and supported this evening.

"22nd.—Sat down and was favoured in a solid opportunity with this family. The elder boys brought my childish days into remembrance, and I was engaged to direct their minds to more precious things. Whilst I was engaged in testimony, a stranger came in, whom I met with last evening, soon after we crossed the river. One of our guides asked him the way, and instead of giving a civil answer, he was abusive, appearing to be somewhat intoxicated. But he was changed before we left this family, for being about to mount my horse, and offering to take him by the hand to bid him farewell, he said he was going the same road, and wanted company. Truth was over him, and he was a loving and useful man to us on the road all day. Both Josiah and I had good satisfaction in endeavouring to open the way of life and salvation to him, and he acknowledged to the truth of it.

"23rd.—We moved forward, and meeting with some difficulty in finding the road, stopped at a Captain Mix's. I was comforted on entering the door, in finding his wife with a good book on her lap; we had some religious conversation with them, and when we were ready to go, he told us we were welcome to put up and stay with him that day. I felt much love toward him on parting, for indeed he appeared a lovely sensible young man, and I could not be easy without telling him my desire, that the Lord would enlarge his heart in the gospel of his Son; and on looking over the neighbourhood, I felt an earnest breathing to the Lord of the universe, that he would make way for the propagation of the gospel of peace, both here, and unto the ends of the earth. We found the way to the ferry at Broad River with difficulty; and the boat had been brought to the side on which we were by some young people, who were gone a distance off. A woman on the opposite side told us we might ferry ourselves over; and Josiah and I undertook it. Here we fed our horses and ate our dinners on a stump, and after the company had sat off, I had to turn back and open to the woman who directed us over, that passage of our dear Lord's conversation with the Samaritan woman. She appeared glad of the freedom I took in explaining it to her understand-

ing, as was also a younger one, who stood by her. Many doubtless are the scattered sheep, without an outward shepherd rightly to direct them. Soon after we left the ferry, it began to rain, and we stopped at a house by the fording place over Packolet river; and after some pleading, Josiah and I got entrance, the Friends in company with us going back about a mile with our horses. We were taken into a weaving room, with a little fire on the hearth, where we sat contentedly drying ourselves, not knowing where we might be permitted to lay our heads this night. After a while we were conducted into another room, with an earthen floor and a good fire, where we ate our suppers. Although the man gave us no great expectation, yet we were furnished with a bed; in the morning he went to the river with us, to direct us over the ford. I parted from him in the love of the gospel, after being engaged to open some of the truths of it to his mind.

"25th.—A prospect of labour opens within Bush River quarter. Lord keep me, and preserve me in patience, devoted in heart to do thy blessed will.

"27th.—To Paget's Creek meeting, which was large, but long in gathering; and when mostly settled, a rude company came past and disturbed it. Yet through favour we had a pretty good meeting afterwards.

"28th.—This morning after breakfast, our friend John Clark called for us, and after a sweet opportunity in the family, we proceeded toward Rocky Spring. It began to snow about three hours before day and continued until about noon, the bushes and trees were loaded with it, and the way was very difficult; nevertheless, it has been a day of favour to me—for although I ate nothing but a piece of cake for my dinner, and a drink of water by the way, through the extension of divine love shed abroad in my heart, all was pleasant. My dear and precious wife was brought very near in spirit, and my prayers were to the Lord, who had so mercifully opened to me the fountain of life, that she might be a sharer in the same.

"29th.—A very cold night, water froze to a considerable thickness on the table. Had a suffering time both inwardly and outwardly at the monthly meeting at Bush River, from which we went home with Isaac and Charity Cook. Ah, what a poor unworthy slipping creature I am; may care and circumspection be renewed, so that I may know preservation from secret faults. I am in heaviness this evening, not so living as I ought.

"30th.—Another very cold night and a suffering one; it would not have been so, if the deceiver and deceit had been more narrowly watched against. Lord Jesus forsake me not

in my labour and travail in this remote land. Went to Bush River meeting, and although it was long in gathering, and the minds of the people for a considerable time unsettled; yet we were at length I trust favoured, and my mind opened to deliver some weighty gospel truths.

"31st.—Sat off early this morning for Mudlick meeting, accompanied by Isaac Cook. A poor little company collected, but we fared much better than I expected.

"First month 1st, 1793.—To Raban's Creek meeting, held in a poor house with an earthen floor, which was damp with the beating in of the rain and snow. I thought on sitting down that it seemed a very poor beginning, but I was enabled to preach the gospel amongst them, and came away easy.

"2nd.—After riding all day, we lodged in a little cabin, and met with Samuel Pearson, who expects to go with us to Georgia.

"3rd.—Went to meeting at Allwood's very poor, and continued so for a season, but to my admiration my heart was greatly enlarged in gospel love, and my mouth opened, and trust it proved a profitable season; after which we proposed to get on our way ten or twelve miles, but I was discouraged on account of my feebleness, and concluded to take an early start in the morning.

"4th.—Arose before daylight, and proceeded on our way; stopped in the woods twice and fed our horses; crossed Savannah river, which is three hundred yards wide, at McKoy's ferry, and also Little river. The sun shining in our eyes, for some time we could not see the landing place on the opposite side; and being strangers to the ford, we did not go right, and I have not been so much tried in crossing any water since we left home. My heart is thankful for this preservation, and for the many others we have through mercy experienced. Travelled most of this day along a lonely desolate path, with notched trees for our guide, and but few inhabitants by the way; arrived at our friend Wm. Farmer's about sun set, and think we must have rode nearly or quite forty-five miles. This kind man met us at his gate, and upon querying whether he could take us in, his habitation looking so small, he cheerfully answered, he had feed for us and horses, and would do as well as he could for us. 'This is the smallest house I think I remember to have been in; but we were favoured with enough—his heart is larger than his house. He told us that four years ago, when he settled here, his wagon was their dwelling place for some time; at first he built a little bower or tent, but a storm blew off the roof, and they took again to the wagon for shelter.

5th.—To the monthly meeting of Wrights-borough; on the way and in the meeting also, my mind was under close conflict, and I felt spiritual death increase on me, and told my companion on the way, that if my friends did not rise up in spirit and help me, I feared I should sink and do nothing amongst them. Thus I continued for a time in the fore part of the meeting; having to look over my steppings along in this journey, also to remember the hand of my God upon me nine years ago in sickness and deep affliction of soul, wherein I was made willing to follow Him for the sake of his divine presence; who then was mercifully pleased to hear my groans, and take my engagement to answer the debt, when called upon. Under a sense of his protecting care and divine providence, in leading and also feeding me, and having enabled me to reach that part of these southern lands which was then shown me, my heart, in the midst of my afflicted state, was broken; and after venting a few tears, I was willing to close this silent part of the meeting. Friends proceeded to their business, and alas! how I was disappointed. Often on the way I was pleasing myself with the prospect of getting amongst a tender, hopeful people, who would receive me with open arms, and that I should visit them from family to family; but instead of this, I do not remember to have had closer things to say in any meeting. My spirit was oppressed and grieved; but having with honesty endeavoured to discharge my religious duty, I felt peaceful, and we returned to our friend John Embree's, who received us kindly, where I feel much relieved this evening.

"6th.—Felt much at liberty in my mind this morning, which continued on the way to meeting, and I thought it was likely I should be favoured with an open relieving season; but on the contrary, I sat the meeting through in silence, and at the close told the people who were not of our Society, that I felt much love toward them, but had not so learned Christ as to tell the people, like some, to come together and that there would be preaching on such a day, and that in a time of spiritual poverty I dare not put forth my hand to steal. I then requested that they would leave me with Friends, for I wanted to see them together, which, after a time, was mostly complied with, and I had a close searching time with the members of Society; a number of whom gathered about us after the meeting broke up, and were loving and kind.

"7th.—O, the conflicts of my soul last night and this morning, in which dear Josiah was my companion. I hope the Lord, in his wisdom and love, baptised me measurably into a feeling of the death and sufferings of

my Saviour, and thereby caused a willingness still to follow Him in the way of the cross. 'Know ye not, that as many as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptised into his death.' We had a solid opportunity in this family, and then joined by a number of Friends, went to an appointed meeting at Wm. Farmer's, who met us about five miles from his house, and told me he had been up since about midnight, providing seats and fitting up a shed to hold the meeting in. He met me in a broken and tender manner; and the prayer of my heart was, that according to his faith in God, so might it be done for him. It proved a good meeting, as appeared by the brokenness of some, both in the meeting and afterward; although there were some who laughed and jeered, who were sharply reproofed. A number of the neighbours came back in the afternoon, amongst whom we had a precious season, and they parted from us with the desire that the Lord might go with us.

"8th.—Sat off at daylight accompanied by our friends James Galbraith and Samuel Pearson. William Farmer and his brother Benjamin, also went as far as Little River to see us safely over that difficult ford. After crossing the Savannah river, we stopped at the ferry house and refreshed ourselves with provisions we had with us, and fed our horses. I proposed to the landlord to see his family together in a religious way; which was readily granted, and we were taken to a house at a small distance, where we found his wife sick. The family were soon gathered, and I had an open time amongst them, which appeared to be much to the satisfaction of the parents.

"9th.—Stopped and had a meeting with the scholars in the meeting or school-house, which afforded peace to my mind; and I had a sweet and comfortable ride most of the morning through the wilderness—crossed the Saluda at the island ford, which was somewhat trying, but got safely over.

"10th.—Feel better in health this morning, after a comfortable night's rest; went to the week-day meeting at Bush River, accompanied by dear Mary Pearson, who came before breakfast to see us. It was a conflicting silent meeting. O, the death and heaviness which overspread my mind this day, and continues this evening; I do not feel strength enough to appoint a meeting here to-morrow; therefore wait in patience, O my soul, under the baptism of death.

"12th.—Went to the meeting of ministers and elders; where we met with dear David Vestal and his companion, on a religious visit to these parts. It was an exercising time to me, and no opening to labour in the fore part;

but I hope we were afterward profitably in our places, in the business of the day.

"13th.—To a very large and laborious meeting at Bush River, the house not containing the people. The wicked, unruly, and dissipated ones were warned; and I hope the seeking traveller encouraged to hold on his way. I was much spent, and after taking some refreshment, laid down under exercise and conflict of mind, being tried ever since we left Georgia, with a prospect of returning back, and through favour there is a willingness begotten to be obedient, and to do all that my good Master may open and qualify for. O, my soul, thy dwelling has of late been as amongst those who kill the divine life; hope and trust thou in the Divine arm, to be carried through; that arm which has hitherto at seasons been made bare for thy help and deliverance, and by which the mouth of the murmurer and complainer has been stopped; and this is cause of thankfulness.

"16th.—A rainy day: kept house and employed myself in reading, writing, and looking over letters from my dear family and friends, who have sympathized with me: and although it has been, in some degree, a quiet improving day, nevertheless, I am a poor servant; yet hope for more favoured times. Is not all good which is ordered in divine appointment?

"17th.—Set off this morning after breakfast, and it has been a peaceful day, although turning my face from home.

"18th.—Accompanied by our two Friends Marmaduke Mendenhall and Richard Batten, with David Vestal and his companion, and Benjamin Farmer, we got well over the waters, though we had to ride about ten miles round in order to avoid Little River ford and find a good bridge. Reached our friend Benjamin Farmer's cabin in the evening—and although I felt poorly most of the day, and under some discouragement, nevertheless my mind was supported and borne up through all.

"19th.—Lord, why should such a worm as I am, murmur or complain, when thou in infinite love condescended to dwell on earth; condescended to men of low estate, and took up thy abode with the poor of this world; thereby to set all thy servants an example of humility and lowliness. O, how sweet is thy presence, whether experienced in the habitations of the rich or of the poor, or in the wilderness and lonely places. How are thy servants blessed, O Lord, who are favoured to cast their care on thee. Went to a meeting at William Farmer's, held in his new unfinished cabin, which he had fitted up for the purpose, and upon the whole it was a commodious place; this meeting was appointed by David Vestal and Isaac

Wilson, his companion; I had some service in it.

"20th.—After breakfast, came ten or fifteen Friends and friendly people, from Farmer's settlement, on their way to meeting, most of them on foot, having walked eight or nine miles. It rejoiced me to see their zeal; and after we were gathered, it was a large meeting, more than the house could contain, and I was, for once in this place, favoured with an open and measurably relieving time, for which I was thankful. It is eight months this day, since I left my dear wife, mother and children, and the tender solicitude of my heart goes forth on their account. May divine mercy and kindness be near and bear up the spirit of my dear companion, and as he is doing and has done of late for me, so also to remember her, and make hard things easy and bitter things sweet.

"21st.—To a large and mixed meeting, held at the house of Marmaduke Mendenhall, which was pretty laborious, but hope there were some tender minds.

"22nd.—Unwell, but peaceful and easy.

"23rd.—Enter my forty-fourth year, (O. S.) and I have been favoured since I awoke from sleep, with a little space of sweetness of mind in quiet. O precious stillness, how good it is! Rode to meeting, and such was my feebleness that my knees trembled under me; but, thanks be to Him who is ever worthy, it proved an instructive time to seeking, sober inquirers; after which we requested the active members of our Society to stop with us, and had a searching time among them; some were disposed to confess their faults one to another, and I hope things are on the mend: but O, what conflicting seasons I have to pass through in this place.

"24th.—Spent this day at our friend Daniel Williams' in an exercised state of mind, and feebleness of body.

"25th.—A morning of close exercise of mind, but no opening to any religious service amongst Friends; it would be pleasant, through divine help, to be favoured to break a little portion of bread, after it is blessed. It is a trying state, not to know where to go or what to do. 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not whereon to lay his head.' If it was thus in the green tree, the Son and Heir of all things, wait in patience, O my soul, under every painful dispensation, that so, having fellowship with thy Lord in suffering, in the day when he shall appear, thou may be prepared a little to rejoice with him; who, when he comes, rewards amply for all our suffering. After breakfast walked out into the woods under thoughtful exercise, and on my return

found J. E. in the house, with whom my companion and I had a solid conversation. He acknowledged with tenderness, his gratitude that the Lord had turned us back amongst them, and that we had been made instrumental in the hands of Christ, to open the prison door for his enlargement. He said that our turning our backs on them, appeared like shaking the dust off our feet against them, which was affecting. My spirit felt a little revived, after encouraging him in the way of peace.

"26th.—Spent this day in no small affliction, feeling as in an imprisoned state—seeing nothing to do, and so far and so long from home. O for patience and resignation in this proving condition. Not my will, O gracious Lord and Master, but thine be done.

"27th.—Went to meeting, and sat for a time under conflict, but at length was opened and favoured measurably to relieve my spirit, in a close and searching testimony. It was again a crowded meeting. After which I had to return to my former state of trial and pain of mind. I remembered Samuel Bownas, who speaks of the same being his experience. I believe mine is on account of the state of things hereaway, or at least measurably so: who can rejoice when the seed (Christ) is under oppression in professors and profane. O! what a wicked spirit has reigned in these southern lands, and what a want there is still amongst all sorts of people, of honouring the God of their life, breath and being! Went home with Francis Jones; in the evening we were favoured with a precious baptising opportunity in this family, with a number of the children, and afterwards my bed was made sweet and easy to me, although unwell. The Lord be praised for his preserving care, which keeps the poor tossed mind in patience.

"28th.—Spent part of this morning in walking abroad, and part in reading. It is a warm day, in which the frogs are tuning their notes of praise, answering the end of their creation.

"29th.—A wakeful night, in which my home was brought nearly into view. Surely I should faint, if it were not that there is a grain of living faith preserved in this poor earthen vessel. I felt weak in body and exercised in mind, after I arose from my bed. Lord Jesus, shall I again witness times of greater confirmation in the way and work to which thou hast, in unsearchable wisdom, appointed me! Wait in patience, O my poor tried soul, even in the deeps.

"30th.—The meeting to-day, in the fore part, was a time of serious looking back, and retrospection into my conduct in days past. When the Lord humbles the creature, and gives it clearly to see its own insufficiency

and need of superior aid, how it hides pride. Before the meeting closed, I imparted some of my feelings, and thought I was dipped into the states of some, to their encouragement in the way everlasting. My bodily strength is renewed, and I am more easy and quiet in spirit, for which favour I feel thankful in heart to the Preserver of men.

"Second month 1st.—Went to J. J.'s, and was favoured with a comfortable sitting with these young married persons; left them with sweetness and peace and went to S. M.'s, where we had a religious opportunity, which I hope will not soon be forgotten by either parents or children. This family, amongst many others in these parts, were robbed and spoiled in the time of the late war. Their house was burnt, and one of the children told us, that a man who was instrumental in spoiling their goods, was at meeting last fourth-day week, in which I had to speak to murderers, thieves, &c., and pointed out to them the necessity of endeavouring to do all in their power to make restitution. The child observed that he seemed much brought down, and his lips quivered.

"3rd.—Went to meeting, which was a pretty open time, and when it was over Friends took an affectionate leave of us." After a religious opportunity which he had with an individual, he says: "O what close things escape my lips. Lord, I am in thy hand; purge me from all the dregs of malice or bitterness, and look down in mercy on this family. When we were about leaving them, N—— took me aside to speak to me; and as I had told them I stood open to hear any thing they might have to say to me, and now was the time if they had any thing to object against my conduct, and not when we were gone—I thought he was going to make some objections, but instead of that, he freely confessed that he had done amiss in several respects, and acknowledged that I had been made, in the divine hand, an instrument of good to him; 'for,' said he, 'I have been a wicked man.' This youth with others had been the cause of much grief and exercise to my mind in the first meeting we were at. I now parted from him in tenderness and love, and he desired I might remember him when far separated; and their younger brother on parting, also told me in an affectionate manner, that he was never more glad to see any body in his life, than he was to see us on our return to his father's: we left them with good desires and went home with F. J. and lodged.

"4th.—We had a solemn affecting parting time with Friends and others;"—and after visiting several families, in which religious opportunities occurred, he remarks: "Went

peacefully to rest, and for the favours of this day I bow in thankfulness to the Lord.

"5th.—Found a Friend in the house when we arose, who came seven miles this morning to see us. O how precious is true love manifested by the poor amongst men—the widow's mite was precious when seasoned with this. Called to see a Friend and his wife who were sick, and had a pretty open opportunity, in the close of which I kneeled down and prayed to the Almighty to preserve my dear friends, and also to look down in mercy upon the inhabitants of Georgia; and felt peaceful and easy after parting from divers of my friends here: got into Augusta before night.

"6th.—Looked carefully over this town in love, but did not see that it was required of me to call the people together. After we had parted from our friends at the bridge, and got over on the other side of the Savannah river, I saw a company of black people, men and women, with hand barrows, making a large causeway to the foot of the bridge. I felt pity flow in my heart toward them, and made a stop and asked them how they did. My heart was enlarged to preach the gospel as I sat on my horse, to the poor, who received the sound thereof with tears and brokenness, and my mind was sweetly comforted in parting from them.

"7th.—Reached Isaac Cook's; and on the 10th attended Bush river meeting, which was a large and mixed one, very irregular in gathering, and unsettled in the fore part. My companion had something suitable to say to them, and afterward I stood up and laboured zealously and honestly, to the ease and peace of my mind. More relief and sweetness graciously afforded, and the way to move forward seems opening.

"13th.—To Rocky-spring meeting; which was large and mixed. A number of Anabaptists came to it, and the universality of the love of God, and the one true and saving baptism were preached to the people.

"14th.—Accompanied by several Friends, we arrived at J. G.'s on the road leading to Charleston,—on the 15th, after a seasonable, and may it prove a profitable opportunity with part of the family, pursued our journey through a wilderness country and got to a house kept by a German, where we made out pretty well, and sat off peaceful and easy in mind, after taking an opportunity to express to him what weighed on my mind, concerning a future state, slaves, &c. Stopped by the way and fed our horses, and whilst they ate, we also partook of some food,—the ground being our table, as it frequently is, or else a stump or log. Provision, however simple or humbly spread, eats sweet to

the contented mind; yea, a contented mind is a continual feast: the Lord be praised for the many mercies received since I left Georgia; and may I stand girt about, and prepared for further suffering for the Seed's sake.

"17th.—Went to Edisto, a little meeting of a few Friends and friendly people, who meet, but have not the consent of Bush river monthly meeting; yet we were free to stop amongst them, and such neighbours as inclined to come and sit with us. We got to the meeting about eleven o'clock, but it was not fully gathered until one o'clock or near it, and held until three; and it was five before we got any dinner. This has been frequently our lot in these parts, which is spending to the body, but mercy and kindness follow us, which has borne up my mind under exercise this day, and I feel peaceful and easy this evening.

"19th.—Got into Charleston, and on the 20th went to the week-day meeting, where was a little company, and I had but little to say."

In a letter dated Charleston, second month 19th, 1793, after describing the many privations which they experienced, in travelling through a country where there were no regular taverns or dwelling houses, he alludes to their having to go back into Georgia.

"I wrote thee from Augusta that we had to go back again almost one hundred miles, to Georgia. I saw it before we left Georgia, and was concerned about my dear companion; but the blessed Master who has united us truly together as yokemates, gave him also to feel the concern, and when I hinted on the road that perhaps we should have to return, after the quarterly meeting of Bush river, he quickly answered that it was what he expected. Indeed he was deeply dipped into sympathy with me in that place, insomuch that he told me he felt almost as if his natural life must go, and was pondering in his mind what would become of me. This was joyful to me, because I found we were baptized by the same spirit into one living concern for the resurrection of life and the increase of it, amongst the people; and such baptisms make near and dear one to another. We not only left Georgia, but also Bush river, with sheaves of peace in our bosoms."

"23rd.—O my poverty and weakness! Where is the righteous man to stand in the gap? yet I hope there is a seed preserved even in this wicked place.

At Charleston, under date of second month 23rd, 1793, he wrote the following letter to his beloved friend John Pemberton.

"I received thy letter dated eleventh month 26th, on the day after our return from Georgia to Bush River: it met me at a seasonable time, and the contents were then, and continue to be, as the oil of joy and consolation to a poor and often mournful soul. I have passed through very close exercise, and my path has been deeply proving, especially in Georgia, a place of which I seemed to have a prospect, a number of years ago, when confined to the bed of sickness, and at a time when the heavens appeared as brass, and the earth as iron. O the pangs,—the unutterable anguish I had to pass through in that day, when I was brought into a willingness to say, 'Lord, be graciously pleased to remove this heavy stroke from me, and if thou leadest me forth to the end of the land, and will go before me and favour with a sense of thy love and acceptance, I will follow thee,'—and this covenant has been frequently and humbly brought into my view.

"There were eight or ten days between the monthly meeting of Bush River and the quarterly meeting, and I was free to make use of this time in going to Wrightsborough and attending the monthly meeting there, hoping it might be the means of encouraging some to get out to the quarter, who otherwise would not. We accordingly attended the monthly meeting, and the meeting on first-day, and were much shut up as to public service, although there was a considerable flocking to meetings, both by Friends and others. We were both much pained under a sense that something was out of order; and in a private opportunity, the state of things was opened to Friends, in a manner which excited their admiration, seeing we knew so little by outward information.

"After the two meetings above mentioned, and one with a little company of hopeful Friends, ten miles nearer to Bush River, we left them and proceeded to the quarterly meeting; but before I left the place, I was made sensible that my will must be resigned to turn back again, and I was not a little concerned about my dear companion, but on giving him a hint how it felt to me, to my great joy, I found the same invisible hand had been at work to prepare his mind for the trial.

"After the quarterly meeting we returned, and were dipped more deeply into the state of things, and were happily favoured to feel and see the healing waters stirred among them: we staid to another monthly meeting, and left the settlement with the reward of enriching peace in our bosoms. Our first day's journey on our return was to Augusta, having passed a nearer way before, but now were under a necessity to go through that place on account of the high waters. I endeavoured carefully to feel

whether it was my place to have a meeting in the town, but did not see that it was, and so passed quietly away, but not without the flowing of love and good desires in my heart for the inhabitants.

"After we had passed over the great bridge of Savannah, I saw a pretty large number of poor black people, both male and female, carrying dirt on hand barrows to make a causeway. At first sight of them I felt pity flow in my heart toward them, under a sense of their burdens—and after expressing my sympathy with them, I found a necessity laid on me to pull off my hat and preach to them the gospel of Jesus Christ, their suffering Lord and Saviour. It was a solemn time; and when I took off my hat, they did so likewise, and threw aside their tools; and there was loud weeping among them. In thus unexpectedly labouring among this Ethiopian congregation, (not having the least thought of such a thing five minutes before,) there was no want of words, or of that seasoning sweetness which makes right words reach the heart, and under this precious sense, it would have been as my meat and drink to have spent myself in labours of love, if instead of twenty or thirty, there had been as many hundreds: great was the sweetness which attended my mind on the road after leaving them.

"We spent several days at Bush River; attended several meetings, visited some families, and laboured with a committee of the monthly meeting for the freedom of some black people; we also stopped at a place called Edisto, and had a meeting last first-day,—a few in that neighbourhood being convinced of Friends' principles. We arrived here on third-day morning, and next day attended the little meeting held in this place, and sat with the few members, and two Friends who were part of a committee appointed at Bush River, by request of the meeting for Sufferings, to take some care of matters here. I wish there had been more zeal and willingness in that committee, which consists of eight Friends. I sat most of the meeting in silence, taking a view of our poor, desolate Society here; how she sits as a mournful, bereaved widow, her walls thrown down, and her gates burned with fire. It has appeared to me that Truth, the pure, unchangeable, precious Truth, will not flourish in this dissipated place, until the righteous God of Truth rises up to assert his own sovereignty; and under this sense I have rested peaceful and quiet, feeling very poor and small, and the prospect of only staying and sitting in Friends' meeting to-morrow, appears a weighty thing. We have had the company of a number of

the inhabitants at our lodgings, who have manifested civility and kindness.

"I hope we shall leave this place after attending two meetings to-morrow. Bonds and afflictions are our companions both in towns and country places; and my desire is to be strengthened to endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ ought to do, even to the end of this journey, and in and through whatsoever my merciful Lord may be pleased to lay upon me, to the end of my pilgrimage. I sympathize with thee, my dear friend, under thy continued exercise, although I may not at present write much on this subject. I have admired at seasons how it was with me before I wrote to thee from Virginia: perhaps I may say, that not a day passed and frequently in the day, without thy being brought feelingly into remembrance, until I relieved my mind by writing to thee, since which, that weight of solicitude has abated. I still believe, that as thou patiently waitest, a day of deliverance will come, and that thy labours in a foreign land will not all be like water spilled upon a stone.

"My love to thy dear wife, and father, Isaac Zane,—may his bow abide in strength to the end. O how precious to behold such greenness in advanced age! Such may well be compared to Caleb, who feel as strong in spirit for the Lord's work, as when he first led them out of Egypt's land.

"I had like to have forgotten to mention, that I received a bundle of books since we came to this place, which I have parcelled out and sent back into the country, to the care of Friends in remote places, to lend to their inquiring neighbours, and have written such a request in them. Some went to Edisto, where there appears to be a considerable stir among the Methodists; one or two I sent to a Baptist preacher, who I heard was well pleased with being at one of our meetings, although I thought it a low, exercising time; and some others I have engaged a Friend either to send or take himself, to a man who treated us with much Christian love, on our way from Tom's Creek to Bush River. Indeed I have thought that some of our rich merchants, who have traded long in temporals in our favoured city, might open an enriching trade in spiritual things, to some of these back parts, where the name of a Quaker is hardly known, by taking a wagon load of books, and judiciously distributing them,—and thus be engaged in laying up treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust can corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal. O that the day may be hastened when men will be more engaged to spread the noble Truth of God, than to be laying up treasures here on earth, to the cor-

rupting, and I fear, to the utter destruction of some of their children."

"24th.—Attended meetings in the fore and afternoon, which were small; and although trying to my spirit, and the labour exercising and close, yet I was favoured with a solemn calm, which was precious, and a belief that the Lord has witnesses in this licentious place, and my heart yearned towards them in their several places of worship. We had the company of a goodly Methodist at J. K's; and another good man told me his state was spoken to, and he hoped it would prove a blessing to him: he also seemed desirous we might appoint a meeting amongst them, signifying there would be a willingness amongst his brethren to come; to which I could say but little. We had a pretty solid sitting this evening in D. L.'s family, with divers other Friends; and my dear companion says the meetings in this place were solid and profitable; that he beheld the tears trickling from the eyes of some, to whom he felt much love: may the Lord be praised for preservation and so favour us that we may do nothing against the Truth; for it appears that no mighty works are to be done here.

"25th.—Arose from my bed peaceful in mind, and conclude to stay until to-morrow in this place.

"26th.—Sat off after breakfast and a solid tendering opportunity with D. L.'s family, and parted tenderly from them and also some of the blacks, and were accompanied by several Friends about sixteen miles. After we parted from them I had a broken time on the road, in considering our lonely situation in a strange land, and feeling such great poverty: however we travelled along and comforted one another. Stopt and fed our horses near sunset, and afterward rode nine miles to M. M.'s, and lodged, where we found a quiet house and no company, which was a comfort to my exercised mind.

"27th.—We are indeed strangers in a strange land, yet mercifully favoured with quietness and patience—a favour for which I am thankful. Sat off after the rain was over and rode to Nelson's ferry on the river Santee, about eighteen miles, where we found the water so high that they would not put us over; which was a discouraging prospect. They told us we must ride up the river ten miles, to Manningoe's ferry; so we sat off in company with a woman who was at a store by the river side, and said she was going home about five miles, and would put us in the way through the plantations. We accordingly accepted of her kindness, and after we had refreshed ourselves at her house, we

concluded to stay all night. This is a trial of faith and patience, but I found it good for me to turn my mind to feel after that Fountain of love and goodness, which I at times recommend to others. 'Thy Maker is thy husband, thy Redeemer, the holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called.' O that I may hold fast my confidence in him! Spent part of this evening in reading Benjamin Holmes' 'Serious Call,' to the man and wife, some of the children, and a young man, a store keeper who lodged here—I hope to some profit. I should myself have felt more comfortable if I had abode in true contentment. O what a very poor creature I sometimes feel like, when I only deviate as in a tittle from the pure law of life. O that my slippings may be instructive to me, and bring me more and more into the divine fear."

28th.—After crossing several streams and swamps, which was attended with considerable hazard, they arrived at Manchester, where they lodged: in relation to this ride he remarks, "A desert, lonely ride this afternoon; but what are all these outward light afflictions compared to that sense of poverty and distress which my poor soul has been plunged into this day. Where are all boasted acquisitions, when the Lord is pleased to veil his sweet presence and leave the soul to combat with death and sorrow.

"Third month 1st.—Very poor and distressed this morning, and hardly ever felt more so than on the road: a wilderness ride indeed both inwardly and outwardly. Lord, be graciously pleased not to leave me in my distress, but help thy poor servant; is the cry of my soul. O that I may be more and more redeemed, and my body made a temple for the Lord my God. What is man when deprived of the sweet incomes of his love. I have borne chastisement, and I desire not to offend; that which I see not teach thou me, and if I have done any iniquity, purge me and enable me to do so no more. O the bitterness of death! would to God the children of men, the unthoughtful children of men, would consider and turn from their transgressions, that so iniquity may not prove their ruin. Stopt after riding about twenty miles,—Josiah's mare appears sick and will not eat; but we got into Camden about two hours before night, where a kind man took us in, and very hospitably cared for us. We sat on our horses sometime, in the street, waiting for him while a negro man went to seek him, hardly knowing what to do, or where we should lay our heads. After breakfast next day, being greatly tried between a prospect of staying and going, I was favoured to hear a

language like this, 'it is enough, move forward;' so we parted from these hospitable people and some others, after expressing what rested on my mind. They would take nothing for our stay with them, and sent their good wishes after us, and a goodly old farmer present gave us a hearty blessing. Now my spirit was set a little more at liberty, and although we sat off in the rain, the road was pleasant and delightful, because the darkness and death were in some degree removed, and my dear companion and I had a solid profitable conversation respecting our various trials, and the Lord's mercy and care over us hitherto; which was a season of setting up our Ebenezer.

"6th.—To Gum Swamp meeting, which was large, some of our friends getting up before day to give notice. I went to it in great poverty, and after a time apprehended I felt a little opening to stand up, but found it hard work to get along, and after I had stood sometime, the carelessness and inattention of the people appeared great, insomuch that I was defeated in my first prospect, and I was under a necessity to sit down, believing it safest so to do, as Truth rose not. But toward the close of the meeting, I ventured to stand up again and then had close and searching things to deliver, to a state that is always ready and full of activity, in the will of the creature, and had to tell them that there were sighs and groans which at seasons cannot be uttered, which were more acceptable than a multitude of words, songs, prayers, &c. in man's will and time. Dined at J. T.'s; after which, and kneeling down in their family and praying for the help and protection of the true seed, scattered in this desert country, and that the Lord Almighty might turn and overturn all false ways and worships, and make way for the worship of his dear Son, in spirit and in truth, we left them and called at W. B.'s, who has given up to accompany us. We got to our friend M. C.'s, at Pedee, twenty miles, after night. I have since understood there was occasion for the singular line in which I was led at Gum Swamp meeting,—one appearing amongst that little company who is a burden, and the Anabaptists much opposed to Friends in the neighbourhood.

"8th.—It began to rain hard before day, and continued so until near nine o'clock. We set off and missed our path to the main road, and had to ride four miles back; about three miles further we came to a creek which our kind guide entered, putting the wallet containing our victuals and horse feed on his shoulders. It proved so deep as to require him to swim his horse some distance down the stream, and the water came up nearly to

his breast. However, he got safely through and went up to a house which was near, and was directed by a woman to a ford higher up. As we were going to it and had nearly got opposite, he without much thought, being wet before, rode in. This, although narrower, was more rapid, and took his horse from under him, he kept his feet in the stirrups and the saddle happily having no girth let the horse loose: he held him by the bridle with one hand, and clung to a bush by the other, until Josiah, who was foremost, got to his assistance, and both he and the horse were saved. When he came out of the water both feet were in the stirrups,—a deliverance for which I am thankful. We rode up the creek, crossing one little branch after another, until with difficulty we got over, and rode to the house where our guide left his wallet, and whilst he and Josiah cared for the horses, I went and hunted pine knots to make a fire to dry our friend and Josiah, who were very wet. We have been from nine o'clock until one coming four miles.

"9th.—Arrived at our friend J. T.'s, where we were affectionately received, and I am afraid of rejoicing overmuch in being thus indulged once more to be in a settlement of my dear friends.

"10th.—We went to meeting, [Deep River] and the house could not contain the people: yet it was but a low time; I had a little opening to stand up with, but although I humbly hope it was from the living spring, yet I could not get along with satisfaction to myself, and so, soon sat down.

They proceeded toward Lynchburg, and on the 14th, after a slushy muddy ride we got to John Pannel's and lodged.

"15th.—At the house where we stopped for breakfast, almost as soon as I got to the fire, the woman looked toward me and addressed me somewhat after this manner; 'I understand sir, that you are a man of authority, a minister of the gospel, and a teacher of ignorant ones. I am one of those poor creatures, and should be glad to hear a word of exhortation.' I told her I was a poor creature, and had but little for myself, and after some more conversation on the subject she dropped it, and went to see about breakfast; and whilst I was eating, was kindly attentive to me. After breakfast I walked abroad under thoughtful exercise of mind, and as I was returning into the house, these expressions fastened on my mind, 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' And I felt strength and encouragement to invite her, with her husband and two neighbours

who were about the house, to sit down; and I thought we were favoured with a good time: I understood afterward by one of our company, that it was much to this religiously minded woman's satisfaction.

"16th.—To the monthly meeting of South River, which was an open time in the first meeting, and I hope a profitable one in transacting the business, although a searching time; we got to C. Johnson's near sunset.

"17th.—To the first-day meeting, which was large, the house not holding the people; and I have not experienced such an open time to preach the gospel for months past, and was favoured through the prevalence of divine goodness, to water and be watered myself. Friends after meeting were affectionately kind to me. Went home with our friend John Lynch near the meeting house, and had a solid opportunity in the family, divers others being present.

"18th.—Sat down and wrote a letter to the little company of persons who profess with us at Bannister; principally directed to Elizabeth Hendricks, who was the first that stood forth in the cause of truth in that neighbourhood."

Extracts from the letter.

"Lynchburg, Third month 18th, 1793.

"Beloved friend, Elizabeth Hendricks:

"As it is not likely I shall have an opportunity to see thee, I thought I should be most easy to sit down and inform thee, that since I first heard of thy religious concern to be found building up and repairing the waste places in Zion, it has had a sweet savour in my mind; and the desire of my heart is, that the Lord may strengthen thee to hold on with faithfulness and firmness in the work. Mighty is he who calls forth his devoted children and servants; mayest thou, dear young woman, with thy dear sister, with whom I gained some acquaintance, thy other relations, and all concerned ones in the neighbourhood, where thy lot is cast; keep in the divine fear, for in the fear of the Lord there is strong confidence, and his children have a place of refuge to flee unto in every time of need. Therefore, know him to be your sanctuary; wait upon him in humble depending patience, in all your meetings, and your minds will be animated and lifted up above the world and the fading, perishing things of it. Be often found, through the day, when your hands are employed about the lawful business of life, lifting up your hearts to God for protection and support. For be assured that there is no state in which preservation from evil and unprofitable thoughts, is more likely to be experienced, than in a habitual and constant inter-

course with the God of our lives. When we meet with temptations of various kinds, by often looking to him, a secret yet living hope revives in the midst of tribulation, that the temptation will have an end, and that the Lord will make a way for us to escape, as we hold fast our confidence in him; as the Scriptures declare, blessed is the man that endureth temptation; that is, who dare not fly from the Lord in this proving season; which will be but as for a moment to the upright in heart. After these have nobly stood their ground, they receive the crown of life and peace, which the Lord hath promised to all them that love him; and thus our many and various afflictions and trials, which are necessary to humble us, if rightly abode under, bring us nearer and nearer to the righteous God of our lives. I have heard of singular instances, in which divine goodness has supported even an individual, or individuals although few in number, who have been concerned to bear a public testimony, by sitting down in a religious meeting in order to wait upon and honour him; and in time more have been drawn by such an example to come and do likewise, until at length there has been a meeting of spiritual worshippers gathered, who have been made as lights in a neighbourhood. The Lord loves cheerful givers; he loves the gates of Zion, more than all the dwelling places in Jerusalem: he loves those who are found watching and keeping the door of their hearts and lips, and he will appear unto such and dispense the bread of life to them. Therefore, as you have begun a good work in the face of the neighbourhood, may you be found seeking strength of the Lord, to enable you to hold on your way: be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly and sisterly love, in honour preferring one another: strive to excel one another in innocence and virtuous living, and you will be favoured to see who is to be held in the greatest honour and esteem for the work's sake, even such as live the most exemplary lives. Let no vain glorying or strife be among you; but remember that he or she who is the least in their own opinion, walking in humility, circumspection and godly fear, is the greatest. May you live in love, and then no doubt the God of love and peace will be with you, and increase you in the increases of his love, favour and acceptance. He will then accept of your offerings, although they may sometimes be no more than a secret sigh and inward groan, which cannot be uttered so as to be heard by others. The acceptable sacrifice to the Lord is that of a broken heart, and a contrite and tender spirit in religious meetings, even when we can breathe forth no more than something

after this manner, in inward desire,—Lord I am poor and sorrowful, let thy salvation appear to lift up my soul, and engage it to hold on in the way thou hast cast up for me; or Lord help me or I shall faint and fall; for he who is a pure and spiritual being, hears the groans of the wrestling seed within us. God is a spirit, and they that worship him acceptably, must worship him in spirit and in truth. Therefore keep true in heart: be sincere,—remember that the Lord sees us at all times: sincerity is the life of all our graces, and puts life into all our duties. If we have not sincerity and truth of heart, then all our performances will be no more than a dead thing, offensive in the nostrils of God, who will not then smell our offerings as a sweet savour.

“My dear companion and fellow labourer in the work of the gospel, Josiah Bunting, unites in tender desires for your preservation and growth. We thought to have stopped in your neighbourhood, but finding that the people on the road knew not how to direct us rightly, and time being but short for us to go to South River monthly meeting, we omitted it; perhaps I may venture to say, that divine Providence has so ordered it for the best, that your expectation of help from instruments may be disappointed—your attention weaned from man, and that your hearts and hands may be turned to look unto and lean upon the Lord, for in him there is everlasting strength.”

“19th.—Sat off about nine o'clock accompanied by W. H., after a solid religious opportunity with these young friends, and rode forty-five miles. We stopped about the middle of the afternoon at Hood's, the place where we called the family together when S. P. was with us, six months ago, and gave them Joseph Phipps' works, and hope it will be to profit.

“20th.—This day rode fifty miles; stopped by the way at J. F.'s, who appears to be a goodly seeking man: may the Lord enlighten his mind to see the beauty and excellency of Truth. These two long days' rides have been peaceful to me, and I do not know that I have left any thing undone that causes pain. The Lord be praised for his protection and help so far: we arrived at our kind friend Samuel Couch's after seven in the evening. It is ten months this day since I left my habitation.

“24th.—Sat off for Genito meeting about an hour before the time, and spent it with dear Mary Pleasants. The meeting was the largest held in this place, the house not containing the people by many; and continued in silence nearly, or quite two hours, and I thought

would have concluded so; but a degree of strength was at length given, and I trust I laboured honestly once more amongst them, and hope the meeting ended profitably, although it held three hours and a half.

In a letter written from Beaver Dam, Virginia, to John Pemberton, he says:

“I received thy letter at our friend R. Pleasants', which at that time was comfortable to me, and the tenor of it has been peculiarly so since, in a close trial which overtook me, wherein I had encouragingly to remember this expression contained therein, ‘the work of righteousness is peace.’ I seem as if I cannot forbear informing thee, that when I have been riding in lonely and wilderness ways, day after day and oftentimes in the day, my thoughts have been turned toward thee, insomuch that I have had to pause and inquire with myself, what is the cause that the cogitations of my heart are so much fixed on an individual in that great city, where so many dwell whom I nearly love? Is my beloved friend labouring under close exercise of mind at this season, and am I, a younger brother, made to partake in spirit with him though far separated? At such seasons; as now, thou hast been made near to me, I believe by Him who metes out the portions of all of us by just weight and measure, and who has declared that ‘the needy shall not always be forgotten, nor the expectation of the poor perish forever.’ And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, surely he will take notice of and record the honest labours of those who, at his command spend many of their days in endeavours to gather souls into his everlasting kingdom, even though little fruit may be visible to them. After this manner has my spirit been led to look over thy labours and travels in lands very far remote, and receiving this for an answer, it has been precious comfort to me; ‘there shall be a glorious recompense in the resurrection of the just.’

“I have thought at such seasons that I could say much more to thee, my heart being full, but let this suffice. It is my firm belief, that the Lord was with thee in thy visit among the Orkney Islands, and the seed which thou hast sown in that land, at the command of the great Lord of the whole family of mankind, shall not be gathered up by the wicked one, but in the Lord's time spring up to the praise of his adorable name. With regard to thy present prospect, my desire is that thou mayest still pray for patience, and be kept in that patience which enables to run the race, and at last obtains the crown. The Lord is on his way, I believe, to set thee at liberty, and no

matter how, so that it is seen to be his doing, which will be marvellous in thy eyes. I wish thee to live still in that which dare not think the time long, and which keeps us in true devotion of heart, so as to say, 'here am I, send me.'

"I am persuaded that the more the wife of thy bosom, thy affectionate companion, comes to be resigned to the will of an all-wise and overruling Providence, the more of the incomes of true and lasting peace she will experience. Submitting to that divine power which qualifies for every good word and work, in her family and in the church, she will be prepared in divine authority to say unto others, 'arise ye careless women that are at ease, awake out of sleep ye lukewarm, unconcerned daughters; let us be in earnest to get our day's work done in the day time, for the shades of evening advance apace.' And O that she may ask counsel of God, and wait for it, with regard to thy heavy exercise, that by an entire resignation of heart in all things to the Lord's will, putting away every weight and burden which may arise from the reasoning part, true peace may flow into her heart, and the Lord's will be done in you both, by you and upon you, to the praise of his excellent name in the end—so wisheth your exercised friend and brother, who has written as things arise, in the simplicity of a child; and who is a child and needs the care and the prayers of all those his elders, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

"We get but slowly along, but for every little act of faith and labour of love, there has been a rich reward bestowed by Him who has a right to our obedience. Dear Josiah is an encouraging, feeling companion, preserved in much patience under the many singular turns we meet with, which endears him to me.

"I believe the Lord gave me some place in ———'s heart when at his house, and my prayers are, that the Lord may 'smite both his winter and summer house, throw down his palaces of ivory, and bring him to mourn in the dust because of Him whom he hath pierced.' I mourn over him and for him whilst I am writing, because I see what an instrument of good he might have been, and may yet be, I hope, if with unreserved obedience he yields up his will unto the will of the great Author of his being, who can as suddenly meet with him as he did with Nebuchadnezzar of old, when all things may seem to go on pleasantly as to the outward."

"25th.—This morning a sober Anabaptist woman came to see us, and after a solid baptising opportunity with the family, and such other Friends as were here, we sat off

accompanied by several, and stopped to see a Friend who is confined, where we had another solid opportunity with him, wife and children; after which we went to our friend Micajah Crew's at Cedar Creek. The same conflict attended me yesterday, as did in a meeting before at Genito, and I was painfully exercised in treating with an infidel unbelieving state; and have been told since, that a person was there again, who was at meeting when we were here before; and it was remarked by his neighbours, that what was then said had come to pass, viz: that the time might soon come, when some would be laid on a sick bed, which he was, and has recovered, and then they would have to remember the doctrine sounded in their ears; which it seems he did, for he was brought almost to death's door."

In a letter to Rebecca Jones, written from Cedar Creek, Virginia, he says:

"Thy sisterly token of remembrance, which came safely to hand at Curles, tended to my encouragement. O how good and pleasant a thing it is, when thus separated from our dear brethren and sisters, to find that we have a place in their minds. It must undoubtedly have been so with the Apostle, or he would not have left these feeling expressions on record, 'Brethren pray for us.' My mind is at seasons sweetly turned toward my beloved friends of our meeting, with secret breathings that you may be kept in your tents, and enabled to worship as in the tent door. These precious seasons of remembrance I am frequently favoured with, when riding along the road, and looking back on my dear friends, and may I not say that one of the greatest favours I enjoy, is that of sensibly feeling the unity and help of the spirits of my friends. May I ever be so preserved in lowliness, as not to forfeit this precious oneness. My dear sister, the harvest is great, great in these parts, and the labourers very few. I have thought of thee and dear Hannah Cathrall several times lately; whether there are not sheaves that you and other gifted sisters might come and gather up here in Virginia. Bear with me, for sometimes I think I feel a little of the disposition and spirit of Moses, and would to God there were more made to prophesy,—sent abroad, even unto the four corners of the earth, to declare the way of life and salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord. May you remember, that the night is approaching, when none can work,—how necessary is it then to labour at all times and in all places, both at home and abroad, when favoured with a sight and sense of our duty, that so in the evening

of the day, this language may happily be ours, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.'

"27th.—To the week-day meeting at Cedar Creek, in which I was exercised in very great weakness and poverty; but I felt easy and quiet after it.

"28th.—Spent this day at T. H.'s, the fore part in close thoughtful exercise, seeing no way open to move: this continued until after we had dined, when we went into the sick room; and had not sat long, before a sweetness accompanied by a solid exercise spread over me, and I desired that the rest of the family might be called in. In this opportunity I was concerned to go on my knees, and beg the continuance of the blessing of preservation to us poor travellers, and that the Lord might be graciously pleased to open a way, where none at times appeared; to bless and favour the heads of this family and all present; and be near to our aged parents we had left behind, and comfort and support their minds, as also my dear wife's, and take our dear children more and more under his protection and care: after which I had an open time in testimony, which I trust will prove like bread cast on the waters, to be found after many days. We then visited three negro families on this plantation, to our satisfaction: indeed it is a comfort to see some of those people live so reputably and well; they have rented land of T. H. Spent the evening peacefully and pleasantly.

"29th.—Peaceful and easy in mind this morning: O what a favour to be indulged now and then to feel comfortable and quiet in our allotment!

"30th.—Spent this day at C. T. M.'s, partly in writing. After dinner the black children came in with their books to read their lessons, which they performed cleverly, and I was comforted in beholding such care and attention toward them. C.'s wife came in amongst the men, at the yearly meeting, to plead the cause of this people, and she might with propriety do so, seeing she is in her own example what she then recommended to her brethren. O that there were more such in this land.

"31st.—To Caroline meeting, where was a gay, mixed assembly; and according to the day, so was the strength afforded to preach the everlasting gospel; it was an open good time; several members of Congress were present, one of whom came to me after I had got into the wagon and said, 'Permit me to give you my hand, although a stranger, and my best wishes go with you.'

"Fourth month 2nd and 3rd.—Stopt at A.

J.'s at Stephensburg, who accompanied us almost twelve miles on our way to Culpepper. Ate our dinners on the grass by the bank of the Rappahannock river, after we had forded it. Got to J. G.'s; this has been an evening of exercise, feeling for my way, what to move in next.

"4th.—A heavy time this morning: I cannot see any thing that looks easier than to visit the few families of Friends here, and so am made willing to give up to the prospect,—Lord help me, a poor servant. Sat down with this family, and it was a watering, encouraging time, to the father in particular. We sent for his son and wife, she was with us, but he plead that he could not leave his men, who were at work. I hope it was a good time." Several other families were visited this day, in which he was favoured with "baptizing seasons,"—he remarks, "It has been a day of sweetness,—the Lord fulfills his promises to his servants; He that labour-eth receiveth wages, and gathers fruit unto life eternal: blessed be the name of the Lord."

5th and 6th.—He was occupied in visiting the families about Stephensburg, in nearly all of which he describes his services as being well received, and accompanied with a baptising and reaching effect.

"7th.—A comfortable, refreshing night. 'I sleep, but my heart waketh; and it is the voice of my beloved that knocketh.' I feel renewed in my bodily powers this morning, for which favour I am humbly thankful. Had a large, open, favoured meeting to day at Southland, which afforded encouragement to my mind. After I had been pretty largely drawn forth in gospel love to the people, and had sat down, I was concerned to stand up again and address the inhabitants of the little town of Stephensburg in particular; cautioning and encouraging the merchants and innkeepers to sanctify the Lord in their occupations, and the youth to beware of reading pernicious books, such as plays, novels, and romances; and I trust the meeting ended solidly and well. After it was over many persons not of our Society came and spoke to me, and appeared loving. May the Lord have the praise of his own work, whose name and truth have been exalted this day, through the efficacy of his divine power. It appeared to me, that there will in time be a gathering of such in this neighbourhood, who will be instrumental in the divine hand to spread the testimony of Truth. O saith my soul, may it be so here, and throughout the earth, that praises, high praises, may ascend from sanctified and prepared vessels, to the everlasting, holy and merciful God, who is our only upholder and preserver. Amen."

In a letter to Rebecca Jones, dated Curles, fourth month 7th, 1793, he writes as follows:

"Although it is uncertain when or where this may meet thee, I thought as I felt the springing up of a measure of that love which unites the children of the heavenly Father's family, both present and absent, I would try to write to thee. Thy last letter was sweet and encouraging to my wading mind, which is frequently very closely exercised, with earnest desires that I may approve myself, not only unto God and his people, but to others also, a servant who is not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, or of those bonds which are its constant attendants. Unworthy as I feel myself, my lot seems to be cast, more than that of many others, among those whose walks are, as it were, in the streets and lanes of the city, and in the highways and hedges; and my concern is to hold on in faithfulness, clear my way as I go, and endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, that so my return may be with the reward of unshaken peace. I have been absent from home almost twelve months, and am now turned back again nearly or quite one hundred and fifty miles, and the chief service which presents, seems to be amongst people of other religious persuasions. We have had several meetings in towns and neighbourhoods, where large numbers have gathered, and so far divine mercy and kindness have been near to support and bear me up. Blessed be the Lord, his goodness and truth have been witnessed, who, even to this day, gives mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance to those that are living in a humble and abasing sense of the force and truth of those expressions which dropped from his sacred lips, 'Without me, ye can do nothing.'

"It was pleasing to me to hear of the devotedness of my dear fellow servants who are going to and fro in the service of the gospel; and that so many have given up to go with the Commissioners into the Indian country.* I feel with and for them, and for dear George and Sarah Dillwyn, and Elizabeth Drinker.† I was also glad to find that thou, my sister, who hast been going on thy way in secret, silent travail, art likely to go forth in gospel mission, I trust to water and refresh those abroad, who may be under the like dispensation in lonely spots and places. Be thou faith-

ful, dear sister, in thy allotment, that so thy reward may be sure. O how good is the Lord to those who live in devotedness of heart, fulfilling that ancient declaration; 'Though ye have lien amongst the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.' May the Lord give the word, and in his time, increase the company of them that shall publish it.

"We are waiting the coming on of the yearly meeting, not without some prospect of further labour out of the pale of our Society, and can say but little more than that I desire to live in that spirit which enables us to say, 'Thy will be done,' even under the most trying dispensations. Tell my dear friend and brother David Sands, that although when I received his letter, I was so dull a scholar that I could not fully understand his language, yet since, I have been led about and instructed more fully, and believe he was favoured with a lively sense of my tried condition. May the Lord preserve him, with my own soul, under his divine protection and favour, through all the various trials which may yet be permitted to come upon us, and at last crown our end with everlasting peace."

"9th.—This morning I took an opportunity whilst we were quietly riding along the road, to inform my companion that a prospect of being at the yearly meeting in Virginia, had been resting as a weight and exercise on my mind; and although at seasons the prospect of getting home to our quarterly meeting next month, looked pleasing, yet my will was required to be given up; to which he did not make any objection. So I left it with him; and when after a time, I rode up alongside of him again, he spoke encouragingly to me, and wished me not to be cast down under my burdens, but patiently submit to the yoke; observing, that when I first mentioned my prospect to him, he was prepared for it; for he had been thinking of the preservations we had been favoured with, and the trials we had been helped through.

"10th.—Not many at the meeting but Friends; and it was a season wherein I had to feel sympathy with, and speak encouragingly to, a small remnant, exhorting them not to cast away their confidence: the careless also were called unto; and upon the whole it was a good meeting. Put up at Fredericksburg at a tavern.

"11th.—Got to our friend C. M.'s.

"12th.—I feel solitary in again turning my back upon home; nevertheless, O my soul, hope in, and rely upon, the arm of Divine strength, hitherto mercifully held forth for thy help.

* For some account of the engagements of the Friends who went to the Treaty with the Indians at Sandusky, to which Thomas Scattergood here alludes, see the Journal of William Savery, vol. 1st of Friends' Library, page 331, &c.

† George and Sarah Dillwyn and Elizabeth Drinker, were under religious concern to visit the churches in Great Britain.

"13th.—C. M. and wife took us to Cedar Creek monthly meeting, in which I was led to speak, I hope feelingly, and in degree effectually, to a tried state present.

"14th, first-day.—Went to meeting: wait O my soul, to be found doing the will of thy God, in this thy lonely state. O for preservation to hold out to the end of this journey! more depth, more patience, more stability and solidity are wanting to carry through and over all. The meeting was large and mixed, and was a favoured season; the Lord be praised for strength and renewed ability to ease my exercised mind amongst them. An ancient man, T. M. came to me after meeting, and said, 'you did not number my age, for I am four score and five; but you have traced my state from a boy until this day,' &c. A young man came afterward and affectionately took me by the hand, and expressed his desire that the Lord might be my preserver and protector through time, and at last give me an admittance into his everlasting kingdom.

"16th.—I am blind and poor this morning; not knowing which way to take, or what to do. O that I may be preserved in that patience which gains the victory, and be so kept as to do nothing against the Truth.

"17th.—To the week-day meeting; and after it, home with Thomas Terrill. A little before night a number of Friends came, and also an aged man, an Anabaptist; we were pleased with their kind notice and attention, and their openness and freedom in conversation; and we read our certificates to them, mine being directed not only to Friends, but also to solid inquirers after the Truth. One of the company said he was at both the meetings at Richmond, and that a gentleman told him, when noticing what I said concerning the abominations acted in that place, that he feared Sodom was not more guilty."

18th and 19th.—Spent in visiting families, and on the 20th he went to Fredericksburg and appointed a meeting.

"21st.—To a large mixed meeting held in a room over the market place. It was quiet and ended well, and my heart is thankful for preservation and favour.

"22nd.—My mind feels comfortable in looking back over yesterday's work,—good is the Lord, may my soul say, and worthy to be trusted in and obeyed. Rode to our friend Thomas Terrill's, twenty-eight miles, with a sweet and easy mind. 'The disciples were not to rejoice that devils were made subject to them, but that their names were written in the Lamb's book of life.' O that I may more and more learn this great lesson; to rejoice in tribulation as well as in favoured seasons.

"23rd.—Visited a family in which we were favoured with a good time.

"24th.—To meeting,—a crowded and very laborious one; but trust the labour will not be lost. Truth appeared comfortably over us at the close, and I had to stand up and recommend more care and attention to the education of the black children, stirring up the youth in families to engage in the good work of instructing them; many being present of different societies.

"28th.—Went to Cedar Creek meeting; it was a comfortable peaceful ride there, and most of the meeting a season of sweet silence; but in the close I had a little to communicate to the weak and feeble of the flock, and in the end to stir up to prize the day of lengthened-out mercy, and whilst the day lasted to do justly and love mercy, lest it might be shortened and their judge come as a thief at a time unexpected. Stopt at Thomas Stanley's, accompanied by Micajah Crew and wife, and had a religious opportunity, in which the parents were encouraged to attend to their gifts, and be patient under the various operations of the divine hand; also to be careful in the education of their children, who appear lovely. Went home with M. Crew under exercise, it being about nine months since we were first here, and now have to traverse the same path again, and at this season in a state of blindness. Wait, O my soul, in humble submission, upon thy never failing Helper for the further unfolding of his will; although thou sittest at present in a state of darkness or want of light. I find a precious, kind brother and fellow helper in M. Crew.

"30th.—A stormy night, and continues so this morning, and I see no opening to move. These dispensations are trials of faith and patience, but when I remember that all things shall work together for good to those who continue in the obedience of faith, my mind is calmed in the midst thereof. Spent this day also at M. Crew's, the after part in pretty close exercise.

"Fifth month 1st.—Though feeling poor and weak, I have ventured to pack up my clothes and feel willing to go on, if the way opens. Lord, so order and direct my steps along, as that I may not linger through cowardice and fear. Thou art all sufficient; I trust in thee, O gracious Helper! Unless thy divine presence goes with me, take me not hence—may I not be suffered to go into any further religious labour. I opened the Bible, and cast my eye on the fifty-fourth Psalm, and read it to my comfort.

"After breakfast sat off, accompanied by Micajah Crew, in order to go to our friend Robert Pleasants'; had a sorrowful ride to

Curles, and continued to feel so after our arrival. Spent the evening heavily, although we met with a very kind reception from this dear aged friend.

"2nd.—A morning of heavy conflict; went to Curles meeting, where were only six white males, three females, and two black women: a time of exercise, but was favoured to pour out my supplications among the few who met, and in the end was a little comforted in an assured belief, that Truth remains to be Truth, although many of the descendants of those who were valiants for its promotion, have forsaken it. I prayed for them, and that the Lord would preserve us. O for patience to hold out faithfully to the end of this journey, and receive the sheaves of peace.

"3rd.—I have spent this day in an exercised condition: who is so blind as thy servant, or so deaf as thy messenger. O! what a fearful thing it is to incur that reproof from the Lord; 'Thou hast run, and I have not sent thee, therefore thou shalt not profit the people at all.' May I be kept subjectly given up to do his will; yea, humbly and patiently to wait for the pointing of my heavenly Master's finger, and that more stability and gravity may be the girdle of my loins.

"4th.—A little opening presented in much weakness and fear to go towards Petersburg: if thy presence, O Lord, go not with me, take me not hence, is the language of my soul. All I desire is clearness of sight, and let thy will be done. Sat off and felt peaceful on the road; got there between two and three o'clock, and obtained a large room in a tavern for holding a meeting; hearing that the court house was to be occupied by an Episcopalian.

"5th.—What a poor servant, if worthy to take the name. O for more purity of heart, that so I may be indulged with greater clearness to see the Lord's will and do it. It was discouraging to me when I heard of a meeting advertised to be held in the new court house for the first time, and that there was to be a Methodist meeting also, to begin at eleven o'clock. However, our friends took considerable pains to spread the notice of ours, and it proved large, quiet and satisfactory; much to the ease and relief of my exercised mind, although I was greatly spent after it. In the afternoon we had a meeting with Friends and such as made any pretensions to own us, which was a comfortable time to me: after I had finished my testimony, my spirit was poured out in humble supplication, in which my own and my companion's family were brought into remembrance. I was so spent with the labours of this day, that I could not sleep as usual, but all was well, peace being the best portion; for which I am thankful to

the Father and Fountain of all our sure mercies.

"6th.—After an opportunity with this family where we staid, and some of the neighbours, left Petersburg with sweet peace, and rode home with our beloved friend and brother R. Pleasants.

"8th.—Last night was one of mental conflict, and such has been the state of my mind this day; however, this evening I feel rather easier. I have been delighted frequently, since we have been here, with the singing of birds, particularly between daylight and sunrise.

"9th.—To Curles meeting, which was silent and a deeply exercising, tribulated time to me, as well as before as after the meeting was over. O what a singular path I tread! yet let not one murmuring thought arise, but wait in patience to see the end of every trying dispensation. My body is weak and reduced by exercise of mind. May I be favoured to hold on in the way that is cast up; for all these sufferings are not on my own account,—there is a cause. Zion lies waste, her walls are thrown down, and her gates are consumed as by fire, her sons gone into grievous captivity, for which I mourn day by day.

"12th.—Very poor indeed: rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation, continuing instant in prayer, was the advice of the apostle Paul, and O that it may yet be, in measure, my experience; hope for a different dispensation, O my soul. Went to Curles meeting once more, where we found a larger gathering than on week-days, but a cloudy, dark time: yet I ventured to relieve my very pained mind freely, and afterwards felt easier, and spent the remainder of the day so.

"15th.—Spent this day quietly at R. P.'s, reading in Thomas Story's life; opened on that passage where he speaks of the kind treatment of John Bates of Skimino,—which brought to my remembrance the comfortable feeling I was favoured with, when at that meeting, and which I had to mention to some of the descendants of this worthy man when they gathered about me after meeting. Some of the children of Benjamin Bates now living there, appeared hopeful; they were pretty much reached and broken. I copied it, in order to present it to some of them to peruse.

"16th and 17th.—Attended the meeting of ministers and elders at White Oak Swamp, and the quarterly meeting at Wainoak.—The 18th, to the meeting for Sufferings.

"19th.—To a very large and mixed meeting, the house mostly filled up with women. Joseph Cloud and J. Mendenhall, appeared in the fore part of the meeting; but there was such a multitude out of doors, and withal

many so uneasy and rude, that it was a cause of grief. My mind was exercised to leave my seat and go to one of the doors, and endeavour to cast off my burden: my companion followed, and I requested a few Friends to go out of doors and gather the people near the door, and keep them quiet,—and it was indeed a laborious time to speak to such a crowd, so as to be heard within and without the doors. There are no people, whose states and conditions are so distressing and burdensome, as those who have turned away in heart from the simplicity of Truth, and become deistical and unbelieving. O how my life has been oppressed with it this day, and often before in this land.

“20th.—More people assembled this day than could get into the house, and they appeared to be mostly such as were orderly; and I hope a number of goodly seeking ones. The two Hopewell Friends appeared in the early part of the meeting, after which I had a pretty thorough opportunity, open and relieving to my spirit; and indeed I felt like another man after it: the Lord be praised for his goodness.

“21st.—An open satisfactory meeting to-day; things being well conducted, and I feel peaceful and easy.

“22nd.—To the meeting of ministers and elders at nine o'clock, which was a comfortable, instructive season. At the eleventh hour the yearly meeting sat, to which came Joseph Cloud; and after a time of silence, he stood up and requested the partition might be opened for the women to hear; and in a tender manner began with nearly these words: ‘You see my friends to what a state of bodily weakness I am reduced. I have come this morning to express among you the great desire I feel, that all present may be concerned to attend to their gifts; for all our riches and the comforts of this life, will do us but little good when brought to such a state as I am in. I feel resigned and peaceful amongst you, and am glad I am here,’ &c. After which I embraced the present season to relieve my mind towards the visited youth.

“23rd.—To the adjournment at ten o'clock, and meeting held until near six, and got through the business, which was well conducted and to good satisfaction, both in this sitting and others. In the close thereof my mind was drawn forth in love again towards Friends, and the youth in particular, and it appeared to be a solemn good parting; numbers taking me very affectionately by the hand and parted in nearness.”

In a letter written from Wainoak, dated fifth month 24th, 1793, addressed to his beloved friend John Pemberton, he says:

“The yearly meeting closed yesterday afternoon, and being now released from that service, my mind is exercised with further openings of duty. I have just been conferring with a number of my dear friends, respecting another meeting at Richmond on first-day next, and several are engaged to go and prepare the way. I have often had thoughts of attending the quarterly meeting of Fairfax, held a little more than two weeks from this time; and when the prospect has been weightily before me, I have thought it would contribute to the relief of my exercised mind, to have it in my power to distribute some valuable small tracts to some of the inhabitants in the Alleghany mountains, in the way between Redstone and Fairfax. I see the necessity to stir up Friends, when travelling backwards and forwards, to leave such books at public houses and at other places on the way, and have no doubt but some may be engaged in this good work, who may attend the next quarterly meeting. As there are a number of Friends of the yearly meeting's committee likely to attend there, if thou couldst send by some of them I should be glad; but more so, my dear friend, to see thyself thus employed in thy usual enriching and useful mode of disseminating useful knowledge. I have had much satisfaction in spreading those sent to Charleston, several of which I brought into Virginia and gave them to goodly people where Friends mostly put up, and they were cheerfully and kindly received by them. One of Joseph Phipps' books I sent to a young woman at Banister, who has been instrumental to raise up the ruins in that place, by meeting for a season, in the old forsaken meeting-house, by herself, and by her exemplary conduct has drawn others to join her. She has been with us at yearly meeting, and I think bids fair to become a princess among the Lord's people.

“I have had much peace and comfort in my labours in this yearly meeting, which has been, I am informed, unusually large. On first-day morning there appeared to be as many people out of doors, as would have filled another house as large as the one we were in; and poor and cast down as I often feel, I have occasion to acknowledge that the Lord, my gracious helper, has not forsaken me in the most trying moments: my desire is that I may fully and faithfully follow Him to the end of this journey; and also if further dispensations should be permitted to exercise my faith and patience.

“I do not know a more useful book of the size than Benjamin Holme's *Serious Call*, and believe a couple of dozens might be profitably spread as I have mentioned before. Perhaps some of the Friends will come in carriages,

as I fear it will be too late to send them by water to Alexandria. I would have written sooner, but my poverty and blindness is such that sometimes I cannot get at things until the last pinch.

"It seems to come before me just to say, that Friends who have had occasion to go on business into some of the towns where we have had meetings, have told me that the people appear much satisfied with them; which has been encouraging to me. Truly it has been a trying dispensation for me, a poor weak one, thus to go out from among Friends, but I cannot plead excuse in any way. I am blessed with a solid, feeling elder for a companion, and my Lord and Master, from season to season, lifts up my head out of a state of great weakness; into which I see it is necessary for me first to be baptized: may His holy name be revered and praised for the protection and help vouchsafed, without which, I know I should faint and fall."

"24th.—After engaging some Friends to be in Richmond early next morning, to see about a meeting there on first-day, went to the widow Ladd's, where I hope we had a seasonable opportunity: we returned back to J. Ladd's, in company with Joseph Cloud, David Vestal, and a number of other Friends; after which had the family together, and the opportunity proved a solemn affecting season. Dear Joseph is so weak that he has given out going to Richmond with us, although his prospect on leaving home was to that place and other towns;—however, he sat with us and was favoured to deliver an affecting testimony. Whilst I sat by him in silence, as well as at other seasons, my mind was humbled in beholding his great weakness, now so far from his dear wife and family, and also in a sense of the Lord's goodness to me, in affording so much bodily strength as to move along from place to place, as Truth has opened the way. On the close of his communication I ventured to kneel down and pray for him, the family and Friends present, for myself and companion in labour; and that the Lord my God might be pleased to continue the wife of my bosom under his protection and favour—and to preserve us in patience, if our faith and love are to be tried by a yet longer separation. After this I had to labour with some of the children in particular, encouraging those who are in the right way, and cautioning and warning others of impending danger. After which took a solemn farewell.

"25th.—Rode to Richmond, after a satisfactory opportunity with some Friends and the family.

"26th.—Attended the meeting at Richmond,

which was large, numbers being out of doors, and much rudeness appeared in some. It was upon the whole, a quiet meeting, although there were some so hardy as to laugh in my face whilst I was speaking, who met a suitable reproof before all, to their shame. At the close I mentioned a prospect I had of a meeting with the black people, at the same place, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and told them it was a delicate thing, but I stood open, if any one had any objection, and wished some of their sober masters to come and be with us. We found afterwards that it was somewhat alarming, but no opposition appeared, and we had a number of them together, with many whites also, in which I had a quiet opportunity to relieve my mind.

"27th.—Awoke early this morning, under the weight of a prospect which had opened on my mind, to see the little company of Friends here together, and such as go no other way. I had made an attempt yesterday in the meeting at large, to address them, but found it would not do; so I now requested Samuel Parsons to collect them together by half-past nine o'clock, which he did, and we were favoured with a solid, instructive, and I hope, baptising opportunity, at least to some. James Mendenhall and his companion, Jonathan Wright, David Vestal, Thomas Harris and wife staying, we were about thirty in number at J. S. Pleasants'. Josiah, S. Parsons and I, went to bid the mayor, Robert Mitchell, farewell, who had been kind, and attended both meetings; he appeared well pleased with that for the negroes, though he said he was solicited by some of the inhabitants to put a stop to it; and that he himself feared it would be of bad consequence, but I believe none had any occasion to be uneasy: the mayor confessed that the doctrine was suitable to them, and to the whites also.

"O the wickedness and the abominations of this little city! Is it any wonder at all, that I have gone through the sufferings which I have; but thanks be given to Him who is ever worthy, on leaving the mayor, and telling him how the mountebanks' sign which hung out in the street, and their other wicked doings, struck at my life, and leaving it with him, I felt on walking away, relieved and peaceful. Left the place between one and two o'clock, and rode in company with several Friends, pleasant and easy in mind.

"30th.—To Genito meeting, in which my mind was exercised on account of a visited seed hereaway, and I was drawn forth in love to them: it appeared to be a watering season.

"Sixth month 1st.—We had thought of going on to Southland to day, but I felt unwell, and withal my mind was turned towards

the first-day meeting here, and we concluded to stay; and after breakfast I went to bed. In and through all, may I yet be favoured not to give way to the drawings of the affectionate part homeward, but say with resignation of mind, 'Here am I Lord, thou hast hitherto been my support, protection, and help, and canst keep that which thou hast enabled me to commit to thy care.'

"2nd.—Went to the meeting at Caroline, which was crowded, and an open time,—divers expressed their gladness to see us again, though very unexpected.

"5th.—To Southland meeting, which was large. I felt very poor and sat nearly or quite two hours in silence, very different from the time we were here before. The desire of the people seemed strong to hear words; and although there was something arose to communicate, it was to me a poor low time;—called afterwards to see a sick Friend, and although I felt very poor here, yet on parting she said to me, 'I love thee and have been refreshed.'"

After an opportunity in a friendly man's family, with whom they put up for the night, they pursued their journey and arrived at Mahlon Janney's at Hopewell.

"7th.—Wait on thy God, O my soul! This place was the beginning corner for me this time twelve months ago, when entrance into a large field of labour opened with clearness; wait with humble submission to be rightly informed what thou must do next. It has been of late, a time of temptation and trial to me, and I have had to feel what a wretched condition it is not to experience the sweet presence of Jesus Christ our Lord. But why should I complain? Do not such dispensations prepare the soul for the enjoyment of greater degrees of divine love and life? O Lord, may what I have passed through, and what I may yet, in thy sovereign will, have to pass through, qualify me to live answerably to thy goodness and truth, if favoured to return to my house in peace; for thou hast been a God of truth to me, thy unworthy servant, in this journey."

In a letter written from Hopewell, Virginia, to his beloved friend John Pemberton, he says:

"I have remembered it was not far from this place, that thou with other Friends, wast held in a state of banishment from all that was near and dear to you in this life, and that the Lord's preserving hand supported you through and over all, and restored thee to thy temporal comforts again. Afterwards the Lord called for a free-will offering at thy hand, even to surrender them all again, and become a sojourner for years in a strange

and distant land; and he has been with thee in heights and in depths unto this day, and has not forsaken thee even in the most trying moments. A sense of these things has caused my heart to rejoice on thy account, and also on my own, who am a poor pilgrim, and stranger in a strange land, separated from wife and children, houses and lands, for the gospel's sake; yet I am mercifully cared for by the Shepherd of Israel, who puts his sheep forth and goes before them. I have indeed great occasion thus to speak well of his excellent name, for his goodness to me in this present proving journey. Thy kind attention and sympathy before I left home, as well as that of other Friends, has been a strength to me. Ah! what a poor, solitary, and I was going to say, benighted creature, have I sometimes felt like, before I have given up thus to leave all that is comfortable at home, and run the Lord's errands; somewhat like a season of preparation, wherein I could take but little delight in any thing about me, or in myself. But the Lord has made it up to me when I have cheerfully left all to follow him; and my heart is tendered under a sense of his love whilst thus writing to thee. I believe I am afresh enabled to feel and sympathize with thee, with earnest desires that thou mayest be favoured to live in a state of dedication under all thy provings for the gospel's sake; most assuredly believing, that a way will be made for thee through the cloud and through the sea. I have had near fellowship with thee in thy exercises when abroad on Truth's service, when I have been with thee, and have looked upon it as an honour to take part with thee as an elder brother. I write with great freedom, for my heart is enlarged, and the love I feel is, I trust, that which casts out all fear. I know thou hast many discouragements in getting along, and thinkest little of thyself; and sometimes I have feared, that the great discourager of the Lord's work would willingly persuade thee to think thy gift little also, less than many of thy brethren. Never didst thou do me more good as an instrument, than the day I left home; and thy extension of fatherly care to me at Shrewsbury remains precious to me until this time, and has been helpful to me in this journey.

"Should this reach thee in time, present my love to Mary Ridgway, Jane Watson, Samuel Emlen, and Sarah Harrison; [about to embark for England,]—may the Lord's preserving hand be with them on the mighty ocean; accompany the former to their outward habitations with sheaves of peace in their bosoms, and with the latter as a pillar of fire and cloud through all their journey.

"The harvest is indeed great, and the la-

bourers few: I think of my dear gifted brethren and sisters of Philadelphia, with desires that more of them might give up to go abroad on the Lord's errands, for we have received many favours, I mean the little company in that city; and I believe more would be drawn abroad in Truth's service, if the reasoner was shut out and barred against. The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters; yea, mightier than the raging waves of the sea."

"8th.—Attended the select meeting, and had a close searching testimony to deliver; things appearing low.

"9th.—Met with Hannah Cathrall, and companions Hannah Mitchell and Edward Garrigues, who brought me letters from home. In the evening we had a sitting with this family and a number of others.

"10th.—In the fore part of the meeting today I was silent; but in conducting the business I had my exercise respecting the low state of things—the declension of the aged and the deviations of the youth.

"11th.—We have the company of George Churchman and William Cole, of Deer Creek, Maryland, and James Emlen of Middletown, Pennsylvania. Met a committee of the quarterly meeting appointed yesterday, to take into consideration the matter depending between Hopewell and Crooked Run monthly meeting, and the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania; in which I trust I was favoured uprightly to discharge myself: after the breaking up of the committee, I went into the youths' meeting, which was very large, a number being out of doors. Ruth Kirk and Hannah Cathrall had testimonies to deliver, of an awakening tendency; after which, although in the other two meetings I sat peacefully silent, I felt my mind drawn forth in a close and searching testimony, from the parable of the ten virgins. I hope on the whole it was a profitable and instructive season, although things are low. Went to M. Janney's and dined, and about the middle of the afternoon believed it right to make some preparations for going, as my way opens with some degree of clearness now after this meeting, to proceed homewards. We sat down with a large company of young and old, who came in, and I took my leave of them in a solid and baptising opportunity, and concluded to stay until morning.

"12th.—This morning before we sat off, came W. H. and wife to take leave; we sat down together with the family, Hannah Cathrall and her companion, &c. I had to speak of the many favours we had received, and deliverances in this journey, and that my

dear Lord and master had set me at liberty to return home from this place. I had also to mention and commemorate the deep wadings I had to go through in this place many years ago, before my mouth was opened in testimony, and now I could reverently acknowledge, that the Lord was in this place, although I then knew it not, as now. Both S. Janney and Hannah Cathrall bore testimony to the goodness of the Lord—the first with a belief, that sheaves of peace would be our portion on our return; and the latter in like manner, but with the caution, to rejoice in the divine fear, &c., that we should yet have to taste of the wormwood and the gall. It was a precious time, and we parted in near affection. Stopt at Joseph Janney's and had a baptising time with some of the children. Crossed the Potomac to a house where they kindly refreshed our bodies; and in a religious opportunity afterwards, I believe the Lord refreshed and encouraged their souls in the way of well doing. It was a precious season, both to parents, grandmother and children, and encouraging to me in a sense that I am in my place on the way home, so we left them peaceful and easy."

After this he had no further religious labour, but returned directly home, where he arrived on the 15th of the sixth month, 1793; in relation to which he says, "I met an open, loving reception from my dear help-mate in life, mother, children, and the rest of my family, after an absence of thirteen months, wanting five days; for which, and all other blessings and favours received at the Lord's hand, my mind is bowed in thankfulness to Him who is worthy of obedience, glory, and honour, and praise; who puts his ministers forth, goes before them, and at seasons seals life and peace to their souls. And although I know it is my duty to sit down in this low condition spoken of by our blessed Lord, 'After ye have done all that I command you, say we are unprofitable servants, we have done no more than was our duty to do;' nevertheless, it is in my heart also to leave this record, that I have lacked nothing: the Lord has brought me through all my exercises, I trust measurably to the honour of his great and holy name, although many and singular they have been, even unto the banks of deliverance and praise. And O, that I may be favoured still to remain under his heavenly notice, protection and care, through the further probation yet to be met with, unto the end of my days, and be counted worthy in the solemn close of time here, together with my bosom friend, dear aged mother and children, to rest in the kingdom of righteousness and peace, with the

generations of those who have gone before and follow after."

Under date of tenth month 6th, 1793, the following memorandum occurs, which appears to be the first made after his return from the above visit; giving a brief summary of his religious labours for some years previous, and commemorating the mercy and goodness of his Lord and Saviour.

"Ten years have passed over since I was laid on a bed of sickness, and brought near to the gates of death. It was indeed a very humbling, proving dispensation; inwardly, because of great poverty and stripping,—and outwardly, because of sore and long continued weakness. But the Lord raised me up, and sent me into the back parts of New England, and brought me home in peace. Since that time I have been strengthened to perform a pretty general visit, as before mentioned, to Friends in the government of New York, with my beloved friend James Mott; and again, into some of those parts with my beloved friend John Cox, of Burlington; and on our return attended Rahway quarterly meeting, where I was singularly exercised, and a sorrowful circumstance afterward occurred; and also visited most of the little towns in that neighbourhood. Shortly after, I visited New Jersey, in company with my friends John Cox, Nathan Smith, and James Whitall; also Bucks County, with Nathan Smith. Last year I went through the southern governments as far as Georgia, accompanied by my dear friend Josiah Bunting, who was a true yoke mate—returning from this last long journey of nearly thirteen months, in the sixth month last. In all these I may humbly and with reverence acknowledge, that the Lord was my helper and preserver through many and very singular trials, and always brought me home in peace: and now there is a fresh scene of trial open in this city, such as neither we nor our fathers ever saw. The awful messenger of death is travelling through the streets, as from house to house, and removing from works to rewards, many not only of the inhabitants at large, but also of the members of our religious Society, some of whom I nearly loved, and who promised to fill up with propriety, their stations in the church militant on earth. Not a few of our brethren have left the city, so that we are reducing daily, by deaths and removals into the country. A sense of all these things has closely exercised my mind from day to day, for some time past, and I have seen nothing better than quietly to remain in my habitation, where I have had frequent occasion to believe divine Providence has

placed me; and daily to feel after a qualification, through holy help, to say, Lord preserve me on the living and sure foundation, that my faith in thy all-sufficiency may not fail. Thou hast been my protection and help through many trials, inward and outward, in days past; and now, dearest Father, look down in tender mercy on me and my family, and enable me, with the wife of my bosom, to resign our own and one another's lives to thee, and if thou art pleased to call for mother, son, or daughter, O sanctify and prepare our hearts for such a dispensation; or if in thy unsearchable wisdom and mercy, thou art pleased to continue any or all of us a little longer on earth, may devotion and dedication of heart be mine and theirs; and so thy will be done."

[Thomas Scattergood remained in the city during the yellow fever of 1793, and although some allusion is made to the disease in his memorandums, yet it has been thought a more particular account would be acceptable, and the following brief narrative has therefore been prepared.]

So many years have elapsed since the general prevalence of the yellow fever in our highly favoured city, that but few of the present generation can have an adequate idea of the alarm and distress produced by this awful dispensation of divine Providence.

This malignant disorder, which, in the space of about three months, swept away nearly four thousand persons, made its appearance in the latter end of the seventh month, in Water street, between Mulberry and Sassafras streets. It was some time before it attracted much attention, but it gradually extended to Front street and other parts adjacent—its greatest ravages being nearest the river Delaware; and by the middle of the eighth month, considerable alarm began to appear among the citizens, many of whom fled to the country and other places, where they supposed they would be secure from its attack. The number of deaths continued to increase—during the eighth month, the daily average was about eleven,—in the ninth month it was nearly fifty; the greatest number being ninety-six, and on two other days eighty-one and ninety-two; and in the tenth month it was nearly sixty; the highest number being one hundred and nineteen, and on the days preceding and subsequent, one hundred and eleven and one hundred and four persons respectively, died. When we consider the comparative smallness of the population in the city at that time, it is not surprising that the steady progress of the disease and its great mortality should have spread terror among the inhabitants. The shops were shut up, the streets very much

deserted, so that few persons or vehicles were to be seen in them, save the wheels on which were conveyed the dead to the grave, and the persons who attended them. All pomp and show at funerals were dispensed with, and the remains of the most worthy and respectable citizens were committed to the earth in the most simple manner, and in the presence of few if any more than necessity required. Pride and ostentation were laid in the dust,—the high and the low, the rich and the poor, were reduced to a common level; and the anxious inquiring thought of most minds seemed to be, “Who will go next? Will it be me?”

The disorder being considered contagious, the fear of contracting it, in many instances, overcame the feelings of natural affection; and persons who had been accustomed to all the comforts and attentions which wealth and the tenderest connexions in life could bestow, on being seized with the malady were wholly deserted and left to die alone; or abandoned to the care of mercenary nurses, whose chief object was their own ease and emolument, and who often neglected the unhappy invalids entrusted to their care. Some died entirely alone, and the houses where they were, being deserted, the first intimation that a dead body was there, was the noisome effluvia it emitted while undergoing decomposition.

A person employed in carrying the sick and dead, passing along the street, heard the cry of some one in great distress, and the neighbours informed him, that the family had been ill for some days, but that the fear of the disease had prevented them from venturing to examine the house. The man cheerfully undertook the benevolent task, and on going upstairs, he found the father of the family dead, who had been lying on the floor some days; two children near him also dead; the mother, who was very ill, gave birth to another child, which, with herself also died while he remained; thus making five persons dead in one house at the same time. This event, among many others of somewhat similar character, will give a better idea of the awful and heart-rending scenes exhibited, during the prevalence of this humbling and distressing calamity, than any description that can be written. It is calculated deeply and seriously to impress the mind with the weakness and helplessness of man, when the judgments of the Almighty are poured out; and also with a sense of his great mercy in sparing us of the present day from such suffering, not because we are more righteous, but because He is long-suffering and slow to anger.

The general consternation became so great, that those whose particular province it was to have the oversight of the poor, all fled except

three; and the distress and suffering among this destitute class of citizens became so urgent, that a public meeting was called to devise measures for their relief and assistance. At this meeting ten persons voluntarily offered their services to aid the overseers of the poor; and at a subsequent meeting others were appointed, making the whole number twenty-seven; but owing to sickness, death and other causes, the work chiefly devolved on twelve, who, with some others that afterwards offered their services, laboured daily, with untiring zeal, in this work of benevolence, and were the instruments of affording essential benefits to their suffering fellow creatures. Of the whole number thus employed, but one now survives, our aged and beloved friend Thomas Wistar; his last companion, John Letchworth, having deceased about a year ago. Daniel Offley, an eminent and beloved minister in our Society, impressed with a sense of religious duty, and commiserating the accumulating distresses of his fellow citizens, offered his services to the committee on the 30th of the ninth month, and from that time continued to exert himself indefatigably in this work of humanity until he was seized with the distemper, which, in a few days brought him to the grave, deeply lamented by all who knew him. A few days before his death, being in company with Thomas Wistar and another Friend, when they were about to part, he solemnly observed to his companions, “The language of this dispensation to each of us is, ‘Be ye also ready, for at such an hour as we expect not, the messenger of death may be sent to our houses.’” They separated never to meet again in mutability, both the others dying in a few days. Daniel Offley was taken ill on the 3rd of the tenth month, and throughout his sickness evinced a cheerful serenity of mind, being entirely resigned to the will of God, in whom his confidence appeared unshaken; and on the 11th of the same month, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, he quietly departed, to inherit a crown of glory that shall never fade away.

Charles Williams, another valued minister, who was companion to Thomas Scattergood in his journey to Hopewell and Redstone, in the year 1787, also died with the yellow fever on the 9th of the tenth month 1793, aged twenty-nine years, and about the ninth of his appearance in the ministry. Being of a tender and sympathizing disposition, and his heart softened and animated by divine love, he was a kind friend to the poor and those under affliction, whom he often visited; and in the time of the great mortality, he was much devoted to the relief and assistance of the sick, to whom he was indeed a messenger

of consolation. The following memorandum made by him, is worthy of note: "Ninth month 1st, 1793.—It is affecting to observe the change which has taken place in this industrious city, where business appeared to be the life of many, and each one strove to exceed his neighbour in care to gather wealth. Now a stop is put to this,—little business is transacted, and the minds of many are awakened to consider what is the state of their last and solemn account. A serious solemnity appears on almost every countenance; and I hope, by myself and others, this visitation may never be forgotten."

During his illness he was favoured with a blessed confidence in divine mercy, which took away all fear of death, and his spirit departed to a better inheritance, in peace with God and man.

A number of other valuable Friends, including several ministers and elders, were removed by the disease, but even when it was at the worst, Friends kept up their meetings for divine worship; and though they were often small, yet they were crowned with a solemnity, in some degree corresponding to the greatness of the sacrifice in going to them, and were often seasons of humbling contrition.

A number of Friends whose minds were deeply exercised with regard to remaining in the city or going away, and who were engaged to "seek the Lord, for a right way for themselves, their wives and their little ones," had a clear sense given them that it was their duty to stay.

The yearly meeting occurred during the time the disorder was prevailing; and a number of Friends from the country attended, being impressed with a sense of religious duty to do so;—and the several sittings were considered peculiarly solemn and favoured.

Elizabeth Collins thus notices it in her memorandums, viz: "In the ninth month 1793, I attended the yearly meeting in the time of the sickness, called the yellow fever. On seventh-day crossed the river and attended the select yearly meeting, which was a good one, our hearts being bowed in thankfulness to the Father of all our mercies. First-day attended Newtown meeting to good satisfaction: hearing some very discouraging accounts, [respecting the sickness,] I felt great weakness and stripping, yea, leanness of spirit, and my faith seemed taken from me. Before I left home my great and good Master had condescended to inform me, that if I would go and keep my place, my life should be given me for a prey, and that according to my faith so should it be unto me. I spent the night without sleep until near day, when

my faith again revived and I got some sleep: awoke with thankfulness of heart to the Author of all good.

"Second-day morning crossed the river with bowedness of spirit, and attended the forenoon meeting, which was a solid time. The representatives being called, but few answered to their names, and from three of the quarters, not one.

"Third-day morning at eight o'clock, went to select meeting, wherein our hearts were bowed in humble thankfulness before the Lord, for his abundant mercies bestowed upon us. At three in the afternoon Friends met this was a comfortable meeting, several living testimonies being borne, to the humbling of our hearts together into contrition and holy fear.

"Fourth-day morning, some memorials of deceased Friends were read and approved, tending to incite to faithfulness. In the afternoon was the parting meeting, a highly favoured season we were favoured to part in that near fellowship, which is not to be expressed. May we be thankful therefor to the Author of all good. This is a solemn time in this city, wherein many houses, great and fair, are left without inhabitants, many faces gather paleness, and many hearts are filled with sadness. Many I believe, as was formerly recommended, are standing as between the porch and the altar, crying, 'Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach.' I have entered this city and remained in it without fear, except the fear of the Lord, which at times fills the hearts of his humble dependent children. May I be truly thankful for this and every other mercy."

Toward the latter end of the tenth month the disorder began to abate, and in a few days the improvement was very striking, the number of deaths being greatly diminished, the new cases very few, and a great many recovering. This was not owing to any assignable natural cause, or to any new discovery in the mode of treating the disease, but evidently to the immediate interposition of Him who, in the midst of judgment, remembers mercy. On the 14th of eleventh month the committee for the relief of the sick and poor, published an address to their fellow citizens, informing that the disease had nearly subsided, and that the city was restored to as great a degree of health as was usual at that season of the year; and shortly after this it wholly disappeared.]

"Tenth month 10th.—Felt a little revived this morning; and after waiting until meeting time, for my beloved friend Charles William's corpse to be brought past my habitation, and it

not coming in time, I was most easy to go and sit with the little company at the market street house, which was small indeed; S. Clark, Richard Jones and myself, sat in the front of the meeting on one side, Mary England and Mary Cresson on the other side of the house, with some scattering ones over the meeting; amongst them I hope some precious youth. I laboured in weakness, and am frequently jealous of myself, as there has been hardly a meeting but what I have publicly laboured in for the past month. O may I be willing to be searched; and if it is my lot to be numbered to my grave, may my merciful Lord and Saviour be graciously pleased to receive me.

"11th.—Have been engaged in considering what are we, amongst such an innumerable company of servants who are doing their Master's will in heaven and on earth; and why should such atoms mourn when the Lord of the universe is pleased to remove some from the temptations and trials of time, and gather them into rest,—seeing it is an easy thing with Him to raise up and qualify many, many more, and send them forth. O for strength to offer up my all to my great and merciful Lord; that if life is spared, it may yet be devoted to serve Him. Dear Daniel Offley departed this life about ten o'clock.

"20th.—A comfortable day, laboured in my own meeting, morning and afternoon, and was favoured with an open opportunity in the evening.

"23rd.—Called to see Rebecca Jones, who was seized with great pain, and could hardly talk to me through extreme suffering, though the day before she seemed bravely.

"24th.—Dear Rebecca Jones appeared under much discouragement respecting getting about again; but was in a heavenly frame of mind and glad to see me; telling me that I felt like bone of her bone. On my telling her that I had not seen but that she might be raised up to bear testimony to the Lord's goodness and truth, she replied 'I am a poor atom, unworthy to be employed in the Lord's work. Dear Thomas, many have fled from the Truth, but the Lord will meet with them. I have been an exercised woman for thirty years past, and often grieved to see the pride and forgetfulness of many in our Society; the multiplying of pleasure carriages, formal visiting, &c.,' and at another time, when with her, she said there is another dispensation in store for this people—depend upon it, repeating it more than once, if the people are not humbled by the present.

"25th.—Went to Philadelphia monthly meeting, which was a comfortable time; and most of those who were appointed to services being out of town and sick, the business was

summed up in one minute, except the answers to the three queries, and the appointment of a number of Friends to join with the few left, in the care of the poor and distressed. I called to see dear Rebecca Jones, who lay with her eyes almost closed; and although I spoke to her and took her by the hand, she answered not, which was affecting. After meeting I went again, and on going near the foot of the bed, she said, 'dear Thomas, I saw thee, (alluding to the morning visit,) but I could not speak: I am in waiting, there is nothing to do.' She lifted up her hands, and seemed to wish to say more, and several times gave us a look of much sweetness and love; and at length looking up again, she said, 'Go and the Lord go with thee.' Being with her again in the afternoon, she said, 'dear Thomas, if the Master renews thy commission, and should send thee over the water, mind the time and do not deal it out to individuals, but spread it before thy friends, and thou wilt find sympathizers; and when thou gets there, remember the poor servants in families, they are too often neglected—the Lord dealt bountifully with me in that land, and I have had comfortable seasons with such.' I asked her what she had in view in the morning when she looked up at me, and said, go and the Lord go with thee?—she replied, 'I could not tell thee before J. J., though I love him, but I alluded to thy going over the great waters. The Lord has in some instances entrusted me with his secrets, and I have not betrayed them.' After some more conversation, she appearing inclined to sleep, I left her with much sweetness, and could say in my heart, that flesh and blood had not revealed these things unto her, but our heavenly Father, for my confirmation and encouragement.

"Twelfth month 4th.—About the time the last note was made, the sickness abated, and now has nearly or quite disappeared. Most of our Society and other inhabitants of the city are returned. Dear Rebecca Jones was so well as to attend our meeting last first-day morning, and bore testimony to the goodness and mercy of God; but a different dispensation has of late taken place with me. In the time of sickness, when fear and dismay spread over many, my mind was wonderfully supported and borne up above the waves, and I had faith at seasons to believe, that if it had been my lot to be numbered to the grave, mercy everlasting would have been my portion; and in this sense I was favoured to rest my soul from one season to another;—but leanness and poverty have succeeded; and the enemy is suffered to come near, insomuch that I feel like one waiting for some humbling dispensation to come, in order to refine me.

O Heavenly Father, who hast seen meet to honour thy unworthy servant in days past, led me forth, gone before me, and hast brought me back again with sheaves of soul-enriching peace—what shall I answer thee? Thou hast preserved my life in a wonderful manner—thou hast entrusted me a little longer with an helpmeet, and lengthened out the lives of my children; grant me clearness of sight and enable me to say, thy will be done.”

His mind had been exercised at times for some years, with an apprehension that it was required of him to pay a religious visit to Friends and others in Great Britain and Ireland; and patiently abiding under the preparatory dispensations for this weighty and important service, he was favoured to see with clearness, the proper season for opening it to his brethren, for their solid consideration and judgment. It was during this period of preparation, and before he had disclosed his prospect to any one, that his beloved and honoured friend Rebecca Jones, had a sense divinely communicated to her of his being called to this engagement, and as has been already related, imparted her feelings to him, which appears to have had a confirming and strengthening effect upon his mind.

In the tenth month, 1793, he spread before his friends of the Northern district monthly meeting, this prospect of extensive and arduous labour in a foreign land; which after solid deliberation was united with, and the requisite certificate granted.

Having obtained certificates of the unity and sympathy of the quarterly and general spring meeting of ministers and elders in this concern, he left Philadelphia on the 11th of the fifth month, 1794, and next day embarked at New York, on board the ship *Ohio*, bound for Liverpool. He was accompanied on board by several of his friends, from whom he remarks, “I parted with an overflowing heart, willingly submitting myself to the care and protection of the Lord my God.” On the 13th they weighed anchor and got under way; on this day he writes,—“Met a kind reception from Judge Jay,* his secretary and others on board. My cup has been full this morning, in remembering those I have left behind; and also, what a pilgrim’s life I have entered upon. But who can describe the feelings on such a separation, to one who is in such a lonely state as I feel mine to be? O what would be the consequence, was my Lord and Saviour to withdraw himself at such a time, and leave

me to combat with the weakness of the flesh.”

The following extracts are taken from a letter written to him by Rebecca Jones, dated 10th of fifth month, 1794, and endorsed, “to be opened when at sea, and recurred to in Great Britain and Ireland.”

“After leaving thy house last evening, my mind was swallowed up in that love and friendship which is better felt than expressed; and now, in the greatest sincerity, and under that influence, my heart bids thee ‘Go, and the Lord God go with thee.’

“When thou arrivest on the British shores, remember me, and pray for me when thou canst, for though I have been, through the Lord’s ever adorable mercy, favoured to see for and feel with thee, yet now under the prospect of a family visit, I am ready to sink, and very much doubt my ability to get through to the honour of my great and good Master, being a much poorer creature every way than thou hast any idea of.

“May the Lord on high, who is mightier than the noise of many waters, be thy bow and battle axe, thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward. When thou meetest with my friends, say to them for me, that my love for them and for the ever-blessed Truth, remains unimpaired; but that being lately raised from the brink of the grave, they must not expect many more written testimonials of my love to them; because, being near the end of the painful journey of life, I have less time and ability for writing, and am strictly enjoined to salute but few by the way.

“My sincere and ardent desire is, that in those towns and places where Friends are numerous, thou mayest remember that valuable class in society, who are hired in families, called, in that country, servants; among whom there is a number of valuable, tender spirited Friends, with whom I had some precious meetings; the remembrance whereof is pleasant at this moment.

“And now under a renewed hope and persuasion, that all things necessary will be furnished thee, by Him who hath so evidently put thee forth, my whole heart salutes thee, and bids thee endearedly farewell in the Lord, and am thy sister, in unfeigned regard and true Christian fellowship.

“P. S.—Don’t be afraid to trust thy good Master, if he enjoins upon thee to hold meetings in the cabin; he will make way for thee in this and every other work he may assign thee. Do not be dismayed at the sight of the great, as thou journeyest amongst them; but quit thyself like a man, enduring hardness as

* Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to England, who went passenger in the same ship.

a good soldier, and the very God of peace and consolation be with thee. Amen."

"15th.—What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?

"16th.—My feelings have been much awakened at seasons since I got on board this ship, and if I had not a small portion of faith left to believe that the Lord is on my side, surely fear and dismay would be my portion. How comfortable and cheering would the company of some one of my dear friends now be as a companion. How singular a movement from home it seems, to be put on board ship alone; altogether among strangers, a stranger in the midst of the sea. Well, the Lord was with Jonah when in a worse condition than mine; may it be his blessed will to strengthen my faith, patience and confidence in him, through this voyage, and be my leader and feeder on the land. The respectful, kind treatment of judge Jay and my fellow-passengers, is comfortable indeed. Tears have been my meat, and probably might have been more so had I given full vent to them. What an atom am I to attempt such a work—this is the greatest task ever assigned me: O that the Lord my God may be pleased to be a husband to my dear wife, and more than a son to my aged mother, and bless my children.

"20th.—A moderate breeze yesterday from N. N. E., so that we nearly laid our course, and I endeavoured with all my might to keep the faith and patience. Retired to my berth with heaviness, and had a tossing night, not of body, but of mind. O what will be the issue of all this deep and very humiliating scene! My companions can be cheerful, but O the fresh pangs of death and sorrow which have taken hold on me this morning! Have I taken heed to a false light in my setting off from home? have I not kept in the patience? Judge me, O Lord; rip open my heart! show me my condition as it really is in thy sight. Suffer thy servant to spread forth his hands and pour out his heart towards thy holy habitation—hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling place, and forgive if I have sinned, for thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men. Afternoon.—Faith, we are told, is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen: my sight seems at times gone.

"21st, fourth-day.—Had rather a struggling night in my lonely creaking bed-chamber. A little more quieted in mind on waking this morning, which I have esteemed a favour, and a little hope and confidence have revived whilst sitting on deck after breakfast. O that

I may be prepared through this proving scene, as a vessel rinsed and cleansed out, and fit for the heavenly Master's use. Surely pride is hid and I see what a poor, very poor, creature I am. A fair wind last night, and today S. W.: spoke a vessel from Ireland early this morning, bound for Philadelphia, six weeks out. A pleasant, warm day. The wind continues fair this afternoon: opened dear Rebecca Jones' letter, received in twelfth month, J. C.'s in the same month, and J. Hunt's written after he got home from the Spring meeting, wherein he sends me the twentieth Psalm to peruse. Dear R. Jones mentions the same in hers, and I am thankful that I can take a little encouragement therefrom: this has been a day of the most light, ease and quiet of mind, since I came on board. O Lord, what a comfort it is to be in the least favoured, livingly to believe that every thing is the work of thy Almighty hand, and that thou art nearer to thy servants than they are to themselves. Gracious Fountain of sustaining help, I bless thy name for this little portion of comfort vouchsafed to me, a poor and desolate creature, in the midst of the sea—be pleased to remember my dear wife, aged mother, and children; my heart yearns toward them with tenderness and love."

The letter of Rebecca Jones, above alluded to, appears to be the following, viz:

"Dear Thomas,

"I have been travelling with thee in spirit for several days, even before I received thy plaintive note; and as I do believe the everlasting arm of ancient, all-sufficient help is underneath, in thy present conflict, I feel a liberty in the truth to tell thee so, even in the language of dear John Woolman to Sarah Morris, at a time when she was under a trying dispensation, in the prospect of her being called to labour in a foreign land,—to wit; 'He will bring thee through more purified.' So, my dear friend, lift up thy head in hope, as thou hast often encouraged me and others to do. And just now, the substance of the twentieth Psalm occurs very livingly to my mind; turn to it and read it, and apply it as a portion which has opened for me to send thee in the love and life of Truth, in which I salute thee, and remain thy poor and weak, yet affectionate sister, R. JONES."

"22nd.—Light wind and fair, last night, and continues so this morning. Slept pretty well, and awoke with some encouraging hope; since which I have sat down in the cabin and penned a few lines to dear Rebecca Jones: may sustaining help be near her, and all my

dear friends left behind. O Lord, grant a portion of bread this day to sustain my tossed mind! Afternoon.—Cast down, but hope not forsaken—home and near connections frequently in view. I find retirement, in deep thoughtfulness, is profitable: O that the children of men were more acquainted with such a state! Acquaint thyself, O my soul, with God and be at peace.

“23rd, sixth-day.—Strong wind at south, and continues so this morning—we have gone from eight to nine and a half knots—passed the Banks—a wakeful tossing night—Lord thou hast been the strength of the poor and needy in all generations; before the mountains were brought forth, or hills were made, thou art God! Thou hast been strength to the poor and needy in their distress, a refuge from the storm, a covert from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones has beat as a storm against the wall; condescend to bear up my drooping mind, and all such as are engaged to seek thy face and do thy will. O Lord, cause thy face to shine on my dear aged brother left behind; guide him by the right arm of thy strength through this vale of trials and tears, and bring him to inherit thy glory. Let thy will prove our sanctification and redemption. O for a portion of sustaining bread this day!

“24th.—An unusually comfortable night’s rest in my confined berth. O what a poor creature I look like, to go to that great city of London, and without any companion. Did ever any poor servant set out like me, and feel as stripped and as poor as I do? Lord, help me. After dinner, I went to my stateroom and lay down, where my mind was covered with sweetness and love, on looking toward my dear connections and friends, both in the city and out of it, whom I have visited in days past, in the love of the gospel. Wherein the Lord helped me, showing me the time to go forth, and also causing me to return with sweet enriching peace. O that this may be granted through the present errand! I have had such a hope, I trust a living hope, renewed this afternoon—all things work together for good to them that love God—so be it: rest in quiet confidence, O my soul.

“25th, first-day.—After breakfast, sat down with judge Jay and son, in the cabin; and my mind was drawn into solid retirement, wherein my spirit saluted my family and friends. I remembered the North meeting, and that my dear friends were collecting for yearly meeting at New York; and although I dropt some tears on the floor, I was a little comforted in remembering this precious passage; ‘Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy,—I

dwell in the high and holy place; with him also, that is poor and of a contrite spirit; to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.’ Dare I, a poor worm, draw any encouragement from this? O yes; although I confess my shortness and backslidings many a time, in a day of ease. Guide me, O Lord, by thy wisdom; grant that I may yet be favoured to be directed by thy Spirit. Thou, whose eye goeth to and fro throughout the whole earth and sea, in order to show thyself strong on behalf of those who put their trust in thee, grant me an upright heart to the end of this arduous journey.

“Afternoon.—A tossing time; some of the passengers are gone to bed, and such as could sit up, went on deck, and it was pleasant to behold the sun once more, which has not shone for some days past. Saw a school of porpoises playing alongside and around the ship, and some brown birds flying above the waves. Methought what a life this is, to have no more comfortable resting place than a wave, a boisterous wave of the sea; and yet how comfortable it is made to these little inhabitants, by an all-wise Providence; rest then, O my soul, in patience, in thy present allotment, believing thou art where thy all-wise Creator would that thou should be; who can in his time, which is the best, make things appear more pleasant.

“26th.—Never more, I think, even in the time of distress lately passed through in Philadelphia, [from the yellow fever,] has my spirit been broken than at seasons in my berth, in looking over the graves of my dear brethren, who are removed from works to rewards; and here am I, a poor worm, ransomed from death. O the adorable mercy and goodness shown to me and my family, at that time! May I, and all those that I have left behind, live in a sense of it, that if we are favoured to meet again in this world, it may be in a sense of the love and goodness of God. How could I bear up under the dispensations allotted me, were I not favoured lively to remember, that Christ Jesus our Lord was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: how little many of the children of men appear acquainted with the baptism that he was baptised with, and with the cup of which he drank. O that I may be favoured with a willingness to drink of it to the end of my time here; and if a day of enlargement is granted, after this dispensation, that I may be humble.

“27th.—But little sleep last night. O for patience and contentment in the will of God! Great are the privileges many enjoy on land; and it is to be feared they are not enough

prized. I often have mournfully to acknowledge, Lord I am poor and sorrowful; shall I again be found worthy of the annexed part? let thy salvation set me up on high: set me above my doubts and fears. I have undertaken a great work, for which I feel my unworthiness, and my weakness. Afternoon.—The wind high and the sea rough, so that it was with difficulty we ate our dinners. The captain told us a little afterwards, we were going eleven knots an hour. It is a favour that we are carried along so safely and rapidly through the ocean; ‘The way of a ship in the sea,’ is indeed a wonder, and I am a wonder to myself. Ah me, how little can I see before me: it seems as though my condition resembles the sea now in view from the cabin windows; wave follows wave, and billow succeeds billow. Remember, O my tossed soul, that Jesus, thy Lord and Saviour, walked on the sea; and he has been with thee and supported hitherto,—has rebuked the winds and the waves, and caused a calm. May my weary, tossed mind find rest in him.

“29th.—A pleasant morning with a fine breeze, and I have been favoured to look forward in hope. It is a great trial to part with wife and children, father and mother, brothers and sisters, houses and land; although of the latter, possessing not so much as many enjoy; but I remembered on laying down my wearied head to rest last night, and now again it revives with some comfort, that our merciful Lord said to Peter, ‘Such should have an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come, life everlasting;’ that is, if they were parted with for his sake and the gospel’s. O that I may to the end of my days, be found simple-hearted enough to come under this description; then all will be well. The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and saveth them. What a favour to have faith in thy most excellent name, O Lord my God!

“How sweet is the remembrance of the labourers in the harvest field now in Great Britain from my native land, and how I have longed of latter time to see them and enjoy their company, in the love and life of truth. Lord, raise up and send forth more labourers from the land of my nativity, if it be thy blessed will; water thy tender plants, and cause them to grow, and make them fruit bearing branches in the living vine. Let the sound of thy everlasting gospel go forth unto all nations. It is thou who appoints unto every servant his portion. Thou art served in suffering, as well as in rejoicing. Whom have I to look to, or to trust in, but thee, to keep and preserve me, and open a way to the end of this present engagement. I hope, I trust in thee.

“30th, sixth-day.—The wind shifted toward morning to S. E. and is now heavy, with a rough sea and rain; but O, how sweet to be favoured to look upon Zion, the city of the saints solemnity; how precious to believe in God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his son; and at seasons to be favoured with the communion of saints. Surely there is such a thing; for how sweet is the remembrance of some who are in their fixed, happy places of abode, as well as those who are still on earth. O that the Lord my God may be pleased to make me an instrument of good, if it be only to an individual in Great Britain; will it not be enough to compensate for all I have undergone or yet may yet have to endure, to be thus honoured as a servant of God. O Lord my God, who hast been my helper and support through many baptisms, be graciously pleased to bless and favour my dear aged parent with a more abundant knowledge of the way of peace, that her last days may be her best days, and the day of her death better than the day of her birth.

“31st.—A squally night—a great stir on deck about twelve o’clock, taking in sail. Our foretopsail yard was carried away, and the sail torn to pieces. It was a favour that I could lay quietly in the midst of apparent danger, the waves rolling and dashing violently against the side of the ship, and it is likely my little berth was below them. But what is all this when a quiet mind is mercifully granted; when balmy sleep puts an end for the present, to trouble. There is a baptism into which the Lord is pleased, in wisdom, to introduce his servants, a measure doubtless of the same cup that was allotted to Christ Jesus our Lord and lawgiver, for our sakes. Know ye not says the apostle, that as many as were baptised into Christ, were baptised into his death? What are all outward washings compared to a living experience of this? O the unutterable misery of that soul from whom the Lord hides his face, and because of disobedience and rebellion will be merciful to it no more: and how little is this thought of by vain and heedless mortals.

“Sixth month 1st, first-day.—Ship goes easy to day, not much swell, and some sunshine. I have been sitting since dinner, pensively musing and thinking of my family and North meeting. My heart was broken into tenderness—how near my dear friends left behind feel at seasons, and how one and another comes into view. O how desolate and proved has been the state of my mind since I so preciously parted from my dear wife and family, this day three weeks ago, when I could say, in humble acknowledgment to the God of my life, that he was my light and my song—

my shepherd and I should not want. Blessed be his great and holy name, in that he has vouchsafed a little to renew my faith, opening to me Jacob's vision,—poor worm Jacob, when travelling from his father's comfortable house, in the wilderness of this uncertain transitory world, was favoured to behold God's preserving power and providence, and his spirit was cheered; also, when the prophet's servant's eyes were opened to see the mount full of chariots and horses, he said, it is enough. Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief.

"2nd.—A still night, and a fine calm day. Began a letter to my dear wife, and feel comfortably resigned to my situation: thanks be rendered where due.

"3rd.—Light wind to day and ahead: have sailed only ten miles on our way for the last twenty-four hours. Some impatience appears among the company, but I am thankful for a quiet and resigned mind.

"6th.—The wind breezed up fair about twelve o'clock last night, and this morning we are sailing about seven knots an hour. I am thankful that I was resigned when we were becalmed, and feel tranquil now that we are moving more swiftly towards our desired port. The works of the Lord in his providence over us, are just and equal.

"7th.—At one o'clock one of the sailors aloft cried out 'land,' which proved to be the Scilly Islands, to the windward of us. The captain has outrun his reckoning. Several of our company are busy packing up to go on shore at Falmouth to-morrow, and from thence by land to London. I feel pretty quiet, though poor, and do not see my way on shore yet.

"8th, first day.—Awoke this morning poorly and have felt so most of the day. We were in company with a fleet last night and this morning, and the wind first dying away and then coming ahead, were until near sunset before we came into Falmouth harbour, where J. Jay, his son and a few other passengers went on shore, in order to take passage by land. The captain and all the rest of the passengers being gone, I sat down in the cabin and poured forth a few tears,—but it has been a time of solemnity to me since the ship cast her anchor, wherein I trust I have experienced that which is an anchor to the soul, sure and steadfast. I remembered this precious promise, 'I will not leave you comfortless, but will come again unto you;' so I can sit down alone sweetly composed, and make this note. Soon after making the foregoing note, a friendly man came on board in G. Fox's boat with a letter from him, kindly inviting me on shore, which was pleasant, as also the company of the messenger. I wrote

a respectful answer acknowledging his kindness. He left me, and I walked the quarter deck until the captain and steerage passengers came on board, and he soon ordered the anchor up, and we put out with a fair wind.

"9th.—Refreshed this morning, and felt comforted both inwardly and outwardly, and my soul has been revived in a fresh and living sense of the loving kindness of my Lord and Master, which makes my lonely confinement truly pleasant.

"13th.—Weighed anchor about eight o'clock, and about two o'clock came to again at Gravesend, the wind springing up fair just as we got under way. This has been a day of exercise in approaching near to the great city—O for sustaining help. There are many beautiful spots along the river which please the eye. In the evening, the pilots who had gone on shore came back, and we weighed anchor about eight o'clock. About twelve o'clock I awoke with the bustle and noise on deck, and found they were coming to anchor, between Greenwich and Blackwall, where we lay until nine o'clock in the morning.

"14th.—I had an opportunity of seeing the city almost up to London bridge; and although my situation on board was not the most pleasant, neither some things which my eyes beheld on shore, nevertheless I believe it was right that I staid in the ship. Between two and three o'clock, Joseph Smith, a kind Friend came and met the ship one and a half miles from her intended station, and took me home with him, where I found dear Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn waiting for me, and met an open kind reception from Joseph's wife, who is a daughter of Rachel Wilson."

Extracts from a letter to Rebecca Jones, begun at sea, near the banks of Newfoundland, fifth month 22nd, 1794.

"Thou hast been so much the companion of my exercised mind since I came on board this ship, and peculiarly so this morning, that I thought I must salute thee in that love which baptized us together, when thou wast favoured through holy help to unfold my state to me, and in which thou hast since been made as bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. How shall I open to thee, my dear friend, the feelings of my mind since we parted, and particularly since I came on board this floating bark. Stripped of all enjoyment of the company of my beloved connexions and friends, and delivered into the hands of strangers, not knowing the face of an individual on board, except my kind friend John Jay, and him I never saw but once before; I have not language fully to express the feelings which were

awakened in my depressed mind, after we put to sea, when every prop seemed to be knocked away, and for some days and nights I was left to struggle with a sense of extreme weakness and dismay; yea, I thought not far from the pit of despair. For although some of you who love me, and myself also, thought the way clearly and plainly opened before me, and I was favoured to part so sweetly from my dear Sarah, my mother and the rest of my family and friends, and felt cheerful and easy as I passed along the road, in company with my dear friends who gave up to see me on board; and even—until I got into the ship, I felt like one pressing toward his home; after all this, O the unutterable pangs which came upon me, and continued for several days. My condition was veiled, and in the depth of my sorrow I was ready to cry out, ‘why have I done thus?’ In this mournful state of mind, I opened thy affectionate letter and read and wept, but seemed as though I could hardly believe so as to derive any encouragement from it. Since then I have read it again, and also that sent me in the twelfth month, and one from dear J. Hunt, in which he refers me to the twentieth Psalm; all which I have read with a degree of encouraging hope, the clouds of dismay having in some degree broken away, and love to my dear friends sprung up in my tribulated soul. O how near and dear some of you feel to me, now whilst I am writing—I pray for thee, that the Lord may strengthen thy hands to war, and thy fingers to fight; support thee throughout thy present undertaking, [a family visit] and be thy exceeding great reward, when it is accomplished. Still remember me, thy poor brother, and desire for me that I may experience all the old dregs to be rinsed away, and through adorable mercy be made a clean and upright hearted instrument, if favoured to labour in a foreign land—this is the desire of my soul. Feed the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made thee an overseer; and may all the faithful labourers be strengthened by the mighty God of Jacob, and their feet be so established as not to be moved. For those dear and precious children in the city, who have been rightly brought forth in the work of the ministry of peace and reconciliation, my desire is that their feet may more and more be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Never more feelingly, than since being under a measure of the dispensation of sorrow, in this watery journey, has my mind been dipped into sympathy with the afflicted. O may the Lord God of everlasting compassion, look down upon and help those everywhere, who are helpless, and grant them that hope which will be an anchor to the soul.

“Dear Rebecca, thou hast been and I trust remains to be a sister in sympathy with me, and thou wilt not reject the simplicity of this plaintive note—it will give thee to see that thou art not alone in travail and exercise, and verily I dare not believe otherwise, than that it is more or less the experience of all the Lord’s truly baptized ministers.”

Sixth month 8th, he adds; “Just dropped anchor in Falmouth harbour—all the passengers are gone ashore, as well as the captain with the letter bags. After I parted from my kind friend John Jay and his son, who are going to take coach to London, I came down into the cabin and endeavoured to turn my mind to the Fountain of all-sustaining help; and living hope sprang up, which is as an anchor indeed, sure and steadfast in the time of trouble, and which through this trying voyage, has brought up my poor little bark to the winds and waves, and so far, through mercy, I have lived through it. Whilst sitting here alone, I have had sweetly and encouragingly to remember the gracious promise, ‘I will not leave you comfortless,’ &c.

“I have received a kind letter from George Fox inviting me to come on shore to his house, which was cheering to my lonely mind, as was also the company of the friendly messenger, who brought it, especially when he told me there were many valuable Friends in the town, and some of them just returned from yearly meeting. But the captain having told me he should return soon, in order to set sail, the wind being fair, I wrote a respectful reply, desiring my love to Friends. And now being again left alone, I have thankfully to say in the secret of my soul, ‘Good and gracious art thou, O thou who art the helper of all them that look unto and trust in thee.’ A living hope revives, that thy words my dear friend, will in due time be made good, that I shall find sympathizers in this land—so be it.”

On the 20th he makes another addition—“On seventh-day last about two o’clock, Joseph Smith came on board the ship, about a mile and a half from London bridge, and brought me to his house, and both he and his affectionate wife, treat me as a brother. Dear Sarah Harrison and Elizabeth Drinker, are in the city, the latter very poorly and under the doctor’s hands.* I have been at several meetings, but have not had much to say, and feel willing, if it is the Master’s will, to pass along so for a season, and am earnestly desirous that my spiritual senses may be so exercised, as that I may be favoured in the right time, with a right knowledge of the beginning corner. Pray for me that I may be preserved among this people, who abound with temporal good things;

* She died in London soon after.

that I may be kept in the littleness, and faithful to the unfoldings of divine counsel, as it may be graciously opened."

"15th, first-day.—Went to Gracechurch street meeting, accompanied by George Dillwyn, and was seated between him and dear Samuel Emlen—a sweet comfortable season, although I had but little to communicate. Samuel Emlen preached, mentioning the coming of Titus to Paul; and how they were mutually comforted together. In the afternoon went to Devonshire house meeting; silent on my part, but a comfortable season to me—came home in the evening accompanied by dear George Dillwyn, and found divers young people there, with whom we had a favoured opportunity; dear George staid with me until bed time, and a pleasant evening it has been.

"16th.—Towards evening, came Sarah Harrison, and her companion Sarah Birkbeck, who staid and lodged. They came upwards of twenty miles to see me, and it was truly a pleasant meeting.

"22nd.—Joseph Smith took me to Tottenham meeting, which was silent. In the afternoon attended the meeting held in the Clerkenwell school-house, and had a comfortable time with the scholars."

After attending London and Middlesex quarterly meeting, Ratcliff meeting and one with the scholars at Clerkenwell, he makes the following memorandum:

"29th.—Was at Gracechurch street meeting, both in the morning and afternoon, and laboured in testimony in both; and at six o'clock in the evening went to an appointed meeting for servants, apprentices &c., which was held in the women's new house; it was very large and ended solidly and well.

"30th.—No way opens out of this city, and great is the openness toward me amongst Friends; may my soul be preserved in humility and fear.

"Seventh month 1st.—Went to Horselydown meeting, and although we were few in number, it proved a precious season, where both dear Martha Routh and I were much enlarged in testimony, and in the close my heart was drawn forth in prayer for myself, and those other exercised servants, who have been sent across the sea in the service of Truth. O Lord, support and bear me up under all the dispensations which thou, in thy unsearchable wisdom, may see meet to permit to be my lot; and sweeten all the cups thou art pleased to dispense to my dear wife—what can I do less, thou most merciful Lord and Master, than submissively say, thy will be done.

"2nd, fourth-day.—Had a restless night, and a weeping morning. I dare not say, if

thou dealest thus with me, slay me, I pray thee; but preserve me I pray thee O Lord; for thy will has proved my sanctification hitherto. Went to Gracechurch street meeting, and though not large, it was an open time, wherein I had fervently to labour, and dear S. E. told me after it, that one of the elders came to him with tears and mentioned, that even the same words had been made use of by me as had frequently been by him: and that it was marvellous. After dinner, had a favoured opportunity in the family. I went on board William Rotch's ship with E. Drinker, accompanied by William, and Sarah Rudd and Rachel Smith. E. Drinker expressed the satisfaction she felt on board, and that it seemed like a pleasant home for those that were permitted to go; but as regarded herself, she did not know but that 'Trophimus must be yet left at Miletum sick;' alluding to S. Emlen's testimony at select meeting on second-day; when he mentioned this passage in sympathy with her.

"8th.—Went to the monthly meeting at Devonshire house, and during the part for worship, I think we had a good time; I have not felt it more so, to myself, since being in this city.

"9th.—Attended Gracechurch street monthly meeting, and silently weighed a prospect which had rested on my mind, to visit the families in this meeting; and at the close mentioned it, in much weakness, before men and women separated. It was united with, and a large committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements.

"10th.—To the adjournment this afternoon, where I mentioned Richard Chester as a companion in the work above alluded to, with which the meeting united.

"11th, sixth-day.—Dined at home, (Joseph Smith's,) and had the company of Thomas Clarkson, the great advocate for the liberty of the blacks.

"12th, seventh-day.—Lord enable me to look with greater steadiness to thee, and to preserve the balance of my mind; and O that I may seek counsel and strength from thee, so as to be rightly directed in this weighty work of going from house to house. Unworthy as I am, I desire to prostrate myself before thee, and beseech thee graciously to afford me the covering of thy Spirit, and a more even frame of mind.

"19th, seventh-day.—A day of exercise; no clear prospect opening to move in the family visit, and I am jealous of myself. O for the water of purification, and that my soul may be abased, and by abiding there find preservation! Great is the subtlety of the enemy.

"20th, first-day.—May I know a setting out anew this morning, by the power of him who overturns, washes and makes up anew. I am a poor creature, and I am glad to be made sensible of it. Went to Devonshire house and sat silent; dined with Martha Routh and company at Job Allen's; and when we sat down to eat, it was a solemn time, in which my speech was directed to the parents, their three sons present, and the maid. In the afternoon went to Gracechurch street meeting, which was dull in the fore part, but after being favoured with a little strength to open a door, Samuel Emlen had much to say to a number of strangers present, and hope the meeting ended pretty well.

"21st, second-day.—Breakfasted with Martha Routh, her husband, and several Friends, at Simon Bayley's, and after a solid sitting, accompanied her on board the ship Barclay; where I found dear John Wigham.* We had to part from them pretty soon, and the ship got under way. After we landed, I stopped at the widow Smith's near the tower, with a number of Friends; where we sat down together, and it proved a time of divine favour to be remembered.

"22nd.—Breakfasted at Joseph Bevan's with Samuel Emlen; and accompanied him to the water side, where I took leave of him in an affecting manner: he was going, with a number of Friends, in a Gravesend boat, to embark for America in the ship Barclay. After this, went with Elizabeth Minchell, Sarah Rudd and Elizabeth Messer to Radcliff meeting, to the burial of Robert Forster. It was a large mixed meeting, a number of poor inhabitants coming in; and I was glad I was there. On visiting William Rotch, the only passenger now left behind, and feeling his lonely, tried situation, I expressed a willingness to accompany him to the ship lying at Gravesend, which he accepted.

"23rd.—Sat off in a post-chaise with William Rotch; when we got to Gravesend found our friends on shore at a public house, near the water's edge, all ready to put off, so we took boats and went on board; staid about a quarter of an hour with them, and then took a solemn leave once more, soon after which the ship got under way, with a fair wind, and when we landed was nearly out of sight. We sat down in the large room in the tavern, and I hope we were favoured to send our wishes and prayers for preservation after the little band on the water. Returned with William Dillwyn, and as we rode along, we saw a very great smoke arise toward London, which

we found to be a fire. It broke out in a boat builder's shop, adjoining the East India Company's large warehouse and salt petre works; which were soon on fire and burned violently. It continued burning many hours, and it was supposed that between four and five hundred houses were destroyed. It came very nearly up to Ratcliff meeting house, and extended over several acres of ground.

"24th.—This was the day of Ratcliff monthly meeting, which I knew not, but found my mind turned that way rather than to Westminster week-day meeting. Joseph Smith went with me, and when we got there we found the yard pretty much filled up with casks, and no appearance of a meeting. It being early we took a walk among the ruins and rubbish caused by the fire yesterday, and in a little while returned, and found two Friends standing in the grave yard, who hardly knew whether to go into the meeting-house or not; but I encouraged them to go in, so we went and sat down: our meeting amounted to four members of the meeting on the men's side, and two women and a child on the other, with about as many from other meetings,—and a minute was made by a Friend, adjourning the meeting for one week; the clerk we understand is burnt out.

"25th.—Went to the meeting for the scholars at Clerkenwell school, which was attended by only a few Friends, but hope it was to some profit.

"26th.—A low time, in a sense of my weakness and unworthiness. The prospect of a family visit is removed out of sight, and it is proving to be here so long, just attending meetings as they come in course. In conversation with my friend this morning, I find our feelings very much correspond. This evening, on looking over the day, and also those days which I have spent in London, what can I say or do more than the poor publican did? We poor creatures can neither add to, nor take from the work. O that neither carelessness, nor unwatchfulness, nor sloth may be laid to my charge. I am jealous and afraid of myself.

"31st, fifth-day.—To Ratcliff monthly meeting; which, although small, I hope was an edifying time to some. In the evening went to the Park meeting with Sarah Rudd, which was the largest I have been at, and my mind was drawn forth toward the youth; and yet, notwithstanding such seasons, what a poor stumbling creature I seem to be. I laid down in pain and exercise, and had a tossing uneasy night. I am a poor unworthy instrument, if indeed I dare to number myself among the Lord's instruments. I preach to others, and yet see my own shortness. Lord, in thy

* These two Friends were about embarking on a religious visit to Friends in America.

wanted mercy, stretch forth thy crook of love and tender compassion to me, as thou has done abundantly in time past.

"Eighth month 3rd.—At Devonshire house meeting I was favoured with a sweet, calming, refreshing time in silence. E. M. was there, and appeared after some time of silence, and then I was favoured with an open time. In the afternoon went to Gracechurch street meeting, which was large, and I hope profitable, my heart being enlarged and my mouth opened. Returned home and sat a little while with dear Elizabeth Drinker, who seems to weaken, but is in a precious child-like state of innocence. This has been a comfortable encouraging day; may the Lord have the praise, who can and does raise up as from the dust, and sets the poor soul at liberty.

"4th.—My mind was thoughtfully exercised, before daylight this morning, in regard to proceeding in the family visit, laid before Gracechurch street meeting a month ago this day. A female companion has been waiting a month to join me, and I have been shut up from going on, and this morning am still poor and blind. O Lord my God, preserve me from joining in with any thing which will mar thy work! I am poor and blind, thou art riches, light and life: I prostrate myself before thee. I know not what step to take. Lord, graciously condescend to the low estate of thy servant, and send forth thy light and thy truth, and let them guide my feet.

"7th.—As I was going down from my chamber, I met Joseph Smith coming to inform me, that they thought Elizabeth Drinker was departing. I went into her room and found her almost gasping for breath, but after a time she revived.

"8th.—In my wakeful moments last night heard dear Elizabeth Drinker; and sometimes she appeared, by the melody of her voice, to be singing. I did not rise until late, soon after which, Dr. Fox came, and I went into her room with him; and whilst we sat with her, she appeared melodiously in supplication in broken sentences.

"9th.—Dear Elizabeth appeared to me to be singing praises in the night, and early this morning. What a desirable state she is in! O my poor soul, wait on thy God for the discovery of his will and ability to do it.

"Ten o'clock.—I have just left E. D. On sitting down by her, I asked if I should remember her love to Friends, as I was writing home; she answered, 'Yes, give my love—I love them;' and then turning from the subject, said distinctly, 'O the pearl gates!' After a few minutes I asked her if she wished to send it to her dear husband and daughter,

she answered, 'O yes, let it go: with much affection and great earnestness.' This morning when I went first into her room, she said in a broken manner, 'O my dear husband'—and then spoke of the wall of the heavenly city, the gates and the hewing and squaring of the materials; which bespoke where her thoughts were placed.

"10th, first-day.—Dear E. D. is very low; a little before meeting time I went up with the doctor to see her, and apprehending she would not suddenly depart, I ventured to go to Gracechurch street meeting, which was large, and my heart was largely drawn forth. The doctor returned with me—found our dear friend alive: I went to the afternoon meeting and was again enlarged in testimony. Whilst John Townsend, Joseph Smith and I were sitting by dear E. D. she seemed in a great struggle with the phlegm, and looked around at us, and moved her hand as though she wanted to say something. Soon after this she was helped out of bed, and before she could be got back again, she very quietly expired. I have been for days past, in a state of much weakness. I am thankful, however, this evening, not only to feel pretty comfortable in body, but relieved from considerable pressure and conflict of mind. 'When the dead are at rest, let their remembrance rest; and be comforted for them when the spirit is departed from them.'

"12th, third-day.—Feel more comfortable and revived in bodily strength. O what a path I tread, and yet what cause of reverent thankfulness that I am counted worthy to labour and suffer for the Lord's cause! if I dare use the expression. Labour to hold fast, O my soul. Went to Devonshire house week-day meeting which was held for the first time in the new house, (women's,) and a very comfortable time it was. In the afternoon Mary Stanton came to see me; a young woman who was at the Peel meeting in the afternoon of the first-day that I left Gracechurch street meeting to go there. It was a laborious and a low time, but towards the close my mind was enlarged to such as were seeking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward; and this young woman informs me that her doubts were answered that evening, with respect to the attendance of our meetings.

"15th.—At ten o'clock attended the remains of our dear deceased friend Elizabeth Drinker to Gracechurch street meeting-house, where was a very large meeting: in the forepart, J. Townsend appeared; after which I had a pretty full opportunity. We then accompanied the corpse to the grave yard, which was at a considerable distance. There

was a large collection of Friends and strangers at the grave, and I had another opportunity amongst them.

"17th, first-day.—Was at Tottenham meeting, which was pretty large, and T. Shillitoe appeared in a very lively manner; protesting against the pride, equipage and high things which so much prevail. When he was done, my mind was exercised to stand up pretty much in the same line, and I do not remember that closer doctrine has been delivered by me, a poor unworthy instrument, at any meeting in this land. The afternoon meeting was a time of binding up, and my mind seemed enlarged towards the young people and little children.

"23rd.—I hope my health and strength are recruiting: O that devotedness of heart may be my happy experience.

"29th.—Walked out this afternoon alone, bemoaning my present imprisoned condition, and after I returned, withdrew into a room where my condition came more fully before me, and in the thoughtful exercise, the state of the great city of London, revived again and again; and on opening Cowper's poems this passage first struck my view;

'Cry aloud, thou that sittest in the dust,
Cry to the proud, the cruel and unjust;
Knock at the gates of nations—rouse their fears,
Say, wrath is coming, and the storm appears;
But raise the shrillest cry in British ears;'

which seemed to correspond with the deep conflicts of my mind, which has been ready of late to take up the prophet's language; 'Who hath believed our report?' what can such poor unworthy feeble instruments do to put forward the work of the Lord in the earth?

"31st, first-day.—To Tottenham meeting, which was a time of enlargement and favour to me, and I hope profitable to others.

"Ninth month 2nd, third-day.—Spent some comfortable moments in William Dillwyn's office; being favoured, I trust, with a ray of heavenly light. Rode out about three or four miles before dinner and feel better,—continue to take the doctor's prescription: O that my heavenly Physician may condescend to heal me, and open my blind eyes.

"5th, sixth-day.—To London and attended the meeting for Sufferings, in which my mind was exercised to stir up Friends to zeal in filling up their places in this important station; and prepare for a day of suffering, if it should be the great Master's will to suffer it to come. Several other weighty subjects impressed my mind to mention, and it was a good time. Returned home with my friends

W. and S. D. after night—more watchfulness and prayer needful.

"7th, first-day.—To Epping meeting, which was very small, but a memorable time to me; my heart being engaged to come into a disposition to say, 'Not my will but thine, O Lord, be done;' who will do all things concerning us well. I had some religious communication, and also in the afternoon—the latter of an encouraging character.

"8th.—Feel a renewal of strength both of body and mind this morning: may praise and thanksgiving be rendered to the Preserver of men.

"Went to Chelmsford and attended the quarterly select meeting,—where I was seated between my much esteemed friends George Gibson and Elizabeth his wife, (formerly when in our country, Elizabeth Robinson,) and the consolation and comfort that my soul witnessed in this opportunity, I cannot set forth. I had to look back to my first acquaintance with this mother in Israel, who was a mother in the Truth to me, who now sat near me in the meeting, and after it, owned me as a child. Truly the Lord provides all necessary good things for his devoted people. A few months after she had returned from her visit to our country, her husband was removed by death; but her loss seems abundantly made up by her present one, who is a prince in Israel.

"9th, third-day.—To the quarterly meeting, and although a very rainy time, it was large, and I was comforted in the company of so many valuable Friends, and an open instructive time I think it proved. Dined at R. Greenwood's with a large number of Friends, and had a solid religious opportunity, my friends G. G. and wife being with us. What a favour, I have thought, to be thus noticed and cared for, by one whom the Lord made as a sharp threshing instrument to me, in my own land. The works of the Lord are indeed wonderful, and his doings among men are hidden from the wisdom of this world. I am a poor creature, unworthy of the many favours I receive; and were it not for his abundant mercy, I should be confounded and consumed.

"12th, sixth-day.—To a meeting at Tottenham, appointed for a marriage. It was very large, many of the people of the town being at it; and I hope it was a profitable season. I went home with T. Horne, and when we sat down to eat, a number of Friends being at the table, I hope it was a good time to all of us in humble prayer. After tea we dropped again into silence, when this passage of the prophet impressed my mind; 'It shall come to pass in that day, that the ploughman

shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt:’ from which I had to speak encouragingly to the dear children of the family, as had been frequently the case before; and near the close of the opportunity dear S. opened her mouth in testimony to the goodness of the Lord. It was a heart tendering time.

“14th, first-day.—Went to Gracechurch street meeting, which was pretty large, and I was favoured with one more thorough open time, as also in the afternoon meeting. Spent the evening with unusual sweetness of mind, and feel a renewal of bodily health, even after such great exercise—what mercy.

“17th.—Attended Gracechurch street, which was one of the most open meetings I have been at in that house. The love of the gospel flowed freely towards the poor in spirit.

“18th.—To the Park meeting appointed for a marriage. E. Bevington was there and favoured both in supplication and testimony; and I hope it was to the profit of individuals present, as much tenderness appeared.

“19th.—To the burial of Abraham Gray, at Winchmore hill. This was a time of relief to me; wherein serious weighty truths were held forth. S. H. opened the service of this day to my comfort. Jacob Bell and Sarah Rudd appeared in the grave yard, and I had some further communication to make to the children of the deceased, who were respectful and kind.”

On the 19th of ninth month, 1794, he was taken sick and confined to the house until the 28th. On the 26th he writes: “after dinner being alone, my heart was humbled into weeping. O, the many trials there are to pass through, in order to refine us. O Lord my God, thou knowest all things, and knowest what is best for me: not my will but thine be done. Keep me in the work and service unto which thou hast called me, until thou sayest it is enough.

“27th.—Rather better in health—O for more living substantial improvement in the things of the kingdom.

“30th.—Went to quarterly meeting, which was comfortably conducted: dined at Joseph Smith’s with a number of Friends, and think we were favoured both on sitting down to eat and after dinner, with a singularly good time. Let praise be given to the Lord most gracious.

“Tenth month 1st.—At Gracechurch street meeting; and although small, it was a sweet season of the spreading of heavenly love. In the evening went to the youths’ meeting,

held in Devonshire house: it was large and solid, and the labour fell on me, and I trust it was an edifying season.

“5th, first-day.—Feel pretty comfortable this morning, both in body and mind; a favour calling for continued thankfulness. What fathers and mothers, brethren and sisters, are raised up to be helps and comforts to me in this far distant land. Attended morning meeting at Tottenham, and the testimony of Truth was close and searching to the libertines, as has frequently been the case.

“9th, fifth-day.—To the monthly meeting at Tottenham, and in the gathering of it, my mind was covered with sweetness, which ripened into an exercise that I was not easy to keep to myself, and trust it was through divine favour, a time of love to some of us. After dinner at Thomas Horne’s, where there were a number of Friends, we had a solid and instructive religious time, and in the evening we were again favoured with divine good. William Forster, his two sons, sister Ann, and S. Fairbank came in, with whom we had another opportunity, in the close of which S. Horne appeared in prayer. Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord. Be pleased to strengthen thy servant to preach thy word with all boldness, in the name of thy holy child Jesus. This has been a day of enlargement, for which unmerited favour may my soul be prostrated before Him whose power remains sufficient to open when all appears closed up.

“10th, sixth-day.—Thoughtfully exercised this morning, what to move in next: sometime after breakfast felt liberty to send for T. Phillips—when the lad got near their door he met his wife and daughter Ann, coming over to see us, and soon after came Thomas also and Hannah Kendall—with this little company, this family and Mary Reynolds, I had an open encouraging opportunity from these expressions; ‘many shall be purified and made white.’ After it was over, dear S. expressed a desire to accompany me to a Friend’s family, who had a son drowned about twelve months ago, on a first-day afternoon. The lad was at meeting when S. E. and Elizabeth Drinker both bore a remarkable testimony; Elizabeth saying among other things, that there was a person in the meeting, who would be so suddenly taken, as hardly to have time to say ‘Lord have mercy on me.’ Instead of going to meeting in the afternoon at his father’s request, the boy went to bathe in the river, and on the way one of his acquaintances said to him, ‘we had better go to meeting,’ but he refused and persisted in his design: soon after getting into the water, he got out of his depth, and as he could not swim, was suddenly

drowned. I went into this family quite a stranger, and soon after we sat down, dear S. addressed the son and daughter present, in an affectionate manner, mentioning this awful circumstance; also the trial of the family in parting with a beloved brother-in-law; and hoped the dispensation might prove a blessing to both families. Much brokenness of spirit appeared, and I hope it was a good time; a door being opened by S. for me. Returned back to T. Horne's, and soon after J. H. and C. B., who had passed the meeting yesterday, came and drank tea with us; we soon as with one consent dropt into silence, and I think it was a time that will be remembered by us all. My path has been exercising in religious communication under this roof, and the parents and children are made increasingly near to me.

"12th, first-day.—One more favoured meeting at Tottenham, wherein very close labour has been bestowed on the backsliders.

"15th, fourth-day.—In a lonely walk this morning I felt some brokenness of spirit, of which I was glad; the afternoon and evening were not so pleasant, yet hope I have been measurably content; but fear I do not experience that advancement and firmness in the Christian life which is desirable. My days are few and fleeting—O for greater religious improvement, and more wisdom and stability.

"16th.—Attended Tottenham meeting, where the corps of H. C. was brought, on the way to the burial ground, at Winchmore hill. I had very close work, after which, went home with T. Horne.

"19th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, which was large; and a laborious time to me, in pleading with the high and unconcerned ones, who will not come forward and join in the work of Truth. In the afternoon meeting, my mind was drawn forth to a seeking state, and felt much spent.

"20th, second-day.—Attended the morning meeting, which was a time of sweetness and enlargement.

"22nd.—To the burial of Rebecca, widow of Abraham Gray, at Winchmore hill, which proved a solid time, and hope the meeting was held to profit. After dinner my mind became exercised to labour with the company present, to embrace the Divine call, and enter into the vineyard and work. In the evening, had another religious opportunity with some Friends who came in, which was an open encouraging time. Truly I may acknowledge I am favoured, far beyond my deserts, who am indeed a poor creature.

"23rd.—To Tottenham week-day meeting, which was unusually small, but solid and comfortable.

"25th.—Set off in a post chaise for Hitchin, and arrived there a little before night. I felt poor and stript, much like a stranger and pilgrim on earth.

"26th, first-day.—Went to the meeting, where I found a little company of Friends, who were soon made near to me; my spirit was united with those, in every age, who had no certain dwelling place, and I was brought into near sympathy with the labourers and travellers in this day; and after a time stood up with the subject before me, and was favoured with an open encouraging time. The afternoon meeting was to me a silent contemplative time, wherein the book of prophecy was measurably opened to read in. After meeting went to see that dear aged servant of the Lord, Samuel Spavold, and it was precious to me to be favoured to sit by and converse with him, and to receive his blessing. He told me the Lord was with me, and that he hoped I would be preserved to the end. 'I longed to see thee,' said he, 'after I heard thou wast come. Thou sees I am a poor old man; I can't see thee, though I sometimes say *see*,—but I am glad to hear thee. The Lord has been wonderfully good to me, and I love him; but sometimes I fear I cannot love him enough.' On mentioning the trials and temptations to be met with, he said, 'don't fear the adversary, for perfect love casts out fear: my divine Master has been wonderfully kind to me, and given me victory over him; I don't fear him; and he has enabled me to say to him in time past, Devil do thy worst, I fear thee not.' After a little pause he said, 'for whose sake I know not, but these expressions have impressed my mind, 'there is that which scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tends to poverty;' be faithful, and so farewell.' Sometime after when we again entered into conversation, he said to me, 'don't take any burden away with thee.' After a little time he continued, 'the Lord, my Master, has been very kind, and has given me enough to live comfortably upon—I have a dear Master.' I told him that I had heard so in my own country, and it was encouraging to me to hope and trust also, and endeavour to serve him. He replied, 'yes, he will be with thee; thou art a favoured servant.' This was after an opportunity with a room full of Friends, most of them young, to whom I had something encouraging to communicate. 'I am going home,' said he, 'and I am glad of it.' On my saying, heaven would be a happy place, free from all labour and toil, he said; 'with the church of the first born—the general assembly; I long to be with them.'

"27th.—Went to the monthly meeting, and

it was an open good time: supped at John Ransom's with a considerable number of Friends; we dropt into silence, and had, I hope, a solid meeting.

"28th.—To Isaac Sharpless' to breakfast, and after it was over, I trust the bread of life was broken amongst us; then to J. W.'s, where we were favoured with a good opportunity, Mary Stacey being my fellow helper; from thence to Samuel Spavold's. O the sweetness that accompanied my mind whilst with him; and after a season of silence, I kneeled down in supplication, and my soul wrestled with the Lord our God for a blessing, both to be continued to his worthy aged servant, and for the continuation of it to me in this land, and that if I should in time to come, be excused from labours and travels abroad, my soul might rest as his does; and that the Lord would favour his heritage, and raise up labourers and send them forth. The dear old man expressed his satisfaction, and told me, he could not fully express the love he felt for me, and for the labourers the Lord is sending forth; 'For,' continued he, 'His work will be carried on. The Lord will favour and bless thee. Master will prevail—his work will go forward.' We parted with much affection."

After visiting a few families, he took post-chaise and rode to Hartford, where he attended their week-day meeting, and visited a number of families and some aged individuals, and arrived in London on the evening of the 30th; the next day attended the scholars' meeting, at Clerkenwell.

"Eleventh month 2nd, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, and had a laborious time in caution and warning to Friends, to endeavour to stand armed against the evil and trying day. In the afternoon silent.

"5th, fourth-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting; a laborious, trying season, both in the first and second meeting, but not altogether without some comfort."

Extract of a letter, written by him, dated Stoke Newington, near London, eleventh month 6th, 1794.

"I am now at the house of my friend Richard Chester; an elder whom I chose to accompany me, when way might open, to conduct me into the families of Friends belonging to Gracechurch street monthly meeting, and who has been waiting for that purpose. Thou wilt find by my letters, that I have had rather a singular path to step in, having been landed several months, and no settled fixed line of service has opened. Within a few days, some little opening has presented,

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and we have been into some families; and although in much weakness and fear, and not without some trembling at the prospect; yet so far, it has produced peace, and a willingness is wrought in my mind to proceed, as Truth may open the way, and I think it not unlikely that I may winter in and near this great city. It is a place my mind was peculiarly drawn to, when at home, and also the latter part of the time I was at sea; a place in which peculiar exercise has been my lot, both in meetings and out of them. O that I may be favoured to dwell so low and deep, as to be enabled to leave it with that peace, of which my soul is in pursuit. I have thought of late of my tour to the south, and remember how the remote part of Georgia lay most on me, and the covenant I entered into, at the time when thou wast my careful nurse, that if the Lord would but raise me up, and give me to experience the sense of his love, and go with me, I would follow him to the end of the land. I magnify that divine hand and arm that went with and supported me all along, and through peculiar exercises in that remote spot. How the scene is changed; they were poor, and I was brought nearly to sympathize and feel with men of low estate, in their little cottages. Now there is an abounding;—O the perfection, there is here, as to outward beauty and comeliness! Herein are trials that are fresh and new,—and I think of dear Rebecca Jones' bemoaning language; 'I am by far a poorer creature than thou hast any idea of; and doubt my getting through to the honour of the great Master.' Thou mayest tell her, that I have occasion frequently to remember her advice: 'Be not afraid of the rich and great,' &c. I may also say that I have been favoured at seasons to penetrate through the shell or covering, and find precious ones here and there; and with such I have been permitted to drink of the brook by the way, greatly to our refreshment."

In a letter to S. H., written about this time, he says:

"I have frequently thought of putting my pen to paper, and telling thee a part of my trials, but could not until this morning. O that the Shepherd of Israel may be thy leader, enlarge thy gift, and make thee a blessing to many. Wait then, my friend, patiently wait under all thy trials, for the live coal from off the holy altar, to warm thy heart and touch thy lips. This is what will make our words drop as oil, to the strengthening of the true mourners and upright burden bearers. Without a doubt thou art called, and as thou keepest in lowliness and humility, thou wilt come yet more

and more into the state of the chosen of the Lord: 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, that ye might go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit might remain.' O that like Moses, thou mayest be favoured to throw all glittering preferments behind thy back, and learn more and more what a Christian's life is, meditating in the law of life; and then no matter what thy conflicts and inward exercises may be, life will spring up in the Lord's own time, and a testimony to his goodness, mercy and power will be put into thy mouth. As poor as I have been, and indeed was on sitting down to write this letter, faith has arisen with respect to thee, and the desire to hold forth the language of encouragement. I might go on and fill my paper, but perhaps I have said enough, especially when we look back and remember those precious seasons of heavenly regard we have been favoured with, when the canopy of divine love has been so remarkably spread over us; which are frequently revived in my mind, and the language has arisen, I trust in sincerity, O Lord, preserve the parents unto thy everlasting kingdom, and favour the children."

"8th.—Richard Chester went to town this morning, in order to pave the way for entering more fully into the family visit in the city next week: spent the morning mostly in reading the New Testament.

"9th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, which was large, and a relieving time to me from these words, that rested on my mind to begin with: 'O that there was in them an heart to fear me, and to keep my commandments always; that it might be well with them, and their children after them.' Went to afternoon meeting, which was thought to be one of the largest almost ever known, without notice being given. My mind was sweetened with a sense of divine love, and under this I had encouragingly to labour for the help of others; a seeking seed being present. After the meeting visited several families, and this evening I feel peaceful and easy, and it is in my heart to return the tribute of praise to the Lord my helper."

From the 10th to the 16th he was closely engaged in visiting families belonging to Gracechurch street meeting; but from this time to the 30th, the way being closed for further labour, he remained in the city and its neighbourhood, taking the meetings as they came in course.

"30th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting morning and afternoon: in the morning a laborious close time, yet was favoured with a good degree of sweetness and ease,

and felt comfortable after it. At the breaking up a young man came and spoke to me, and acknowledged in a tender manner, that his condition had been spoken to. The afternoon meeting was large, and an open time with the poor of the flock. Several Friends spent the evening with us, and I was favoured with a good time in prayer; my burthen is lightened; for this favour may thanks be given to Him who is ever worthy. O it is good to be thankful in all states and conditions, even the most proving.

"Twelfth month 1st.—This day begins another month, and I feel like making a new beginning. The old exercise seems passed away, and I do not find condemnation for travelling so far in this concern in the manner I have, and so feel willing to resign up all. O that the all-sufficient power of Him who makes all things new, may be near to help me in future labours, travels and exercises.

Attended the select meeting, in which S. F. appeared in supplication; and when she arose, I believed it right for me to continue the same; and my mind felt comfortable and easy after meeting. I feel resigned to whatever my Lord and Master may be pleased in wisdom to inscribe upon me, and to perform what further labour may be right; either to pursue the family visit, or other work in a different line. Good is the Lord and worthy to be waited upon.

"7th, first-day.—Attended Gracechurch street meeting, which was large, open, I trust, and favoured; as was also the afternoon meeting. Had a good time with the family in the evening, and laid down fatigued, but preciously peaceful and easy in mind.

"10th.—Attended the monthly meeting of Gracechurch street; and it proved a blessed opportunity, and hope it was profitable to individuals." In the evening he was taken sick, and remained so for several days; and in a letter dated 15th of this month, after speaking of his indisposition, he remarks, "You will find that I am frequently thrown back by indisposition and other ways; but do not be discouraged,—I am helped along; and though my detention has been singular in this part of the city, I dare not doubt it has been in the ordering of divine wisdom: and the sweetness of that soul-enriching peace, which is my portion, (in humility be it spoken,) is more than an adequate reward for all that I have had to pass through, in order to prepare for the work.

16th.—Opens again the family visit.—"Sat with J. G. B. at eleven—an open encouraging time; after which I had a remarkable opportunity with a woman Friend and

her daughter, from these words: 'The Lord is my judge,' &c.; the daughter was affected so that tears rolled down her cheeks, and the mother was also tendered."

From the 16th of this month, to the 6th of the first month, 1795, he was daily engaged in visiting families; in which he was favoured to administer to the spiritual states of individuals, in many cases in a remarkable manner.

Having for some time believed it would be required of him to offer himself to Devonshire house monthly meeting, to go from family to family, he attended that meeting on the 6th of the first month for that purpose, which he thus describes;—"A low time in the first meeting; but I could not forbear to mention my prospect of a family visit, with which Friends united, and appointed a committee to assist me in the work: soon after which I went and sat a little time in the women's meeting,—and mentioning what I had done, several expressed their satisfaction and unity with the proposal; which was encouraging to my tried mind.

"7th.—This has been a day of sorrow and exercise, having undertaken more work in this great city; and it feels discouraging that so little fruit appears after the arduous labour bestowed in this [Gracechurch street] meeting; yet I hope it will not be altogether fruitless. O my weakness and poverty! Who is sufficient for these things?

"8th.—A comfortable night's rest, and feel rather more courage this morning. O Lord, my helper, enlighten the eye of thy servant, for in vain is the help of man! Be pleased to favour me with ability to see and to do thy blessed will."

From the 8th to the 13th, he continued engaged in visiting families; and having received information of the death of Samuel Spavold, he went to Hitchin, the place of his abode, to attend the burial.

"15th.—To meeting at eleven o'clock, where the body of our deceased friend was brought. It was a large, mixed meeting, and I thought a low time. O for preservation on such occasions, when there is so much looking to instruments! I followed the corps to the ground, where I could not forbear uttering these expressions, with some little addition; 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof;' with a desire, that the youth of that neighbourhood might be favoured to take up the mantle of this faithful servant of the Lord. Dined with the widow, children, and grand children, &c., and was engaged in prayer at the table. After dinner, came in Mary Pryor and Sarah Rudd, who had some lively communication, which opened

a further door for me fully to relieve my mind."

On the 16th he returned to London, and spent next day mostly at home. "On the 18th attended Barking meeting, where the body of John Harvey was brought,—the house could not contain the people so as to get seats; it was a pretty open time, and after it I had a good opportunity with the widow, children and other relatives.

"19th.—Went to London and attended the select meeting; and on the 20th went to Horsleydown meeting, where I was silently shut up.

"23rd.—After an open time of encouragement with a number of females at the meeting-house chamber, I sat with several clerks, &c., at the same place; being the last opportunity laid out by the committee within this meeting, (Gracechurch street.) My weakness was great, but strength arose, and I was favoured to relieve my mind; and after they were gone I sat down, and in weakness and humility, looked over my arduous labour within this meeting; and though sensible I am a poor unprofitable servant, yet felt thankful in that enriching peace was my portion.

"25th, first-day.—Attended Devonshire house meeting, both morning and afternoon, and was silently shut up; it has been an exercising day to me.

"26th.—Went to the morning meeting, where an exhortation to servants, written by Job Thomas of Wales, was read, and a committee appointed to correct it. In the evening I met them at John Elliot's, and it proved a time to be remembered.

"27th.—To Devonshire house meeting, and was again silently shut up under exercise.

"28th.—Attended Gracechurch street meeting, and through divine favour, my mind was supported, and I hope enabled to worship in humble silent prostration, and was favoured with some precious openings. O for more religious weight and depth! that so the divine blessing may rest upon me through the future labours in this great city. I have need to be baptized again and again for so great a work.

"30th.—Went with J. Smith to the monthly children's meeting at Clerkenwell, and was favoured with a pretty open time. Meeting with my friends T. Horne and daughters, I concluded to go home with them to Tottenham, where I met, as usual, much openness, and we had a comfortable sitting with the family and several Friends.

"31st.—Spent this morning in reading; hoping that before long my divine Master will appear, and set me to work again in his harvest field."

About this time he received a letter from his friend J. W., dated twelfth month 11th, 1794, from which the following is taken, viz :

"We often think of thee, and sometimes talk about thee, since thou hast left thy native land, thy endeared wife and children, and also thy beloved friends; in many of whose hearts, I believe thou hast obtained a large place. I may acknowledge that it is cause of thankfulness to the Father of mercies, that ever I saw thy face and heard thy voice, being as a tender nursing father to me, even before thou knew me outwardly, but wast made sensible of my inward state and condition, and in the precious light of Truth, didst seal instruction on my heart, and afford abundant encouragement to me, to press forward in that high and holy way, which, through divine kindness, and the teachings of the Holy Spirit, has been cast up and made plain to my understanding. Thy testimony also greatly tended to confirm me in the prospect which had been spread before the view of my mind, in a very remarkable manner; that some day or other, the Lord had a service for me to do; namely, to publish his gospel message to the people. This was at a time when I had read very little in Friends' books, was not joined with them in their holy profession, and knew but little about them: and the first time thou saw me and took notice of me, it afforded me much encouragement, at a time when often under doubts and discouragements.

May I treasure in faithful remembrance the several eminently favoured opportunities I have, since that day, had in thy company, and in hearing thy testimonies, which have been as marrow to my bones, or as cold water to a thirsty man."

"Second month 2nd.—Went to select meeting in London, which was a memorable time, though exercising to me. The Address by Job Thomas being again read, it was concluded to send it to him to publish.

"3rd.—To Devonshire house monthly meeting; and although low in the fore part, it was a day of some comfort to me; Friends conducting their business in much brotherly love.

"4th.—Attended Gracechurch street monthly meeting; and in the fore part had a relieving time, though it was low water in the beginning. The testimony of Truth was very close to such as had neglected the visitations of their youthful days. A memorial concerning our beloved friend Elizabeth Drinker was brought forward. On the whole I seem somewhat relieved; but it is remarkable how one thing after another detains me in London. I

love its inhabitants and travail in spirit for the welfare of all ranks and classes.

"5th.—Sat off this morning, accompanied by George Stacey and Rachel Smith, to the burial of the wife of Simeon Hagan, at Staines, and the corpse was taken into the meeting, in which I was shut up in silence. Ann Crowley, a young woman, sat near me, and appeared under exercise, but did not give up to speak; and at the grave I thought she again appeared under a concern to express something to the people; so I took her by the arm and put her before me, and soon after she spoke, and thus opened a door for me to labour.

"8th.—To High Wycombe meeting, and was shut up in silence. My strippings and provings of late have increased, and I feel very little strength to minister to others, the cause of which my soul is anxious to know. The Lord can turn a barren wilderness into a fruitful field; but I sometimes fear that I am in the circumstance that Moses was, when the Lord met him by the way going towards the land of Egypt with the Lord's message: it seems he had forgotten or neglected doing his duty. My past condition sometimes comes up, and the prayer of my heart is, that my divine Master may cause his light more and more to arise and shine in me, that nothing which is wrong may lay hid; for I see heaven is a clean and pure habitation. And now, O Lord my God, graciously condescend to the low estate of thy servant—open the way and go before me in this land; and if thou go not with me, take me not hence! O guide my heart and my tongue, that I may not speak a false vision in this land.

"11th, fourth-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, poor and stripped. The body of Frances, wife of Joel Cadbury, was brought thence, and the meeting was pretty large. John Townsend opened the service, and it was once more a time of enlargement with me, and I hope measurably, a tendering season.

"15th, first-day.—The meeting at Devonshire house was pretty large, and I laboured among them in much bodily weakness. Saw a little light on the family visit.

"16th.—This afternoon opens the family visit in Devonshire house monthly meeting, accompanied by Simon Bayley."

The following letter, dated London, third month 1st, addressed to his friend S. Harrison, at that time on a religious visit in England, gives an account of his labours about this time, and will serve to show the close fellowship which subsisted between these two devoted servants, while engaged in similar labours, to promote the cause of Truth and righteous-

ness. After acknowledging her acceptable letter, which came to hand a few days previous, he says :

“Thou hast been favoured to hit the nail on its head in nearly every stroke. What a blessing, that one fellow servant should be so dipped into feeling and sympathy with another at a distance, and without knowing or hearing by outward information, as thou sayest was thy case. My exercises, both in meetings and families, some of them at least, I think have been singular. I was favoured to get through Gracechurch street meeting much to the peace of my own mind ; having a kind, attentive yokefellow, and who continues to be my near friend. In the opening and liberty I feel whilst writing to a dear sister, I will give thee a little sketch of my winding up in that business.

“The last opportunity was with a little company of female servants, who could not be seen in the families where they lived, held in the meeting chamber. Felt poor, as if it was indeed the last running of the little oil ; however, we were, I hope, somewhat tendered together ; after which, being left alone, I sat down under reflections that one more arduous undertaking was got through ; and although I had to acknowledge in secret to the goodness, mercy and power of the good Shepherd, in putting forth and condescending to go before, yet I remembered also, what He told his beloved disciples on a like occasion ; ‘After ye have done all that I have commanded you, say we are unprofitable servants ; we have done no more than was our duty,’ &c., and so wound up quiet, calm and easy. After this I had a humbling dispensation to go through, having some time before the finishing of this visit, laid a similar prospect before Devonshire house monthly meeting, in much weakness, and now had to look towards the accomplishing of that. But, O the strippedness I was brought into ; and the concern was so much removed, that I could see no time to make a beginning. While I was in this state,

— came to London with some prospect of joining me in the service of Truth ; but his coming did not relieve me, nor open my way,—his mind having been turned towards Westminster meeting, and he had let in thoughts, that mine would be so likewise. I could neither see him to be the right companion for me in the work in Devonshire house, nor a beginning corner for myself, and he was made sensible of it. After he commenced his visit, my way opened, and accompanied by Simon Bayley, an acceptable companion, I have visited sixty-nine families in the last two weeks. And truly, I find, beloved friend,

that it is good to be plunged down into Jordan’s bottom, or deeply baptized into weakness, nothingness and poverty, previous to such engagements ; for way has since been made for me in a marvellous manner, and ability given to relieve my exercised mind. What a mystery is this ! Is it not a miracle, like the running of the oil into the empty vessels borrowed by the poor woman formerly, whereby she was enabled to pay her creditors. I have felt more cheerful and easy since a way and means have opened to pay this debt ; but we know all the honour is to be rendered to the everlasting Prophet and Bishop of souls, who indeed is, and will be, a very present help in the needful time to all that wait on him. So dear sister, as thou hast been so favoured to encourage me, suffer me to say to thee, and not without feeling,—Lift up thy head in hope, for surely the same good hand which has hitherto been near, and enabled thee to set up thy Ebenezer, will not fail, even though more such singularly exercising meetings may turn up, as thou describes. ‘Be careful for nothing, but in every thing by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your request be made known unto God :’ this encouraging language occurs to offer for thy help, and I trust, for my own also, being often sensible of want. I hope I shall not say too much ; but truly, when I think of our situation, as the only two messengers now on this island from America, separated from all our near and dear connexions, we may give way a little to those sympathetic feelings we are favoured with. Approve thyself, therefore, and that with a willing mind, a labourer that need not be ashamed—rightly dividing the word. Thou knowest the fat and full must be fed with different food from the panting, bleating sheep. Alas ! alas ! how many there are of the first description, not only under our name, but amongst the people at large, although the judge appears to be so near the door. Well, dear friend, amid all which we may have to wade through for the Lord’s sake, I think I see, and hope I am not deceived, that the strength of Israel is yet with his people, and that the declaration of the prophet will be more fully brought to pass ; ‘The Lord will comfort Zion : he will comfort all her waste places ; he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert as the garden of the Lord : joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.’ There are precious plants, even little children, in this city, who, by keeping faithful to the Lord, will in due time have this song, or one similar to it, to sing. The Lord is blessing Zion ; but O how poor and desolate she sits in this great city : are not her sons found slain at the

head of every street? And for this I have mourned. I might enlarge, but this is enough, perhaps, to show thee where my dwelling place has often been for months past."

He continued engaged in visiting the families of Devonshire monthly meeting until the 17th. In this visit he had often to commemorate the goodness of his divine Master, for furnishing him with ability to speak to the conditions of those he visited; as well as for the enriching reward of peace, graciously vouchsafed in fulfilling the duty.

"Third month 18th.—To Peel monthly meeting, and was silent in the fore part. Ann Christy opened her concern to visit families, and I waited to know my divine Master's will concerning me, but was quite shut up, although I attended with some little prospect of moving in a like concern.

"19th.—This morning I took coach and went to Ratcliff monthly meeting, in the fore part of which I sat in a state of poverty; but before the meeting ended felt an opening to speak to an exercised state present. Went home with Joseph Smith; all my prospects seem gone again. Am I not indeed an unprofitable servant? It is well if I can say I have done all, and as it should be done. I am a poor creature, yet am favoured to feel pretty quiet and resigned. I desire to be a devoted servant.

"22nd.—To Tottenham meeting, and although I thought but little more of this turn into the country than that it was pleasant to accompany an elder sister, and get a little country air; yet on the road my mind was impressed with a sense of the uncertainty of time, and the dreadfulness of being taken in the midst of worldly joys and lusts; and early in the meeting I stood up with this concern, and delivered it in few words; after which several Friends appeared, and mostly to the same import—and it was a memorable meeting; but my mind was sorrowful, in a sense that there was a disposition to put it off.

"23rd.—The select quarterly meeting was a very trying time; I expressed some close things, under a sense of a forward spirit prevailing too much in some.

"24th.—To quarterly meeting, which was so large that the people could not all sit down. There were a number of appearances, and I thought I could have sat in a low place, with my mind and mouth in the dust, for the sake of the little ones being brought forward; but felt a short testimony of encouragement arise to this class, and to those struggling under difficulties, &c.; and again at the close expressed a desire, that friends might be preserved under the weight and sense of Truth, and

be careful how and what they spoke. At five o'clock attended the adjournment, which held until near nine o'clock, and I had some very close things to say, being sorry to behold an active busy spirit at work. I am jealous and fearful of my own standing:—the Lord knows my state; and O that I may be rinsed and washed from every stain, and preserved unto the end.

"25th.—To another adjournment at the tenth hour, which held until near three o'clock; passed through it without much to say, in silent suffering on account of a forward spirit. Went in to the women's meeting with my friend R. Chester, when he took in the Memorials concerning Elizabeth Drinker and Deborah Townsend; and after they were read, I had a comfortable opportunity."

Whilst in London he received the following letter from Ann Crowley, an account of whom is contained in the seventh volume of the Library, viz:

"Shillingford, Third month 24th, 1795.

"It is not without a degree of diffidence that I take up my pen to address a father in Israel; but as my mind has at seasons been favoured with a glimmering hope, through the many clouds of discouragements, that although many are my failings, yet I do feel true desires to be enabled to tread in the footsteps of the flock of Christ's companions; I am encouraged to believe, that my beloved friend will receive a few lines, although it come from a babe in the knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom, in that love which nearly unites the children of one Father, whether aged or young in years. It is not from an apprehension of having much to communicate, nor from a desire to draw unprofitable consolation from my dear friend, that I am induced to address him at this time; but as I have, I trust, in the liberty which Truth gave, a little unfolded to him the exercise of my often discouraged mind, I did believe it would not be altogether unacceptable, to hear a little how it fares with his poor friend; who, though often tempted to believe that she has not yet known her spiritual eye to be anointed with the true eye-salve, nor her spiritual ear to be enough unstopped, to distinguish the voice of the true Shepherd from that of the stranger; yet can say she feels no greater desire, than that she may be favoured clearly to behold the pointings of the divine finger; and when seen, be enabled, by the assistance of the Lord's mighty power, to be obedient thereunto; that so she may indeed become a humble follower of a crucified Saviour, although it may cost her the parting with a

right eye, or a right arm. After I parted with thee in London, I went to Staines, where I spent near a week with my relations, though my mind was so oppressed with the weight of the prospect before me, that I had but little satisfaction in the company of any, even of my nearest and dearest friends. I thought solitary places, where I could pour out my petitions to the Searcher of hearts, and supplicate for the continuation of his merciful regard, aid and direction, were safest for me; well knowing that of myself I could do nothing that would bring glory to my great Lord and Master, or afford permanent peace to my own mind. I continued to feel the weight of the exercise, and as yet knew of no companion who was likely to join me; but as I thought I felt at liberty to cast my eye a little round amongst my friends, my attention was turned towards one in particular, though I dared not write to her till I had weighed it, as well as I was capable, in the true balance. While endeavouring to do this, as my head was reclined on the pillow, I suddenly felt a stop, and the weight of the exercise was taken from me; but my mind was left in a state of depression, for what cause I knew not—the only consolation I felt was, that I could appeal to my heavenly Father, in this language; ‘Thou knowest, O Lord, that I desire to do thy will.’ My mind remained in a mournful state till morning, not being able to rejoice in the hope that a ram was caught in the thicket; but felt as if some new trouble awaited me. On rising in the morning, I found this to be the case, as I received a letter from home, giving me the affecting information of my dearly beloved mother being seized with a repeated paralytic stroke, which so much affected her speech, as scarcely to be understood in any conversation, and that the doctor apprehended a sudden change might take place. Thou wilt, I doubt not, conclude this was a close struggle for nature to bear, and needed a fresh supply from the bountiful hand, to enable me to drink the bitter cup with patience and resignation. But blessed be the name of the Lord, he is pleased often to mingle sweets with the bitters, which proved to be the case now; for, although on my coming home, I found my dear mother so very weak and ill in body, that there appeared no room to flatter ourselves with an expectation of her recovery, yet her mind was favoured with such a sweet calm, and appeared so remarkably patient under her allotted affliction, that I scarcely dared to suffer a desire to enter, that she might be restored to us again, believing our loss would be her eternal gain. Thou mayest conclude I esteemed it a great favour, to feel my mind relieved from the load of

exercise which had so long attended it, and at liberty to pay close attention to a dearly beloved parent, whose tenderness and solicitude for her children have been such, as seemed loudly to call upon us to use all our endeavours to alleviate her affliction. But I may tell my beloved friend in freedom, that here I brought fresh trouble upon myself; for as nature rejoices to shrink from suffering, so I was now glad to shake off the prospect of being called from home, and thought the will would be accepted for the deed, and that my whole attention should now be paid to waiting on my dear mother, and that I should be excused from doing the Lord’s work. O, such was the artful insinuation of the enemy of our soul’s salvation, to endeavour to draw my mind off from a strict, watchful attention to the pointings of the finger of Truth. Well, it is with sorrow of heart I say, he did in some degree gain his point, for I got unprofitably from under the deep exercise which had so long attended my mind, with the plausible excuse of performing my duty to a beloved parent. This brought darkness over my mind, and deep distress; but blessed be the Lord, after he had in great mercy, chastised with his rod, he was pleased to speak peace to my soul, and I became instructed in the belief, that he that loveth father or mother more than the Lord, is not worthy of him. All must be given up to obey the voice of Him, who hath an undoubted right to employ his servants and hand-maids, whom he is qualifying to work in his vineyard, how and when he pleases. I may now tell thee, the prospect has again opened in my view, and I believe my peace will be concerned in closing in with it, though the time for moving is not yet clearly seen, nor do I yet know of a companion; but a little faith arises that one will be found, when the full time is come for the offering to be made. Perhaps indulgent Goodness will allow me a little longer time to stay with my sick parent, who is still living, though in a very weak state, wholly confined to her bed.”

“26th, fifth-day.—Went to Ratcliff meeting poor and low, but had an open time of encouragement, and my mind is a little raised; near the close I desired Friends to inform their neighbours, that I proposed sitting with them on first-day morning next.

“27th.—Attended the school meeting, and after it, was favoured with a good time with the boys and girls separately.

“29th, first-day.—We found a very crowded meeting at Ratcliff, and it proved an open time. The afternoon meeting was also large and favoured: I stood up near the close, and told them that I had seen that day good things

in store for the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, if on their part they would embrace the visitations of the Holy Spirit; and that as divine Providence had suffered a devouring fire to lay waste their outward habitations, and they were now raising pleasant buildings on the ruins; so if they were willing to let the searching and overturning power of the Lord lay waste their old buildings spiritually to the foundation, and remove the rubbish out of the way, they in due time would be favoured to be built up a church and people to his praise: and testimony bearers would be raised up amongst them to promote the work. In the evening felt spent and poorly, but comfortable: let the praise for this day's support be rendered to the Lord my helper."

About this time he received a letter from his beloved friend, William Savery, dated Philadelphia, second month 25th, 1795, from which the following is extracted, viz:

"Dear Thomas,

"Perhaps it may have given thee some surprise, not to have received a line from me since we parted. I waited to hear of thy safe arrival, of which I was glad to be informed; but it was only a short time before I left home with my dear companions, to attend the Indian Treaty; and since we returned, but few opportunities have occurred from this place. I am persuaded thou wilt be furnished with many excuses for me, rather than place the omission to the account of any declension of my love for thee, or any want of brotherly sympathy with thee in thy arduous engagements. No,—my dear brother, I can assure thee that I felt more deeply for thee when thou wast about to leave us, than I remember to have done upon any similar occasion, being no stranger to the tribulated path thou hast had to tread in this land, even amongst thy own people; and I have no reason to believe that the general state of things, in a religious sense, among those to whom thou art sent, is such as to cause a less degree of exercise, or a more easy path of labour. I am not surprised to find that bonds and afflictions have been thy portion; for so it must be in every place where Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory, does not reign—rejoicing cannot be the common or frequent experience of his servants: yet through faithfulness, we may at times rejoice even in this; that we are accounted worthy to suffer in some measure for his sake, who suffered so much for us, that he might bring many sons and daughters unto glory.

"I can readily conceive, my brother, that thy spirit will be frequently wafted across

the mighty waters, to visit thy brethren and sisters of the North meeting, who have thee in frequent and very affectionate remembrance; and I trust many of us will remain to be to thee, and thou to us, as living epistles written in one another's hearts. When we are favoured to draw nigh unto Him who sitteth between the cherubims, may we mutually make intercession that his holy arm may continue to be our protection and defence on every side. We may with thankful hearts acknowledge, that much brotherly love continues with those among us, who put forth their hands to support the ark of the testimony; but the riches and grandeur of this world, are leading many into captivity. Our meetings are large, especially on first-day mornings, when as many sometimes come as we can comfortably accommodate on the men's side of the house; and mercy and goodness still follow us beyond what we deserve.

"Our very dear friends, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, have been in the city during most of the winter, and have visited the families of Friends in the lower meeting, [Pine street,] accompanied by Nicholas Waln, until he was taken poorly. They have often visited us at the North meeting, and been largely engaged in very affectionate labour, which, as I cannot doubt it has gained the approbation of all, so I also hope it has been truly refreshing and fruitful of good to many. They are greatly beloved by every rank in society; have been much favoured in our crowded evening meetings, and have had a meeting in the North house, and another in Pine street, of an evening, for people of other societies, and truth's testimony was exalted in both. They also held a meeting in the Jail, to which I accompanied them. The poor prisoners, of whom there were about two hundred, were many of them tendered, and some much broken; and indeed it was a solid favoured time.

"I am anxious that thou mayest not, as dear Samuel Emlen says, abuse my fellow servant by greater exertion and more continual exercise and labour than thy bodily frame can support. Let me remind thee, that we serve not a hard master, or an austere man, as thou well knowest; therefore, embrace times of relaxation, as wisdom directs and opportunity offers, in order to recruit thy health; for I much desire after thy labours abroad are over, to have the pleasure of sitting side by side with thee among our own people, that we may be favoured to share together, as has been the case in some measure heretofore, that inestimable peace, which is the sure reward of faithfulness unto God. My brother, pray for me, for Satan often desires to have

me, that he may sift me as wheat. My prayers attend thee, and in dear unity, I continue thy brother,
WILLIAM SAVERY."

His bodily health having become much weakened by arduous labour and exercise, and no religious service opening, he retired to his friend W. Dillwyn's in the vicinity of London, with a view to recruit. At the hospitable mansion of this friend, and others in that neighbourhood and at Tottenham, he remained for three weeks, when he returned to London, and in a letter dated the 21st of the fourth month, after referring to the improvement of his health and respite from labour, he says; "I desire to attribute it to the mercy and condescending love of the great Shepherd, who still sustains the character anciently given; I am the Lord that healeth thee; which teacheth thee to profit; which leadeth thee by the way thou shouldst go—surely I may say, it was so on first-day last, having laboured in Gracechurch street meeting both morning and afternoon, and to my admiration was strengthened to speak to a great crowd of people, at the burial of an ancient Friend, (J. Hagan) in the evening, in which I was exercised in a close and awful manner.

"I am now out of business—have attended all the monthly meetings in this city, and trust I stood resigned to labour as way might open. My friends say I have need of rest to recruit my health, but for all that, I am almost ready sometimes to let in the thought that I am too much of a loiterer, when considering how much time has slept away."

The following letter from George Dillwyn, dated Redruth, fourth month 18th, 1795, will serve as a specimen of his laconic style.

Dear Thomas,

Thou and I correspond, in the letter way, like poor day labourers, who have but little to spare to each other. The sparing of that little, however, seems to be saying, 'if I had more thou shouldst be heartily welcome to it.' For my part, when I have told my friends where I have been; where I am; and (if I can) whither I am likely to go, the end of writing is nearly answered and my budget exhausted. I may congratulate thee on thy finish at Devonshire house, [the family visit] and was pleased with thy retreat into the country; though such little recesses from service often remind me of a speech of the mate of the ship *Pigou*, one morning to the sailors; "come lads, step down and get your breakfasts as quick as you can, and then you will have nothing to do but to work." I have mentioned to my brother that I am now engaged in a visit to the families

within the western division of Cornwall. We have just finished at this place, and after staying to the meeting on fifth-day, and a public meeting appointed for the inhabitants to-morrow, expect to proceed to Marazion and Penzance the day following; but how afterwards, this deponent saith not. Thy affectionate remembrance of me and my dear Sarah is very acceptable, and we hope will continue. As to outward and visible signs of it, though we do not pretend they are objectionable, we do not by any means consider them as essential to the friendship most surely subsisting (and long may it continue) between thee and thy sympathizing fellow-servants.

G. & S. DILLWYN.

"Fifth month 16th.—To the opening of the select yearly meeting in London,—felt poor and unworthy; sat in silent abasement and felt content in that condition.

"17th, first-day.—Went to Westminster meeting in a low state of body; and had an open time, particularly to the youth.

"18th.—To the adjournment of the select meeting, and at four to the opening of the yearly meeting for business. Felt a willingness to bear my burthen and exercise in silence, and did so for some time, but at length seemed as though I could not avoid bearing testimony against a forward active spirit.

"19th.—A time of exercise, not only on my own account, but also for the right moving of the yearly meeting. Went to the adjournment at ten o'clock, and had something to say in the forepart, expressive of my exercise that the meeting might be preserved solid; which was in good degree the case.

"20th.—The meeting for business at four o'clock, was a good time. I also visited the women, accompanied by William Tuke, to my satisfaction.

"23rd.—Ventured, although feeble, to go and sit the meeting, which was the most solid time, I think, that we have had. The minutes of the meeting for sufferings were read, and the state of the little society at Pymont, in Germany, came under consideration, and Friends' attention was turned toward visiting them. Dined at Thomas Horne's with dear John Storer and many others, and after dinner I had a singular time of communication, and my heart was measurably melted within me. Lord keep me in the hour of trial, I pray thee, if thou suffer it to come: thou knowest what is best for me.

"24th, first-day.—To Devonshire house meeting, which was large; S. Horne appeared in supplication, and I had a thorough time of relief. To Gracechurch street afternoon meeting; was very large, many strangers not of

our Society being there, with whom I had a full opportunity.

"25th.—An humbling heart tendering morning to me, with prospects of service opening to my view. Thou, Lord, knowest what is best for me,—O how can I move a finger without thy help. O keep me firm on the ground of Truth, come what will.

"27th.—I sat about an hour and a half with the committee on Ackworth school, and withdrew weak and poorly—Lord support me to the end; and if thy blessed will is done all will then be well. Went to meeting at the fourth hour, and soon after it was settled, the clerk revived the concern which had been spread before a former sitting, respecting a visit to the little company in Germany, which held some time; and the way closed up for making such a visit, and it was recommended to the attention of the meeting for sufferings.

"28th.—To the last sitting of the select meeting, where I had an opportunity pretty fully to relieve my mind, and in the afternoon attended a special meeting for sufferings. I am glad and thankful that my mind is resigned and easy.

"31st.—Went to Tottenham meeting in poverty and a sense of much unworthiness, and ventured to bend in supplication, and found relief. I also reminded that assembly of the many opportunities I had had among them, and that this was not likely to be the case again soon, and probably some of them might see my face no more in this world. I thought a solemnity spread over the meeting, and divers other Friends appeared in testimony, much to the same purport.

"Sixth month 1st.—Went to London with W. D. and wife, to morning meeting; where were a number of country Friends. I poured forth my tears in silence, under a sense of how near the enemy was permitted to come, in order to overturn and lay waste the work of Truth in my heart. 'Blessed are the pure in heart;' this language has been frequently in my mind of late.

"2nd.—To Devonshire house meeting, which was small, but I hope a time of some comfort and encouragement, and I found an opportunity to salute the youth in particular, and bid them farewell.

"3rd, fourth-day.—Attended Gracechurch street meeting, and had a pretty open time to take leave of my friends."

Under date of sixth month 4th, in a letter to his wife, he says:

"I was much exercised during the yearly meeting, and my health impaired, but as soon

as it was over I went to Tottenham, my usual resting place, and spent a few days at T. Horne's and W. Dillwyn's, and I am now, I think, as well as I was the first week I landed. Whilst making a note in my diary to day, I was told there was one waiting to see me. I found it to be a youth, who has of late attended Devonshire house meeting. He appears convinced and turned in mind to the divine principle of light and grace. My heart rejoiced in his company, and at this time rejoices, in that, however poor and tried an instrument I have been in this land, the Lord my helper is in some instances, in degree, crowning my labours with success. The praise is His due: I may not forget some of the baptizing opportunities I have been favoured with in this great city, and when permitted to behold some fruits, I feel encouraged."

"5th, sixth-day.—Left London after breakfast, in order to attend the quarterly meeting at Colchester. Put up at John Kendall's, and here met with Ann Tuke and companion, and a number of other Friends.

"7th, first-day.—To meeting, and was favoured to pour out my exercise in public prayer, and found some relief. The afternoon meeting was large and mixed, and I sat nearly or quite two hours in silence, and then a little opening presented, through much exercise, and trust it was profitable.

"8th.—Attended the quarterly meeting and an adjournment. In which I had some service.

"9th.—To the parting meeting, the labour of which fell on me, and through divine help it was, I trust, a good solid time. Dined at J. Kendall's; after which many Friends came in, and I had a full opportunity to relieve my mind, to a state which I apprehended was under the anointing for gospel service,—exhorting not to put off out of season, but when the way clearly opened to make trial. Parted with near affection from my dear friends Joseph and Rachel Smith and sister, M. Stacey, who came thus far with me; and accompanied by my friend G. Stacey, who has given up to go with me for some time, proceeded on our journey.

"10th.—Attended the week-day meeting at Ipswich, and was silent: in the afternoon went to Needham.

"11th.—To Needham week-day meeting, and was engaged to speak a little, near the close; and in the evening to an appointed meeting, in which I was silent.

"12th.—To Ipswich monthly meeting: heard that dear John Storer died on his way from yearly meeting, within thirty miles of home.

"14th, first-day.—To Ipswich meeting, and

had an open time; in the evening was a public meeting for the town's people, which was very large, and although laborious, proved a good time: after which, a precious season with a number of Friends.

"15th.—In the evening at five we were at Woodbridge meeting, where we put up at Benjamin Evans'. As I was sitting in this meeting my mind was comforted in a belief, that although there was the alarm of war and confusion in the land, the Lord would remember poor desolate Zion, and in a time to come, build up her walls and set up her gates: I had to mention my prospect to Friends, and it was a sweet tendering time to some of us.

"16th, third-day.—To Suffolk quarterly meeting, at nine o'clock, which held until two; and to the adjournment at four o'clock. It was an open time, wherein much encouragement was administered; and although but a small company, there are precious plants among them.

"17th.—To what is called the parting meeting, which was a sweet encouraging time; and at the close appointed one for the town's people, at six o'clock, which was large, but a very trying one. O the thick darkness that covers the minds of many; however, strength was afforded to labour.

"18th.—To Liston, and put up at an inn: the meeting was an encouraging time, and some tenderness appeared: after meeting rode to the widow Sarah Jessup's, and after dinner we called the servants in, and had a good religious opportunity. Here Ann Tuke's mind was impressed with a prospect of having a meeting at a town called Oxford, five miles on the way, and our kind friend Dykes Alexander and others, went on to get a place. To which we went, and held the meeting in a large room at the inn,—it was filled up with people, and though laborious, ended well.

"19th.—To Beccles, and attended meeting; very few of the town's people came. Here is a pretty neat little meeting-house, but religion very low. Though I had to mourn the desolate state of Zion, on sitting down, I thought that if I was the only one in the town, I would cheerfully sit down in that place and worship; and I had to testify, that when the Lord turns again the captivity of his people, Judah shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad. Had a religious opportunity with the family and such Friends as came in, belonging to the meeting. After tea went to Lowestoft, near the sea. Dykes Alexander and others having gone before, to see after a meeting place; and having found a large building which was fitting up for a play-house, we held the meeting in it. It was filled up, and though there appeared a disposition to lightness and laughter

in some, at first sitting down, yet it proved a solid good time, and afforded me much satisfaction. We returned to Pakefield, a little village two miles distant, and lodged.

20th.—We had a small meeting this morning, which was open and comfortable,—some goodly, sober looking people attended, and among them the priest of the parish, who was exemplary in his sitting. After dinner went to Yarmouth, about ten miles, near the sea.

"21st, first-day.—To meeting, where I had to bear a remarkably close testimony. In the afternoon meeting I was silent, but A. Tuke appeared in a lively manner. She had thought of having a meeting at a little village called Gall's-town, and some Friends went to get a place to hold it in this evening, but could not succeed.

"22nd.—Sat off early, and got into Norwich by eleven o'clock, to select meeting; and again to quarterly meeting at five o'clock. The men met in one house, and the women in another, a mile distant.

"23rd.—To the adjournment of the quarterly meeting, at ten o'clock, which was a close time: I went also to the women's meeting and relieved my mind; after which, retired to Edmund Peckover's, being so spent as to conclude it not prudent to return to the men's meeting. To a large public meeting at six o'clock. A. Tuke appeared, but I was shut up in silence, and sweetly contented.

"24th.—To a large meeting at ten o'clock, in which I was engaged in the ministry, much to the relief of my own mind. Went to Joseph Gurney's, and dined with J. G. Bevan, wife, and others, and had a satisfactory religious opportunity afterward; there appearing something good at work in the minds of these young people. May such seasons of love be blessed to them all.

"25th.—In the afternoon went to Lammas, to an appointed meeting at five o'clock, and it proved a distressing time; from thence to North Walsham, and lodged at John Ransom's.

"26th.—To meeting about a mile out of the town, held in a neat meeting-house. A number of the neighbours came in, and it was an open time: after dinner, rode to Norwich, and attended the week-day meeting at six o'clock, where I had a very close testimony to bear.

"28th, first-day.—To meeting at ten o'clock, and had very searching service. After lying down and being refreshed, went to the large meeting-house at five o'clock, the meeting being put off from two to that hour by my request; it was very large, and I was helped greatly to relieve my mind. At night I lay down weary, but in peace.

29th.—Richard Gurney sent for us to dine

with him, a few miles out of town; where we found David Barclay, an ancient Friend, much afflicted: after dinner had a religious opportunity, to the relief of my mind, and then went to his brother John's; had a solid time with this family, wherein all our little band, even William Alexander and George Stacey, had some communications: returned home, and I feel a very poor creature, having been humbled this day.

"30th.—To the week-day meeting at Norwich, wherein I was brought into a state of trembling, and remembered the prophet Habakkuk:—I hope it was to profit. Dined at Thomas Bland's; and after being favoured with a precious parting season with the family and servants, and a number of Friends, went about two miles out of town.

"Seventh month 1st.—Had a painful time at Wymondam meeting, being distressed with a spirit of infidelity.

"2nd.—To Tivetshall, and had a laborious season in pleading with the stout-hearted youth; then attended an evening meeting at Diss, which was a comfortable open time, from the subject of the patriarch Jacob's vision and journey, &c.; after which had a memorable opportunity in a Friend's family: O may it be kept in view, and improvement made.

"3rd.—The meeting at Attleborough was held in a private house, and was open and relieving. After a solid time with the Friends belonging to this meeting and neighbourhood, went to John Bouswell's.

"4th.—To Mattishall, which was a low time, and did not seem much like a meeting to me: I suffered in silence.

"5th.—First-day, to the general meeting at Downham, at which place no Friend lives. Stopt at an inn, and met a large committee of the quarterly meeting, who were appointed to attend it. But few of the neighbours came to the meeting, and in the fore part of it my mind was opened to look back at the state of the children of Israel in Egypt—at Abraham's vision respecting them, when an horror of darkness overspread him—also the gathering of our early Friends from different societies—George Fox being by himself on a hill, and proclaiming the day of the Lord, and the prospect he had of the seed of the kingdom lying thick on the ground and sparkling, &c.: and although here was great desolation, this meeting being gone to decay, I had a comfortable prospect of a day approaching, when the seed would spring as out of the dry ground and spread; with which prospect I stood up and told Friends I knew not what we had met for, but to see our nakedness, and for our humiliation. Near the close I stood up again,

and I thought my testimony had some effect on a few individuals not of our Society; though here, as also in some other places, some persons left in the midst of my labour, who, I fear, are not willing to endure sound doctrine. Went to Finsham, where there are no Friends, and had a large meeting in a barn, I hope to profit.

"6th.—To a meeting at Swaffham, consisting of only one family and some of the neighbours, and it proved a good time. Then to an evening meeting at Fakenham, where there are but two members: a person left the meeting while I was speaking concerning righteousness, temperance and judgment to come; but another met me as I was going out of the house, and said he hoped we should meet in heaven.

"7th.—To the monthly meeting at Wells, where there were but few Friends, and these in a weak state; but I was glad in finding tenderness, and I hope some desire to improve: after dinner had a solid opportunity with a number of Friends.

"8th.—To a meeting at Holt; and though I went to it under discouragement, it was a good time; many neighbours came in and behaved well, and some soldiers. After dinner went to Walsingham, to an evening meeting in a public building, which was large, and I hope to profit.

"12th, first-day.—I have had a fatiguing time for weeks past, and awoke this morning in a low and tried state of mind: when I came down stairs found letters from my dear wife, son, and several friends. Went to meeting at Bury, and though at the beginning there appeared a small opening into the state of the people, and I was ready to conclude that I might minister to them, it closed up, and I poured out my tears until I wet the floor. At two o'clock went to the afternoon meeting, and there also bonds and afflictions continued upon me, and though I was silent throughout, A. Tuke appeared acceptably in the morning. O Lord, remember me in thy wonted love, and continue thy good hand upon me, that my soul may not faint in the day of trial."

At this place, the following letter from his friend, the late John Elliott, of this city, was received.

Philadelphia, Sixth month 6th, 1795.

Dear friend,

I cannot let this opportunity pass without giving thee a token of my affectionate remembrance, having often thought of thee since thou left us, and at times have felt sincere desires for thy preservation, and that thou may-

est be supported from day to day, and strengthened to persevere in accomplishing the arduous task thou art engaged in. If it was in my power secretly to assist in holding up thy hands, I should be glad to afford my feeble endeavours in that way, but am sensible of my own poverty and inability; being persuaded that it is only in proportion as we walk in the light, that the true union and fellowship are to be felt. Where this is really the case, I believe the outward distance whereby we are separated, cannot obstruct the current of that divine love, which, when together, has been known to flow from vessel to vessel; and if we were always watchful and careful to keep out every thing of a defiling nature, the consoling stream would undoubtedly be more frequently witnessed to circulate. But the world and its cumbering cares have the same effect now, as the labours of the Philistines formerly, viz., to stop up the wells; which makes renewed labour necessary to dig them again, in order to come at the spring of life. It is indeed, as our Lord said, "The cares of this life, the deceitfulness of riches, and the love of other things, choke the good seed and cause it to become unfruitful." I feel it to be so in myself, and fear it is too much the case with many others of our Society, both in this land and in my native country, where thy lot is now cast; a land that was eminently blest about a century ago, with the revival of the gospel in its primitive purity, after a long time of darkness. From thence were transplanted into this country, some of the choicest vines; but now, both here and there, instead of fruits being brought forth to the praise of the good Husbandman, many wild grapes are produced, and much unfruitfulness is apparent. Yet it appears the vineyard is not forsaken; the labourers are sent forth from time to time with a renewed invitation, and it will be comfortable to hear that they are favoured to see of the travail of their souls and be satisfied; but if that should not be the case so fully as is desirable, this is certain, the faithful labourers will have their wages.

Our dear friend Nicholas Waln, is now about to embark for Europe, and thy worthy father-in-law, David Bacon, has given up to accompany him, which I hope will be mutually comfortable and satisfactory, both to themselves and Friends where they come. I expect it will be so to thee to see them; and I believe I may say it is so much so to us, (except the loss of their company and services,) that we are made willing to part with them for the great work's sake. If the way should clearly open, and any of you find a draft of love toward the Friends in the South of France, I hope you will not come home with

a burden, for want of giving up thereto. I should be glad to hear of such a visit being performed, which I have no doubt would be very acceptable to them.

"14th.—Went to Mildenhall, which proved a trying meeting to me in various respects—very few members or others present. It seems as though in some places the lame and the blind were the guards of the house, instead of David's valiant men. Mary Alexander, from Needham, rode with George Stacey; she has joined Ann Tuke as a companion in further service in these parts, and the public service fell on them. I was plunged into deep exercise. O what can be the cause that this has been so frequently the case of late. Lord, favour with ability to offer up my will to thy divine will, that so the work thou hast allotted me to do may not be marred.

"16th.—To the week-day meeting at Bury, which was open and comfortable to me: I found enlargement of heart, and at the close appointed one to be held in the evening, for the town's-people. Ann Tuke and companion set off to attend an evening meeting they had appointed about sixteen miles distant, and we went to our meeting, which was well attended, and my heart was enlarged to preach the gospel; and the people behaved with much sobriety.

"19th, first-day.—At Oakham. I feel renewed in my bodily powers, by travelling and fresh country air. O my gracious Lord and Master, suffer not the enemy to prevail and bring a cloud over my mind—thou knowest how it is with me, and has been of late. Sat the two meetings in silence.

"After passing through Nottingham, Mansfield, and Chesterfield, arrived at Sheffield on the 24th.

"26th, first-day.—Went to meeting morning and evening, in both of which I was exercised in testimony.

"28th.—Got to Ackworth, and in the afternoon sat with the committee.

"29th.—Attended the public meeting, which was very large, and laboured in it, but mostly to people of other societies.

"30th.—Sat again with the committee, and spent the day at the institution: the business being ended, many Friends left—in the evening we had a pretty solid opportunity with several of the family and other Friends who came in to see us.

"31st.—This morning the poor in the neighbourhood came to get the broken victuals which Friends purchased of the inn-keeper, and whilst I wrote a letter, another Friend had a religious opportunity with them in the yard.

"Eighth month 1st.—Took post-chaise to

Tadcaster; after which, to our friend Lindley Murray's, near York, where I met a kind reception.

"2nd, first-day.—To meeting, and was silent; things appear low, and I had a pretty deep plunge. Went to the meeting in the castle, held with the prisoners, accompanied by J. and R. Smith, &c., which was a pretty satisfactory time—was shown the tower from which William Dewsbury preached to the people, and one of Friends' books, among others, which were presented to the prisoners in this place, upwards of one hundred years ago—they yet remain for the same use.

"3rd.—Spent the morning in writing—drank tea at Henry Tuke's, and walked on the walls of the city and crossed the water in a boat, and then to his father's, and looked into the grave-yard, where I was told John Woolman and Thomas Ross were buried.

"5th.—To meeting at Leeds, which was large, and my mind was exercised to stand up with these expressions, 'They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to the grave;' and it appeared right to plead with the rich and full. After dinner we rode to Christiana Hustler's, at Undercliff, and attended an evening meeting at this place, called Bradford, in which I was much shut-up and very poor.

"7th.—Went to monthly meeting held near Todmorden, almost twenty miles distant. I had nothing to say until near the close of the last meeting, and then had to bear testimony against a contentious spirit, in one who had been displaced as a minister:—returned to Christiana Hustler's.

"8th.—Felt weary with my journey yesterday, and in a low spot this day throughout. O for greater purity of heart and more of the spirit of prayer. O Lord, suffer me not to forsake thee.

"9th, first-day.—To the meeting at eleven o'clock—passed through it in silence. After tea, Christiana Hustler came and told me it was their practice to call the family together on first-day afternoon or evening, with which I united; and they were called in, and I sat with the company, which was large, and after a time my mouth was opened, and favoured with so much enlargement as to give some relief to my mind.

"10th.—Nothing opening, spent this day with our hospitable friend Christiana Hustler, and on the whole it has not been the most unpleasant, but hope a little ray of light has dawned. O what a brave thing to be truly resigned in patience and contentment, even in poverty.

"11th.—Went to Manchester, and on the 12th attended meeting there; in which I felt

an exercise to prostrate myself in supplication on my own account, and also on behalf of my fellow labourers in the harvest field, both in this land and in America, and that mercy and truth might be near to support those left at home, and bear up under all trials which may attend them; and also that the exercised children whom the divine Master is fitting, and hath fitted, to enter the field, might be preserved."

On the 15th he arrived at Liverpool, where he remained about two weeks, attending the meetings as they came in course, although much indisposed. On the 29th, he embarked in a vessel bound for Dublin, where he arrived on the 31st, and was kindly received by Thomas Bewley and family.

Ninth month 1st.—He says, "To the week-day meeting held in the Meath street house; in which I ventured on my bended knees to pour out supplication for support under the future baptisms to be met with in this land; and it appeared to be a tendering season over the meeting." In a letter dated this day, he says, "My own conflicting tossed condition came feelingly into view; I remembered what I had passed through for months, when a language arose after this manner, 'O Lord, help me to bear up under whatever thou mayest be pleased to permit to come upon me on this island;' and there was immediately an answer as on this wise; 'have I ever failed thee in the greatest strait?' in which my soul was willing to lay hold of a little encouragement. I remembered Jonah and his prayer, and opened the good book and read it at large, as therein left, no doubt for the strength and encouragement of all such poor messengers, from that time to this. For when my soul fainted within me, I remembered the Lord—and my soul desires to sacrifice unto Him in Ireland, and to perform all my vows.

"9th.—To Baltiboys meeting, which was but small; after which went to Ballitore, to the widow Shackleton's; had a very wearisome night, having rode the greatest part of the way on horse-back.

"10th.—Very weary and sore; went to meeting and sat in silence—dined at A. Shackleton's at the school, after which visited an ancient Friend.

"11th.—To Carlow monthly meeting, and in it I had a close testimony, which was relieving to my mind; and in the meeting for business felt fresh courage to appoint a public meeting, which was filled; and it was supposed that three hundred persons were unable to get into the house. It was a satisfactory time to me. Several officers of the army, soldiers, and some of the principal inhabitants of the town, were there. They behaved well in the

house, but outside there was some disturbance, in consequence, it was thought, of a desire to get in.

"12th.—Rode to Castledermot to a meeting for the town, but although Friends took much pains to go round and invite the people, but few came—however, it was a good time to me: I remembered how the Lord led his people out of Egypt, gave a law unto Jacob, and statutes to Israel, and brought them into the land of promise—that all the days of Joshua, and the elders that outlived Joshua, they kept measurably unto it; and after this, when they forsook their King and Shepherd, they were sold into the hands of their enemies, and delivered again when they cried unto him in distress. I had to mention what a low state of things existed in the days of Saul, when he, with his little band of men stood trembling under the oak; how the Lord chose David, and caused the state of that people to flourish under him, and more so under peaceable Solomon; when that dispensation came to its summit:—how the Lord raised up valiants in this land, and his gathering, sustaining arm was near to support so long as they leaned upon it. And I did not question but that precious seasons of mercy and love had been experienced, even in that old house, which had not been opened but once for years, no meeting being now held in it: yea, I thought even the steps before me, that led into the gallery, had been occupied by those who had broken hearts and contrite spirits. But now, alas! how the crown is fallen from off the head. Nevertheless, there was a glance into the opening of better days. I remembered the day that William Edmundson spoke of, when land was to be had there at a low rate, and then there was a danger of Friends becoming rich and forgetting themselves, which it is to be feared too many did in that day. But O, precious was it, as I sat, a little to behold the opening of a day, when oppression will be removed, and patrons of the poor will be raised up. In that day the poor, even the poor amongst men, shall increase their joy in the Lord. We dined at an inn, and after it I returned to Ballitore in company with Thomas Bewley and A. Shackleton. On opening William Edmundson's journal, I found that Friends in the beginning had sweet, heavenly, refreshing times at Castledermot.

"13th.—To the meeting at Ballitore, which was low in the beginning, and too much of a restless state prevailed in old and young: however, I was enabled to stand up, though in weakness, and after some close labour with states, which I apprehended were present, I felt more openness toward the close, particu-

larly to the school boys, and at the conclusion of the meeting appointed one for the inhabitants of the town; and to my admiration the house was pretty full, and a number out of doors; and I trust the gospel of life and salvation was freely preached and owned by some, and my mind was much relieved.

"14th.—Returned to Dublin.

"15th.—Tried this morning with a prospect that probably I must offer myself to go from family to family in this place, which has frequently of late darted into my mind. O for wisdom and an understanding heart to go in and out before the people, has been the prevailing language since I awoke: may I be favoured with a clear prospect of duty, let it be whatever the Master may appoint. Went to the monthly meeting held in Meath street.

"16th.—To the adjournment of the monthly meeting, which was small; about thirty-three Friends present. Soon after we sat down I found some openness towards this little band, which appeared like that of Gideon, reduced less and less: I was led in an encouraging line, and in the conclusion told them that I could not see my way out of Dublin, and was willing to unfold my state and some little prospect that had opened to stay awhile, and to visit either some or all of them in their families, or such other religious service as might turn up. It was a tendering season; my certificates were minuted, and they left me at liberty to proceed as way might open amongst them: before the meeting closed I felt most easy to appoint a meeting for the youth to be held this day week.

"18th.—The meeting to day was an exercising time, and no opening to minister until near the close, when I spread my thoughts before Friends, after which I felt a little relief. Took tea at Samuel Stevens', and as I went into the door of the parlour, I cast my eye on a person who sat some distance from it, but owing to the room being dark I could not obtain a full view of his features, but was struck with his resemblance to my father-in-law, David Bacon;* and as I approached nearer he arose and met me, when I found to my surprise it was indeed he.

"20th, first-day.—At meeting to-day, my mind was unexpectedly exercised to stand up with these expressions; 'I cannot, I dare not, disbelieve the being of a powerful, just and merciful God.' It was a season of relief and much sweetness; more than I had before experienced in this land. The days of my

* He had recently arrived in company with Nicholas Waln, a valued and beloved minister of Philadelphia, who went on a religious visit to that country.

youth came into remembrance, and the Lord's gracious dealings with me from my childhood; and near the close this precious language came sweetly into view; 'It is finished:' when I was ready to query, what? And although it is a very pleasant thing even for a moment, thus to have the burden removed off the shoulders, and a day of sabbath and ease experienced, yet I dared not to covet that it might last, but rather that the Lord my God might be pleased still, as hitherto, to preserve in and through all the trials he may permit, who knows what is best for me. O how my mind has been beset at times since the yearly meeting at London; and these words, 'It is finished;' was the language of the divine Master after a time of agony: wait then, O my soul, on thy God. To afternoon meeting, and sat silently content—spent the evening at home. What need to watch and keep the garment undefiled in conversation.

"21st.—To an appointed meeting for heads of families, which was an open relieving time to me, and I trust satisfactory to Friends.

"27th, first-day.—To meeting at Moate, which was large, and most of the labour fell on me, from the words, 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down; yea, we wept when we remembered Zion. We hung our harps on the willows in the midst thereof.'

"28th.—To quarterly meeting at ten; the men met by themselves, and it was a remarkable time to me. I had to stand up with this language,—'When the sons of God presented themselves before him, Satan came also amongst them;' &c., and though such was my exercise in the meeting, I had secretly to acknowledge that the Lord was good, and a hope revived that I should not be forsaken in troubles and trials yet to come. Went to the adjournment at four o'clock,—sat it through in silence: Nicholas Waln went with David Bacon into the women's meeting, and had a large and good time, and when he returned, spirited friends on to business.

"29th.—To what is called the parting meeting, which was large; and dear Nicholas Waln was favoured with a thorough, awful and awakening time, in pleading with the free thinkers in our Society.

"Tenth month 2nd.—I am shut up in spirit at J. Clibborn's, near Moate, and may say, the pursuer seems at times near upon my heels, and surely nothing short of the renewed extension of divine mercy and love will keep and preserve—I can do nothing: wait then, still wait, in patient resignation, O my soul, and heed not what man shall say or think; the sufficiency of a gospel minister is of God.

"4th, first-day.—To Moate meeting, and

was enlarged, especially towards the youth, and had to point out the dangerous situation some were in, and to encourage others; and if I have been favoured to engage some one to leave the tree of knowledge, of pleasure, or carnal gratification, surely my being shut up for several days past, as in a prison house, ought not to be discouragingly looked at; and if only for my own mortification and instruction, with reverence may I say, so be it. Near the close I mentioned to Friends a prospect of seeing their neighbours in the evening, at five o'clock: when we went into the house it was crowded, and many could not get in: and thanks be rendered to Him who is ever worthy, he favoured me with strength to preach the everlasting gospel; the people behaved well, and I left the house in peace.

"5th.—A struggling, wearisome night; and way seems opening this morning to go into some families. Visited six, of which some were pretty open, and I had both encouragement, exhortation and reproof to hold forth; but in the others was shut up in silent, painful conflict.

"6th.—After breakfast took a lonely walk in the garden, when the very same prospects which have often come upon me, were renewed: 'He shall take of mine and show it unto you, and he shall show you things to come.' Thy wisdom, O Lord, is unsearchable, and thy ways past finding out: take not thy love and forbearance from me, and it will be enough: though sorrow may yet be my portion, forsake not thy poor tossed servant. Called to see most, or all the rest of the families that live in town, and in some of them had something to offer.

"7th.—To the monthly meeting; in the fore part of which, I was favoured with an open, large time, of much encouragement; and in that for business had likewise to speak encouragingly, and I thought the little handful present were favoured with that which sweetens, and some with tenderness and brokenness of heart.

"8th.—Saw my way this morning to go toward Dublin, and sat off, and got twenty-two miles before night, and bore this day's ride pretty well; sweet peace and comfort was my companion, so that I can now, this evening, feelingly adopt this language, 'The Lord is good to Israel, and fully rewards his servants:' my heart is thankful for such a renewed sense. On sitting down quietly by the fire-side, my mind was turned to look at the various baptisms and conflicts I have had to pass through. I remembered the tried condition I was plunged into but a few weeks ago, on alighting from my horse and sitting down in this room; now a sweetness accom-

panied, and with resignation, spread itself over my mind. Often has Ezekiel's case come up into remembrance in this land, when He who hath an undoubted right to enjoin what he pleases, was pleased to say, (and who dare say to Him, What doest thou?) 'Son of man, behold I take away the desire of thine eyes with a stroke;' and even under this sore dispensation 'he was not to mourn, nor let his tears run down, &c.' And the query has arisen, if my heavenly Master should be pleased to do so by me, could I support under the dispensation, and submit with cheerfulness? Surely I may be indulged to offer a sigh, even at the thought. The Lord knows best what is best for me, and my soul is led with earnestness to covet the seal of his love and approbation, come what may come, to the end of my probation here. O what a favour to have this seal in the forehead! And what is this? has been an humbling inquiry.—Answer, 'The Lord knoweth them that are his.' He knows how to keep his flock, and lead and feed them like a shepherd. O then my soul lean upon him, drink down heavenly wisdom and instruction, and crave assistance to do so in and through every dispensation yet allotted, that thy end may be peace. Thus I seem carried along, and I hope, feel mercy and sustaining help near to animate, yet know not what proving may come, or what step or baptism into usual blindness, weakness and want, may be dispensed; though at present, I see so far as to invite Friends of this place to come together, and sit with me to-morrow.

"9th.—To meeting at Edenderry; which was an open, good time, and my heart was enlarged to my own, and I believe, to my friends' satisfaction.

"11th, first-day.—Ventured out to meeting (in Dublin,) and although I sat pretty long in silent poverty, at length I was favoured with a baptizing opportunity. A Friend informed me, that accounts have been received, that the yellow fever has broken out in New York. Ah, what will the trying thoughts which have impressed my mind respecting home, of latter months, amount to! Mercy and truth are with the Lord, and forgiveness, that he may be feared.

"13th.—An uneasy, painful night; lay much awake, and was tried with many thoughts, and yet when spreading my trials before my great Helper, received this answer, 'Have I ever failed thee, or what hast thou lacked?' to which my soul was favoured with a degree of brokenness to answer, 'Nothing Lord.' Went to meeting, where my heart was uncommonly enlarged to speak to a state

under trial and temptations, and afterwards sat the meeting of business through, which was largely attended. Here my heart was again filled with matter to deliver respecting discipline, encouraging Friends likewise to stand shod and prepared for a day of sifting and trial, believing even this people will be sifted. Attended the adjournment at six o'clock, and sat it nearly through; it was a good time, the meeting well attended, and I hope the hearts of some of the young men were stirred up to move forward in the cause of truth.

"15th.—Attended a public meeting, and was disappointed in seeing so few gathered, and more so, in sitting so long waiting for others—the house was not half filled; however, it was a quiet, and I hope, solid meeting, wherein I got relief among those met.

"16th.—To an appointed meeting at Sycamore alley, which was larger than the one yesterday, but the house not full by many: it proved a solid, good meeting, in which my heart was enlarged.

"20th.—Went to meeting, which was a season of great enlargement of heart, and through divine favour, I trust, a baptizing time: left the meeting-house in much peace; after which, a number of Friends came to our lodgings, and here again I had to speak to the states of some present. Let the praise and honour be rendered to the Lord, the mighty helper of his poor exercised servants engaged in his work, and may my soul be humbled.

"24th, seventh-day.—To the national meeting of ministers and elders, which was a close, searching time: here I met with my father D. Bacon, and N. Waln.

"25th, first-day.—Attended Meath street meeting, which was large and crowded, many not of our Society being there. I was drawn forth pretty largely to preach Christ Jesus, the word nigh in the mouth and heart, as the only sure teacher and baptizer in this glorious gospel day. Attended Sycamore alley meeting in the afternoon, which was likewise large, and in the fore part I had a short testimony, but the chief labour fell upon Nicholas Waln, and trust it was a good satisfactory meeting.

"26th.—To the national meeting for business at ten o'clock, which adjourned till four. Here Nicholas Waln was concerned to speak respecting the fondness to collect manuscripts, and copying and reading such pieces, to the neglect of reading the Holy Scriptures and our ancient Friends' writings.

"27th.—To the public meeting at Meath street house, where I had but little labour. Nicholas Waln appeared, also Ann Robinson.

At four in the afternoon met a committee appointed to consider the state of Society, and also at six o'clock in the evening.

"28th.—Went and sat with the committee of the national meeting; and when the state of Society came closely under consideration, I felt uneasy with knowing it, and told Friends that I had endeavoured in my travels not to be anxious to hear things by the outward ear, but to attend to the openings of Truth: so I left the meeting, and Nicholas Waln followed me out. Attended the burial of Hannah Simmons at ten o'clock. There was a considerable collection of people, and I had an open time in communication. To the adjournment of the national meeting at four o'clock, which was solid and satisfactory, and concluded comfortably.

"29th.—To the parting meeting, which was large and solid; most of the labour fell on me, and it was a good time: after which, the meeting of ministers and elders met for the last time, and it proved a solid season.

"30th.—To meeting in Sycamore alley, where most of the public labour fell on me. In the evening took leave of my father David Bacon, and Nicholas Waln, who intend setting off for Cork to-morrow.

"Eleventh month 1st, first-day.—To meeting; where I was looking for contentment in silence; but soon after I sat down, I felt such a flow of love, that I longed for the meeting to be gathered, that I might ease my mind; and once more was favoured with a full opportunity in a large meeting. In the afternoon attended at Sycamore alley, which I sat through in sweet refreshing silence.

"11th.—On examination, though with thankfulness I can acknowledge, that the good hand has been near to help this day, yet am conscious that more care and circumspection in speech, less quickness and fewer off-hand remarks, would tend to more peace. When I am off my guard, and slip but a little in conversation, it brings the rod.

"14th.—I am tried with staying so long in this place; and yet see little to do, and no way opens with clearness to move, if my leg would admit, which has been sore so as to lame me. Spent most of this day retired in my chamber, which was sweet and comfortable.

"15th, first-day.—Feel much recruited in my bodily powers this morning, and could say I felt no pain: went to meeting, and my heart was much enlarged, and my tongue loosened, to the comfort of my own mind, and trust to the awakening and encouragement of others. Rode to Sycamore alley meeting, which was pretty largely attended by Friends and others, and it proved an open time from

these expressions, 'I am a debtor both to the Jew and to the Greek, to the learned and unlearned,' &c.

"22nd.—Attended the meeting in Meath street, which was again an open enlarged time with me, but felt poor after it, and had thoughts of omitting the afternoon meeting, as my leg by using it, appeared much worse. However, I went in a carriage, and a considerable number of strangers being there, was much enlarged towards them; one of them came in the evening and acknowledged that I had been made instrumental this day, in opening his eyes and removing his doubts; and that he could scarcely forbear standing up in the meeting to acknowledge it.

"23rd.—Poor and stripped in mind and weak in body, but I feel rejoiced that I am made to see myself such a poor creature. O that the Lord, my heavenly Master, may be pleased to support through all that is yet to be met with, both in heights and in depths, and ever give me to see that the grace and good spirit thus conferred on me, with the added gift of utterance to speak forth his praise, is not mine but his. O how great has been thy mercy and kindness to me in this city, thou Helper of thy people.

"24th.—Attended meeting, which was a sweet silent one, for the most part, wherein my own family connections and friends at home, and others came up into remembrance, when I ventured to pour out my soul in supplication for my own and their preservation, with the visited children of our heavenly Father in this place.

"26th.—Whilst sitting alone in my chamber this evening, I poured out a few tears on looking towards my dear wife, children and mother, with a secret prayer for my daughter M., who is rising up into the slippery path of youth; and what can I say more at such a distance, than 'thy will, O Father, be done,' whose power and divine presence is everywhere. Thou hast indeed wrought wonders for me—O that my dear children may all be remembered in mercy by thee. Spent most of this day in my chamber, and on the whole it was satisfactory, and with some comfort and consolation administered, for which I feel thankful.

"27th.—Was discouraged from going to meeting, in consequence of my leg being painful; but as J. S. and wife called for me, I ventured to go, and it was in the fore part a sweet silent one to me, wherein secret breathings were raised in my heart on account of those left behind, and by giving way to silent mental prayer for a season, I was strengthened to bend in public prostration at the footstool of divine mercy, and after it, felt

a language of encouragement to express in the hearing of my friends.

"29th, first-day.—Attended both meetings, and sat them through in silence, except near the close of the morning meeting, endeavoured in a few words, to stir up Friends to a more punctual attendance. This passage was uppermost part of this day, in meeting; 'I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction.' Joseph Williams observed in the morning meeting, that his state, when about sixteen years of age, so revived in his remembrance, that he was fearful of omitting mentioning it in the hearing of that gathering, nearly I think, as follows: 'A Friend from America was then on a visit to this nation, who was detained in the city of Dublin for some months, and laboured from meeting to meeting. In one of the meetings his testimony so reached his heart, that it brought him under much exercise and conflict of mind, which he endeavoured to struggle against and shut out. Soon after this he obtained leave of his father to go into the country, and there getting into company with his acquaintances, he lost much of the savour of this visitation, and on his return back to the city, was in hopes the Friend was gone. When he went to the meeting again, he took a seat as near the door as he could, that he might slip out; but the stranger being there, and being, as was thought, the last meeting he would attend, Joseph remained, and his state was again spoken to, and he was told of his trying to flee from his best friend, the Lord, who was convincing him of the evil of his ways. This opportunity was a blessing to him, and he said, probably if he had withstood it, he might not have been favoured again. He then exhorted some present, who were in the like condition, not to put away the Lord's mercy and kindness to their souls.' Dear John Abbott, I thought, had also a sweet testimony to bear. Returned to my chamber alone, and after a time company came, but my mind was much shut up under exercise—favoured to drop the silent tear:—Jesus wept over Lazarus.

"Twelfth month 3rd.—Sat off about day-break, accompanied by Samuel Bewley and Robert Fayle, for our guides, with divers others who went with us a few miles, and lodged at Castle Bellingham.

"4th.—As John Abbott and I rode along in the morning of this day in the chaise, we saw a company of people following a corpse into a cabin; John said he believed he must stop there, and I did not feel easy to let him go alone; so we left the carriage in care of R. Fayle, and went into the house. The coffin was laid in the middle of the floor, and the house much filled up with men and wo-

men talking Irish. John requested them to be still a few minutes, which they did, and then began to talk again: he again desired them to be still, but one of the men said, we suppose you want to preach—we will not hear you, go out of the house—and they began to push us out. They pushed me quite out of the door, and in a little time John came out also, there being a number out doors. I told them, perhaps they might have heard something to their profit; but was answered, 'We do not want to hear you.' John told them it was a solemn occasion, and they ought to consider that in a little time they would have to die also, when the soul must be either happy or miserable, to all eternity. 'Who sent you to preach?' said one. I answered, 'Jesus Christ.' I was then asked, whose successors we were? and I think I answered, 'Of Christ and his apostles, and righteous men of all generations.' 'You are but lay-men,' said one of them, 'and I can pick out of this company those that are better preachers than you.' I turned to some of the young men and lads present, and said I believed the time was coming and would come, when the children would be favoured to see better things than some of the old men; for which I was accused as a liar, by an old man. I observed to them, that our minds were turned in love to them, that seeing they would not hear us, we would leave them, which we did with sorrowful hearts, being grieved with such blindness and prejudice. We got to our friend James Christy's after night, where we met with Anne Taverner and Susan Bewley.

"5th.—Rode to Lurgan with Anne Taverner to select quarterly meeting at one o'clock; it was a close time.

"7th.—To the meeting for business: the women met apart, and I got some relief amongst them in both meetings. A committee was appointed to consider the state of Society, and the meeting adjourned until four o'clock, when our certificates were read. In the evening I felt a sweet calm over my mind.

"8th.—Met the committee, and had an exercising time in considering the state of Society. It was proposed to nominate a few Friends to visit the monthly and preparative meetings, &c., and I felt a necessity to offer myself to join them, after which John Abbott expressed a similar prospect; it was laid before the quarterly meeting and united with.

"9th.—Met the school committee at nine o'clock, and went to the parting meeting at eleven, in which I was silent. Sat with the committee of men and women Friends, in order to see our way to move, wherein I was concerned to pray for us all."

On the 12th, in company with the com-

mittee, they attended the preparative meeting at Lisburn; on the 15th to Mile-cross and Belfast. 18th, to Hillsborough preparative meeting. 19th, to Ballinderry preparative meeting. 20th, first-day, to Lisburn, and the next day to the monthly meeting. On the 23rd went to Rathfriland, and the next day attended that meeting, where there were but three men and one lad, and about as many women; although things looked discouraging, on the whole it was a good, and in some degree, a tendering time; and on the 26th went to their preparative meeting at Lurgan. 28th, to Moyallen, and in the evening had a conference, in which our way appeared closed up.

"29th.—The committee sat down again, and had an humbling, searching season; and we were not able to see any way to move, except to appoint the time for the monthly meeting to be held, as it was adjourned on our account. Before Friends separated to their several homes, we came together again; and this was a contriving season, for which my soul rejoiced, as we were likely to part in love. In the evening received letters from home, which conveyed sorrowful tidings of the removal, by the yellow fever, of several relatives, neighbours and friends; and that my own family had been visited with the sickness, yet so far, were mercifully preserved in the land of the living;—my spirit was somewhat eased, and the contents of my dear S.'s letter were very sweet, conveying an idea of the calmness and resignation in which her mind was preserved under the trials allotted. The Lord be magnified and bowed before, whether in suffering or rejoicing, sickness or health, life or death; and O that my tried soul may still be favoured to say, Thy will, O Lord, and not mine be done."

On the 4th of the first month, 1796, after conferring together, the committee concluded to move on. They attended the monthly meeting at Coothill on the 7th, composed of seven men and four women; where the queries were read and answered. On the 8th they collected the few Friends together at Castle-shane, consisting of three women and three children. On first-day, 10th, were at Grange meeting; and the next day at the preparative meeting. On the 12th, to Cabarah, where a few families of Friends live in cabins; in getting there they had to leave the carriage in the road, "and the women were conveyed behind the men on horseback, some distance through the slush, to the cabin in which the meeting was held; which was a dull, poor time," wherein he had nothing to communicate.

"On the 13th, to the week-day meeting at Grange; in which my mind was exercised to

stand up with these expressions: 'Hell and destruction are open before the eyes of the Lord: how much more the hearts of the children of men:' and that it was not my faith, neither had I so learned Christ, as to believe that he does all without us; but that when we have missed our way through disobedience, we must know a fresh dispensation of repentance and amendment of life, through the power of the Holy Spirit in the heart. After dinner went over with John Abbott to T. G.'s, where we dropped into silence, and these expressions arose for delivery; 'Without faithfulness we cannot find an interest in Christ; and those who have vowed a vow unto the Lord, should pay it, for the Lord has no pleasure in fools, &c.' Pain and distress have been my condition, wherein I might say measurably, that my God has humbled me among this people.

"14th.—To Rich Hill monthly meeting. The queries were read and answered whilst the women staid, and I trust some solid and instructive remarks were made for their improvement. The meeting held until dark, and then adjourned to the close of one appointed to be held to-morrow. After dinner sat with the overseers, both men and women, and imparted such counsel as occurred, and after that, with the two men elders.

"15th.—Went to an appointed meeting, which was large and mixed; and I got through it to my humbling admiration. There was a raw, inexperienced company assembled, some gay people, and one Highland officer. After which the monthly meeting concluded its business, first appointing a few Friends to go from family to family, and inspect into their condition, particularly with regard to the testimony against war and fighting; and to endeavour to persuade Friends to put away all instruments of destruction and death out of their houses, in this time of commotion amongst their neighbours; it appears that several who had joined in those things, and were brought under dealing, had condemned it.

"16th.—To the monthly meeting at Moyallen, which was a time of enlargement to me, wherein I was favoured to relieve my mind, both in the meeting for worship and business, and things appeared hopeful.

"17th.—A tossing night; and when I awoke, felt very poor and helpless; however, I was favoured to put up a secret petition for protection and help before I arose. Dear John Abbott came into my room to inquire which way I was going, he inclining to go to Lurgan, and after breakfast I felt easy to go with him. We got to our friend John Davis' about a half an hour before meeting time. In this meeting I was favoured with much

enlargement, to my comfort and relief; some brokenness appeared. O how good it is to wait in patience, and depend upon that divine fountain that fails not.

"19th.—To meeting at Antrim, which was small, and the house was damp, having an earthen floor: about four men, some children, and seven women, besides the committee, constituted the meeting, and it was a low time.

"20th.—Sat off pretty early, and rode nine miles to Grange meeting; five men and four women made up the meeting when it separated for the transaction of business; the queries were read, and it was a very low time. The gallery where we sat appeared tumbling down, and a damp earthen floor. When the query respecting bearing arms and paying fines for war, &c., was read, an old woman openly acknowledged, after her husband said he had not paid such a fine, that she did; and made light of it, concluding it would not stand in her way.

"21st.—Rode to Ballynacree, and on the 22nd held the preparative meeting. This meeting-house joins a dwelling, and on sitting down, it seemed like sitting in a cellar: two men, two women and three children composed it, besides six of the committee. My mind was exercised with the low state of things; but was favoured soon to gain a state of quietude, when the remembrance of these expressions was pleasant; 'The Lord liveth, that bringeth the seed of Abraham, or house of Israel, out of the north country, and every country where they have been scattered;' and again, said the Prophet, 'The Lord will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her waste places,' &c.; and my soul craved that this day might hasten. After dinner rode to Colerain, to W. Gregg's; drank tea, and then went to the meeting-house, and sat with him and his brother Dominick and wife, who are all the members in this town: the queries were read and answered, and my mind was not so oppressed as in some other places.

"23rd.—The monthly meeting was held, consisting of seven men and three women; and in the evening the committee sat down together to prepare a report.

"24th, first-day.—To meeting; some few strangers came in,—I pitied them, but had nothing for them: my condition as a ministry in this north part of Ireland, seems as a book sealed; and I have been, and am favoured with contentment.

"27th.—To Lurgan week-day meeting, and on the 28th to Moyallen; after which went to my kind friend Mary Phelps'."

In a letter dated the 29th, from Mary Phelps', he says:

"I am now waiting for John Abbott to join me in going towards the south; we have been together ever since we left Dublin, in the beginning of the twelfth month, and have gone through the north part of the island. I have mourned under a sense of the darkness that prevails; and when I have looked toward the people at large, feeling, I trust, a willingness to preach the gospel among them, I have remembered part of E. Webb's prospect concerning some, when she had been querying whether the visitation of life and salvation was toward them; the answer seems to be, that 'the buckets are frozen.'

"There are parties raising up against each other in these parts, and we hear of their going to houses in the night, and murdering the dwellers in them—breaking their windows, and undermining their houses, and ordering the inhabitants to leave the neighbourhood, and sometimes in open battle against one another; and the magistrates seem at a loss to know what to do; but we have travelled without molestation, which is a favour. I am not much, thou knowest, concerned about informing of outward commotions, and yet I thought so much occurred, and things look very serious in this land,—bringing to my mind Archbishop Usher's prophecy, which if suffered to be fulfilled, will be dreadful indeed. I have been favoured with some precious open meetings in some parts, as Dublin, &c., but truly here in the north, am like a sealed book; many silent ones; but through all, have had to rejoice in that the great Master has a precious seed preserved, and which I trust will be watered and made fruitful in due time."

Second month 2nd.—They arrived in Dublin, where they remained until the 7th, when in company with his friend John Abbott, he set off with a view of taking the meetings of the southern part of Ireland. They attended the meeting at Wicklow on the 9th, and in the evening got to one at Ballycane, on the 11th at Ballinsore, on the 12th to Enniscorthy, and the 13th to Forrest meeting; "in the fore part of which, he says, the testimony was close to libertines, yet was favoured with a portion of oil to the burden-bearers, especially the dear youth; amongst whom, since leaving Dublin, my heart has been much enlarged, and in some meetings considerable contrition appeared. After this meeting, in which I laboured under the heavy weight of an increasing cold, I rode home with Jacob Gough's wife and daughter, in a closed carriage, and after dinner had a precious parting season of tender love, and I thought dear John Abbott had something precious to say. He has been mostly silent since we left Dublin,

Rode to Ross, and put up with our friend John Cullymore, who has been our kind companion and guide from Dublin.

"14th, first-day.—Attended both morning and afternoon meeting, in a weak state of body, but was favoured with much enlargement of heart in both, there appearing a visited little company, especially among the youth.

"15th, second-day.—Rode ten miles to Waterford, and after tea, in the evening, a large number of Friends came to see us, and we were favoured together with the breaking of heavenly bread.

"16th, third-day.—To meeting at Waterford, which was large, and an open time, though weak in body. After it to Wm. Penrose's, who lives a little out of town, and dined with several Friends; amongst the number was a youth under conviction, not of our Society, who appears remarkably grave: here I had another religious opportunity.

"18th.—To Clonmel, and put up at the school; the meeting here was a close, searching time—it being an adjournment of the monthly meeting. I had afterwards some encouraging language to express in the men's meeting, and then went into the women's. We dined at the school, and had a sitting with the scholars, and then went to meet a committee, and hope we were made useful to Friends.

"19th.—I felt so unwell after dinner that I lay down, and was much refreshed. Drank tea at Samuel Davis', after which, came Robert Dudley and wife, and several others; and here we had a good time amongst them. Mary Dudley appeared sweetly, and my companion also; after which we had a tendering time with the scholars, who waited for us with their governors, and divers Friends that came to see us.

"20th.—Went to Robert Dudley's and dined. Sat down with this family, and had an open time amongst them. Dear Mary poured out her supplications in the close for the children, and that the Lord would be pleased to bless our families with the same blessing hers was favoured with.

"21st, first-day.—Felt very poor this morning when I arose, and went to meeting in this state; but had not sat long before a degree of light and life sprang up in my heart, and was favoured to minister to a pretty large meeting. The afternoon meeting was a large mixed one, and I had again an open time. In the evening sat down with the children at the school, and a large number of Friends, among whom were many youth; when I requested some of the children might read the 5th and

6th chapters of second Kings, which two of them did, and it afforded me another full opportunity to discharge my mind. J. A. and M. Dudley both appeared,—dear S. Grubb's remembrance was revived, and I hope it was a baptizing season, to be remembered by many."

Extract from a letter dated Clonmel-school, second month 23rd, 1796, to George Dillwyn, then in London.

..... "Indeed I may say, that my mind has been more at liberty since coming under this roof than for some time: some precious and memorable seasons we have been favoured with, both in this large family and with others in this town. O how sweet has been the remembrance of dear Sarah Grubb; as unknown, and yet well known. Things are sweet and savoury, and I trust her prayers have been heard, and are and will be answered. I have been frequently in company with dear Mary Dudley, and esteem it a favour to be noticed and owned by such as she, and other fellow servants in this land. Very close were my trials in the north; and when returned to Dublin, and looking towards these parts, it was trying to my exercised mind, and I think I may be free to say to thee, my brother, that I came forth weeping, and it was good for me; for having been agreeably disappointed, my heart has been humbled, and I find it good to trust in the Lord, and not lean to my own understanding. We had some precious meetings on the way from Dublin, as well as some trying ones. There appears to be a number of youth under visitation, and when I meet with such, either in meetings or families, it is like marrow to my bones. As to myself, I cannot let thee into my secret with respect to returning, if happily favoured to do so: if I saw the time near, perhaps I might be so free with one, who several years ago gave me an instructive lesson, and which I have since, pretty uniformly kept to, and found great profit in it; that was: 'When thy mind is exercised with a prospect of going abroad, do not deal it out by piece-meal, but wait on the blessed Master until he ripen it in thy mind, and then spread it before thy friends; and if there is life in it, they will be sensible of it.' Happier, I have thought, it would be for many amongst us, if they knew how to keep their own, the king's, and the secrets of others, discreetly."

"24th.—Got to Garryroan meeting in good time, which was a very close, exercising time.

"26th.—Went to Limerick meeting in a

low state, and sat so through the fore part of it, but through favour was enabled to divide the word to various states present.

"28th, first-day.—Attended the morning and afternoon meetings at Limerick, and found much to do in both, and I hope to some comfort and edification both of Friends and others, and to the peace of my own mind. In the evening, as I was sitting at our lodging with between thirty and forty Friends, I felt sweetness cover my mind: my dear companion laboured amongst them in the fore part, and I did not know but that I might be excused, but ventured to bow in supplication, and afterwards was engaged in testimony.

"29th.—Sat off this morning, accompanied by Joseph Harvey and Jeremiah Morris. Went to Charleville and dined; near this place, in which was once a meeting, stood the house of the earl of Cork; of which John Exham, a valuable Friend, prophesied the destruction; but for the kindness the earl showed to him, he returned and told him the evil should not be in his day: all which was fulfilled, and I do not find any trace of the house at this time. In the last stage of our day's ride, we passed through a part of what is called the Golden valley, or very rich land, where stands the ruins of an old abbey. In some of the ancient buildings in the town near it, called Killmallock, is very curious hewn stone work, and also the remains of a palace of one of the ancient kings.

"Third month 1st.—Sat off early, and got into Cork, to John Morris' before dinner; felt stripped and exercised on coming to this place.

"2nd.—Sat off early this morning for Bandon meeting, in which I was shut up in silence; and afterwards rode back to Cork.

"3rd.—To meeting, and shut up. 4th.—In a stripped condition, and much so since coming into this place.

"6th, first-day.—To Cork meeting, and sat some time in silence and poverty, under an apprehension that too many were looking for words, and when I stood up, was for some time without words to begin with; and yet, after a close, searching time, I was favoured to get along in testimony, and relieve my mind pretty freely. In the afternoon meeting I was again much exercised in testimony, and felt relieved. After tea a considerable number called in, and I was drawn forth in testimony amongst them, and took my leave, the way opening for moving on in the morning.

"8th.—To Youghall monthly meeting, where I sat pretty long in silence, and was ready to conclude I should have finished so, but near the close could not feel easy without saying some very close things.

"9th.—After breakfast felt a liberty to call and sit with several Friends. Spent the evening at George Peat's, in the house E. Richardson lived in, who, though not in affluent circumstances, entertained most of the travellers that came on truth's account to this place, and the meeting used to be held in her parlour: several Friends came in, and we had a solid opportunity.

"10th.—To meeting, and it was a pretty comfortable time; John Abbott appeared in prayer, and afterwards in testimony.

"11th.—Sat off early this morning for Waterford, and stopt about eight miles on our way and refreshed. Whilst here I discovered that the iron axle-tree of our chaise was considerably cracked, and we were detained some time to get it bound up. At the last stage we found a man and a fresh horse, sent by John Courtney to put to our chaise, and before nine o'clock at night, we got into our old lodgings at this Friend's house in Waterford, where we were kindly received. Rode this day about fifty English miles. The accommodations were so poor on the road, that we brought provisions with us.

"13th, first-day.—This has been a laborious day to me, being largely exercised in both morning and afternoon meeting, and two sittings in the evening at our lodgings.

"14th.—We drank tea at Mary Watson's, with several Friends, and after it I had a full opportunity to speak to the states of several.

"15th.—Went to meeting, where the labour fell on me, and it was a pretty open time. Stopt in at William Penrose's, and hope it was a profitable tendering season; after which we went to the widow Ussher's, who has three daughters, and here we had a memorable time indeed. Very soon after we sat down, tenderness and contrition appeared, and I admired whilst speaking, to see such brokenness. Dined at Joseph Hoyland's; after which divers Friends stepped in, and I had a religious opportunity, and another on our return to our lodgings.

"16th.—Dear Mary Dudley and several others, came and breakfasted with us; after which I had the servants called in and had a religious opportunity; then went to the widow Ussher's, where I was comforted, and took an affectionate leave of her and dear children; she confessed with tenderness to the Lord's goodness in sending his servants to visit them. After dinner and bidding several families farewell, we rode to Ross.

"17th.—Went to meeting at Ross, in a low condition, where I found a considerable collection of other societies, and amongst the rest Richard Rowe, who had been a priest, but had given up his living; it proved a good

time, and in the afternoon went to see this goodly man, and was pleased with the visit; he appeared to receive us with gladness.

"18th.—This morning we could not be easy without seeing another sober man, who with two daughters, called upon us; and we had a tendering time; the father and oldest child seemed much broken; the wife was unwell, but after returning home he sent us word that she would see us, and we went and had another tender time; and came away from Ross pretty comfortable in mind.

"19th.—Went to Killconnor meeting in a poor strip state; there was a number not of our Society at it—my companion appeared, and after him I had a tendering time with some, though there were others who were cause of grief and pain to my mind. To this meeting John Cullimore came from his own home, in order to accompany us to the quarterly meeting at Mount-mellick.

"20th, first-day.—A night of conflict, and was very poor and strip this morning before I arose, under some painful apprehension that I had not kept the girdle of truth so close to my loins as I ought. What a precious thing it is to be preserved tender—in this state we are favoured soon to see the outgoing of the mind, and feel a check even in the thoughts. I went to meeting poor and humbled, and to my admiration was strengthened to minister to the poor, as well as to warn the unruly. After dinner went seven miles to Athy meeting, at four o'clock. I had no expectation of seeing so many of other societies, and was in a low state; however, strength and courage were given me, and hope it was a time of profit.

"22nd.—Found freedom to send and collect the few Friends together at Timahoe, and on the 23rd, accompanied by W. and J. Pimm, attended the meeting; there was but a small company, only two men who were members, and about seven women; several neighbours came in, to whom both my companion and I had something to communicate, and after they left us had a close time with such as were members. One of the members, about a month ago, was much wounded by a party of men coming to his house to demand arms. We understand he made resistance, and one of the balls fired at him lodged in his spectacle case in his pocket. How happy for those, who in trying times can truly say, I am a Christian, therefore I cannot fight.

"24th.—To Rathangan meeting, where a number of strangers came in, and I had to reason with those present, concerning temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come, and hope the word was divided to the different states. Drank tea at Jane Watson's,

where was a number of Friends, with whom I had a religious opportunity.

"25th.—Set off for Mount-mellick, where we arrived before night and put up at J. G.'s, Mary Ridgway's home.

"27th, first-day.—A little better in health to-day, and ventured out to meeting with muffling up; and very close things occurred to deliver. In the afternoon meeting was silent, but had two opportunities in the evening with some youth.

"28th.—To meeting for business, and the adjournment at three o'clock, wherein very close things escaped my lips, and in the evening was not only much spent but humbled.

"29th.—To another adjournment at ten o'clock, wherein my mind was lifted up a little, and I thought the precious testimonies of truth appeared to be growing in importance in Friends' minds. At five o'clock went to what is called the parting meeting; in which I was silent.

"30th.—To the week-day meeting, and was silent. In the afternoon the select meeting met, the fore part of which was a dull time, but it ended comfortably, and a minute was made in acknowledgment of the favour; my heart was in some degree enlarged: went through the schools, and came home in the evening under a load of exercise, and in a religious opportunity bowed in supplication; and there appeared a cause, not only on my own account, but that of others.

"Fourth month 3rd, first-day.—Although much unwell this day, yet was favoured to relieve my mind amongst Friends in the morning meeting, and appointed one for the town, to be held at five o'clock in the evening: it was very large, so that the house could not hold the people, and I trust it was favoured. The people were solid and still, and remained so after going out. A number of gay people came and took me by the hand at the close, and appeared thankful for the opportunity.

"4th.—Went on towards Birr; stopt at a poor inn by the way, and refreshed ourselves with some provisions which Friends gave us; and afterwards had a religious opportunity with the inn-keeper, his wife and family, to our satisfaction.

"5th.—To the meeting at Birr, where many strangers came in, with whom I had a pretty good time.

"6th.—In the meeting at Roscrea, I was silently shut up; and in an evening meeting at Knockballymaher, great dullness appeared, and nothing for me to do.

"7th.—To the meeting at Mountrath, which was large and mixed; I was favoured soon to

feel that there were some precious plants there, among whom I had a good time. John Abbott also had a share in the labour, and I ventured to conclude the meeting by prayer.

"8th.—To Ballinakill meeting, which was a time of suffering; there was a poor little company of Friends, and some few others stepped in; after some considerable time of silent exercise, I ventured to prostrate myself and supplicate the Lord to remember poor desolate Zion, &c. Before the meeting concluded, divers others with some soldiers coming in, I felt for and addressed them. After dinner, accompanied by several Friends, rode to K lkenny.

"9th.—Arrived at Anner-mills, twenty-two miles. I feel much recruited in my bodily powers, and believe I should have felt pleasanter if I had been more watchful last evening. O what a poor weak and feeble creature I am, when the divine arm is but a little withdrawn to prove me; and what state is more safe than a broken contrite one—learn contentment therein, O my soul.

"10th, first-day.—Rode to meeting with Sarah Grubb and her sister, E. Pimm, and was favoured with a relieving time; and in the afternoon meeting had an opportunity to open the principles of truth to a number of soldiers and others who came in, and behaved solidly; then back to Sarah Grubb's, and in the evening the family was called in, when a portion of the Holy Scriptures was read by the children—a commendable practice.

"15th.—Surely it is not of him that will-eth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy. O how gloomy have prospects been of late to my mind! what a poor, and if it may not be too nearly reflecting on divine Goodness, what a wretched man I have often felt myself. I have cause to be thankful in feeling so, that afterward the riches of divine love and mercy may be more magnified. May I then wait and watch in patience; for when the Sun of righteousness shines forth, these clouds disappear: sorrow continueth for a night, but joy cometh in the morning; and I am thankful to find a liberty to think and hope so much as this."

In a letter written from this place, fourth month 15th, to his father-in-law, David Bacon, he says:

"We have been pretty busily employed since I wrote thee my last, and I think there is but one meeting of Friends in this nation but what I have been at, and some of them divers times over. I have had deeply to feel of late, the force and truth of the dear Mas-

ter's language to his disciples; 'After ye have done all that I have commanded you, say we are unprofitable servants,' &c., feeling myself often a very poor creature; sometimes I think, like a vessel that has been beating about in the sea, and wants refitting. Well, if I can but be so preserved as to retain my faith in his holy Name, and to believe that he will yet preserve the little bark, and trust it again on the waters to the peace of my poor tribulated soul in the end, and to the praise of his ever excellent name, to whom belongs the praise of his own work, both in time and eternity,—it is all I desire. Through holy help I have been favoured to behold some fruits of fervent labour in this land; yea, I trust I have seen at seasons, that the labours of the servants who have of late been sent into this land have been blessed. I went to see a widow of considerable note in Waterford, who, with three lovely daughters have attended Friends' meetings for some months past, and paid them two tendering visits. I have met with nothing in all my travels, more like what we read of in the beginning of our forefathers' labours, than our first visit to this tender family,—though in gay life, yet to behold the brokenness, even before words were uttered, was to my admiration. The last time we were at Ross, there came in several goodly people, to whom I felt the love of the gospel flow, and after the meeting we visited two of them in their families. The first was a young clergyman, who has been so brought under a right exercise and concern, that sometime back he called his flock together and took leave of them; informing them that he had not a right commission to preach. He has given up his living also, and entered into the corn business, in partnership with a neighbour; he appears under much exercise of mind, and I thought it was evident he received us with gladness. The other is a merchant, who, I was informed, had been brought up to the law: in the opportunity with him he was much broken, and it was also remarked that one of the children particularly, was much tendered. O, saith my soul, and all that is living within me, that the great Lord of the harvest would hasten the day, when more precious fruits may appear in the earth: that more sons and daughters may come under this description mentioned by the prophet; 'It shall come, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and see my glory. And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal, and Javan, to the isles afar off, that have not heard

my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles.'

"18th.—Went to quarterly meeting, and had to labour among the men in a close manner; afterwards went into the women's meeting, and had an open time.

"19th.—Still close and exercising times in the adjournment: the meeting ended this evening. When the subject respecting bearing arms was brought before the meeting, a precious covering was over it; gainsaying spirits were silenced, and a minute was made to stir up overseers to visit such as have destructive weapons in their habitations, and induce them to destroy them; and Friends are about establishing another boarding school: on the whole it gave me joy and comfort to see that truth and righteousness are thriving over all opposition in Ireland.

"20th.—Attended the parting meeting; and though a close and searching time, I hope it was profitable; dear M. Dudley summed up the exercises in the close, to my comfort. After sitting with the select members in the adjournment of that meeting, which was a season to be remembered, and may my soul be humbled, Mary took me to Anner-mills in her carriage; and it was a time wherein we poor exercised labourers were brought into great nearness and fellowship."

After this he proceeded through Kilkenny and Ballitore, and on the 22nd arrived in Dublin.

"24th, first-day.—I am a poor unworthy creature, and if again favoured to stand forth in the noble cause of truth and righteousness, surely it must be of the Lord's mercy. I am looking and feeling, in order to ascertain whether way will open after this national meeting, to return to England. Sometimes the query arises in my heart, shall I be favoured to see my dear aged mother in this world? If not, O that we may be favoured, through adorable mercy, to meet in the world to come, in happiness and peace. Went to Sycamore alley meeting; and though it was small, I was favoured with an open time, and in the close desired Friends to invite their neighbours to the afternoon meeting; when we had a large gathering, and though a laborious time, with some dark spirits to deal with, yet hope it was a time of profit, tending to exalt the name of Christ Jesus my Lord and Saviour. In the evening felt easy and quiet in mind; and as comfortable in body as I could wish for.

"25th, second-day.—To the men's national meeting for business, held in Meath street, both morning and afternoon, in which I was

much engaged, and felt a fear lest I dealt rather closely with some who appeared to move in too shallow water. Consider, O my soul, that thou art liable to temptation!

Fifth month 1st.—Meeting for business ended late on fifth-day evening, and sixth-day was the parting meeting, and the meeting for ministers and elders,—and my mind has been so taken up with the service of them, &c., that I have made no memorandums. Let it suffice that I have been favoured to travel through; and to-day, first-day, attended very large meetings, and much labour has fallen to my share, and sweet enriching peace is my portion this evening, which is better than any thing this world can afford.

"3rd.—To meeting, which was very large, and I had an open time to my great admiration, considering what an unworthy, poor creature I felt like when I arose from my bed and went to the meeting; divers Friends stopped in after meeting, and I had another opportunity."

On the 4th he embarked for Liverpool, in company with twenty-five Friends, where they arrived on the 7th. On the 8th, first-day, he attended both meetings at Liverpool, and was "shut up in silent poverty." On the 12th he reached London, and was kindly received by his friends Joseph and Rachel Smith, where David Sands also arrived in the evening, and took up his lodgings.

"15th, first-day.—I went to Gracechurch street meeting, and had an open, relieving time; dined at George Stacey's with David Sands, who attended Devonshire house meeting, and we went to Westminster together."

The yearly meeting of London coming on, and his mind being brought under deep exercise and discouragement, no memorandums occur until the following, viz:

"I laid aside my pen until this morning, the 6th of sixth month, and second of the week; feeling more cheerful and comfortable in mind. I have passed through a scene of affliction of late, not only during the time of the yearly meeting, but since; my religious prospect appearing at times almost like a brook dried up."

The following extracts are taken from a letter which he received while in London, from his beloved friend Rebecca Jones, viz:

"Sitting pensively and alone this evening, whilst Friends are assembled at the High street meeting-house, and recounting some of the Lord's gracious dealings and marvellous acts towards and upon me, thou wast brought so preciously near to my disconsolate mind, that I have taken the pen in hand to tell thee so.

Thy letter to me, written partly at sea, and thy remembrance of me in those to thy dear wife and son, both revived and contrited my spirit. Our dear brother Samuel Emlen was at our North meeting this morning, where he was enabled to declare the Master's counsel faithfully in a living testimony, which, with a similar one from dear Deborah Darby two weeks ago, was like 'summing up the evidences' for me, now near the close of the arduous family visit I have been engaged in, and which I trust will be completed in another week. I have proceeded gradually, often beset with discouragements, often in great weakness and fear. But the Lord who healed me in sickness, has been near, and to Him be the praise of his own works; for indeed his hand alone has opened a door of admission into the houses of my friends, and melted many of our hearts together, under the softening influences of his great mercy and loving kindness toward us. May I be kept little and low before him, and mayest thou derive some encouragement from this feeble testimony to his goodness; so as to finish the work which may be given thee to do in that part of the Lord's vineyard, where he has many precious plants, unto whom my spirit is united in Christian fellowship.

"Our yearly meeting was large and solemn, and some steps have been taken, I hope, in best wisdom, for the advancement of the great and good cause: a joint committee of men and women Friends was appointed to consider and arrange matters for opening a boarding school for the youth; so that in time we may have an American Ackworth, which was dear Sarah Grubb's prospect. I am too old to enter again into the service, but as my heart wishes prosperity to the work, I have submitted to have my name on that committee.

"When the afflicting tidings of dear Elizabeth Drinker's departure arrived, I went down and staid a great part of the day with dear Daniel and Abigail, where I had to tell them that our sitting solemnly together reminded me of the time when Job's friends sat with him in silent astonishment, and that it was sealed upon my spirit, with regard to the dear departed, that all is well. Soon after this thy letter to Daniel came to hand, and I read it to the relations, wherein were the very same expressions, which thou offered as descriptive of thy first visit to her. They bear the affliction as becomes Christian minds, and will, I hope, be supported under the close trial, by the same good hand which was so eminently near her to the end."

After alluding to several recent deaths she says:

"It is indeed a solemn day every where:

O that the inhabitants of the earth may now learn righteousness. May the work thou art engaged in be blessed by the great Master; for as the ability is from him, so must we also leave the issue with Him who can work without us, and also with us, as he pleaseth. May thy heart endure and thy hands be strong in our Master's service, that so his blessed will may be perfected, and thy peace flow as a river. Think sometimes of poor me, and intercede when thou canst for my preservation; for O, I feel as though I should sink like poor Peter did, was the divine hand withdrawn; and my faith, like his, is often very small.

"Thou art frequently in my affectionate remembrance,—may the Shepherd of Israel, who evidently put thee forth, go before thee and make all thy labour prosperous, under his immediate blessing; without which, neither the planting of Paul, nor the watering of Apollos, will promote the intended happy increase of righteousness, which is in the Lord's time to cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. May infinite Wisdom be pleased, for his own name's sake, to hasten this day; and may we wait in patience, and endure hardness as good soldiers, for Christ's sake, seeing that to him and his followers the victory is decreed."

Went to morning meeting in an humbled condition, and soon prostrated myself on my knees, and prayed to the Father and fountain of mercies, for myself, and my fellow labourers, both on sea and land, our wives, children, &c., and for all the Lord's gathered messengers. Spent part of the afternoon retired alone in my chamber, under close conflict; and yet, after so often mentioning these things, I know there is no room for murmuring or repining. Cast thy care then, O my tribulated soul, on the Lord, and patiently wait until deliverance comes. What greater trial is there than to be stripped and unclothed of all good, and to sit in this state from day to day, and appear like an idler in the work, so far from home; these are peculiar trials.

"12th, first-day.—Attended the meeting at Tottenham, in which S. Harrison had a remarkably close time; soon after I took my seat in the afternoon meeting, I felt a little to communicate in weakness to some of the servants, and those of low degree, &c., in an encouraging line. S. Harrison had such a searching time, that it seemed as though my foundation was brought to the test, and I thought she was rightly led, whether I was or not. Ah, me! what a poor soldier am I, if indeed I am one at all. I have put on a cheerful

countenance, and in some instances of late, when in company with my valued brother, David Sands, I have been roused and cheered a little; but still my heart has been sad.

"14th.—Felt a little ray of light and sweetness on awaking this morning. After breakfast looked over this book of my journeys, travels and conflicts, to this time; and truly I think I am a poorer creature than heretofore. O that I may be accounted worthy of the name of a servant of Christ. Surely my state now resembles that of one laid aside; but dare I complain, even if it should be the blessed Master's will to lay me aside?

"15th.—Went to town with T. H. and wife, and to Gracechurch street meeting, where I found David Sands, and it was a solid, silent time: the adjournment of the monthly meeting was held at the close, when a certificate was read and signed for George Dillwyn to visit Germany, his wife being included in it.

"19th, first-day.—This morning Joseph Smith and David Sands stopped with a post-chaise and took me to Hartford meeting; in which dear David was precious enlarged, especially in the afternoon, in a meeting appointed for the people of the town.

"20th.—To the quarterly meeting, which I hope was throughout a good time of encouragement. David Sands and I visited the women's meeting.

"21st.—David Sands and companion inclining to go to London, to be at Devonshire house meeting, and dear Sarah Harrison appearing under a close exercise to go to Brentford meeting, I felt at liberty to accompany her: and though I had nothing to communicate, yet was willing to bear up her hands, and got back to Tottenham in good season. Felt my mind, this evening, drawn much inward, under close exercise, and was shut up from conversation; and when we sat down to supper, was favoured to prostrate in humble supplication. It was a time of baptism, I trust to be remembered. After which I lay down more sweet and comfortable than for a long time. O what a favour once more vouchsafed to poor unworthy me.

"22nd.—A sweet refreshing night, and comfort extended when awake. Awake then, O my soul, and listen to the voice of thy beloved, who hath not cast thee off; look forward with humble, depending patience, and hope in his mercy.

"24th.—Attended the scholars' meeting at Clerkenwell; there were not many men Friends there; but to me it was an open comfortable time with the children: afterwards I stepped over amongst the poor women in the Alms house, and had a tendering time. In the evening went to an appointed meeting

for Sarah Harrison, held in a barn about two miles from Tottenham; it was large, and I hope to profit.

"25th.—At Tottenham meeting, both morning and afternoon, which were favoured seasons; David Sands and I returned to Thomas Horne's together, and after supper he was much opened in conversing on some passages of Scripture, to our edification and comfort; and in the close a sweet covering of good, more and more spread, and I kneeled down in supplication; dear Sarah followed in the same line, and it was indeed a memorable evening.

"27th.—To London quarterly select meeting; and in it I felt unwell and much exercised.

"28th.—To the quarterly meeting for business, and hope I was favoured rightly to bend in supplication; and this was all that fell to my share, either in the public meeting, or in the business part."

From the 29th of sixth to 10th of seventh month, was mostly spent in visiting the meetings in the vicinity of London, particularly Tottenham; and also a considerable number of families, in which he was favoured with ability to open the states of individuals, and administer proper religious counsel; describing them as being frequently heart-melting, humbling or tendering seasons.

From London he addressed a letter to his friend Rebecca Jones, dated seventh month, 1796, from which the following is extracted.

"My very dear friend,

"Thy letter, which came safely to hand, is a fresh proof of thy sisterly sympathy and love, and has done me much good. It was pleasant to find that thou hadst been to New York and Rahway, the latter a place both of exercise and of favour to me in days past. From what I have lately heard, I do not marvel that thy sorrow has been great, and the language of my soul at this moment is, not only on thy account, but also my own, 'Lord, bring thou me out of my distresses, and preserve through all that thou in thy wisdom may permit to come upon us.' And, my dear friend, my faith is renewed on thy account, that thy feet will not be moved from the sure foundation; and after saying so much, it is in my heart to add, remember poor me.

"Very pleasant to me was thy account of the young preachers. I rejoice in their growth; remembering, and humbly so, how mercifully I was cared for in the day when, like a little child, I tottered along, and sometimes slipped, and fell and bruised myself thereby; yet help was reached forth both immediately

and instrumentally. When we remember those seasons, who can grudge or deal hardly with any of the little ones. I was glad to hear so good an account of dear J. W., he was near to my best life before I left you, and I thought what has happened would come to pass, and told him so. May the great Master of the family and Shepherd of the sheep, preserve all on the right foundation, and enable them to spread his name abroad in due time.

“O what stripping has there been amongst you, since I saw your faces! I have had many humbling thoughts in looking at these things, but have consoled myself in the persuasion, that the God of the whole earth doubtless doeth right. I request thee to call and, as ability is afforded, yield the sympathy of thy spirit to my dear wife and aged mother; and when thou hast a little of heavenly good, do not withhold it from thy poor and often tried friend, who needs thy sympathy and prayers for his support, and probably may yet more need them.”

Seventh month 10th, first-day.—Having heard that Waltham Abbey meeting was to be opened this day, for the few living in that neighbourhood and Epping, I felt a freedom to go and sit with them, and was accompanied by T. Horne, wife and daughter S. Soon after I sat down amongst the little company, some encouragement spread over my mind, and after a time I arose on my feet and endeavoured to express it; and before I had done a number of persons of other societies came in, and I hope on the whole it ended well.

We stopt at John Burgess', and after some time spent in conversation, my heart was filled up, and broken under a sense of the Lord's mercies to me from my youth, in leading me about and instructing me to that moment. I had an opportunity to express some of the feelings of my mind; and it opened an effectual door for my exercised friend to relieve her mind, in which I rejoiced. Returned back with sweetness of mind, and had another opportunity at T. Horne's with a number of youth; here I learned that William Savery had arrived in London.

“11th.—Set off rather earlier in order to see dear William before meeting, but found he had gone. How were my feelings awakened in divers respects, on dear William's certificate being read, and the prospect of his accompanying David Sands and George Dillwyn into a strange land; mine in that respect closed up. I desire to wait on Him who hath, in abundant mercy, made hard things easy, and bitter things sweet. The sorrows of my heart have of late been great, and yet not

without a mixture of joy, for which I bow, I hope with reverence and awe, knowing I cannot add any thing, neither diminish. Surely it is of the Lord's goodness I am not confounded. Attended the school meeting at Clerkenwell, and an examination of the scholars. William and David had good opportunities with the children.

“15th.—Went on board the ship William Penn with Nicholas Waln, my father D. Bacon, Sarah Harrison, George Dillwyn and wife, David Sands, William Savery, and others. Nicholas Waln appeared easy to take his passage. After dinner retired for the purpose of writing.”

In a letter to his son, dated the 16th, in alluding to the circumstance of a house in the vicinity of his own, being struck with lightning, he says:

“I notice with renewed thankfulness, your preservation ‘from the arrow that flieth by day.’ We have been kept in a season when terror was in the night; and when the pestilence walked in darkness, and destruction wasted at noonday. Many have fallen at our right hand and at our side, and only with our eyes have we so far beheld his marvellous work. O may you all keep this so great mercy in view, not knowing how soon it may be the pleasure of Omnipotence again to visit with these things. And if both I and you, of my dear family, are concerned to make the Lord our refuge, even the Most High our habitation, he will then, doubtless, condescend to keep us in all our ways, and direct our steps aright; and whether sooner or later, make all our bed in sickness. This is what often occupies my mind; for indeed, to be favoured in time to be the servant of the Lord, doing his will, and not our own, and to seek earnestly after a habitation with the just, is worth living and suffering for, according to his will, often bearing in remembrance, that here we have no continuing city.

“I am comforted in the persuasion, that thou wilt not lose sight of these important things; and if so happily favoured, then I know that the Lord will bless thee and give thee enough of the earth, for the cattle of a thousand hills are his, and he gives and dispenses at his pleasure. Therefore, seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all things necessary will be added.”

“17th, first-day.—This morning I felt most easy to go to Ratcliff meeting: my father-in-law, David Bacon, and Joseph Smith accompanied me; and we were favoured with an open good time; and in the close requested Friends would take pains and invite their

neighbours to the meeting, my dear friend and brother David Sands, intending to sit with them. To the meeting at six o'clock, where I had some little to communicate, and David a large time, and I hope it was to profit.

18th, second-day.—To morning meeting, and at six o'clock to a large meeting held in a barn near Blackwall, appointed by Sarah Harrison, which was a satisfactory time.

"19th.—To Devonshire house meeting, where I found William Savery, who was silent. I had a good time, also dear George Dillwyn. William appointed a meeting at six o'clock, for the inhabitants. Went home and dined, and after an heart humbling season, wherein both David Sands and S. Harrison appeared in prayer for the preservation of the poor labourers, &c., and taking an affectionate farewell, my father David Bacon, accompanied me to Thomas Horne's; soon after which, came in T. Phillips and divers others, with whom, and this family, I had a tendering time, and after it spent the evening sweetly."

The following extract is taken from a letter addressed to him by his beloved friend Mary Dudley, dated,

"Ross, Seventh month 2nd, 1796.

"Beloved friend,

"When I was in this place some weeks ago, the stream of precious fellowship run so strongly in inclination to salute thee, that I have often since regretted that I did not yield to it; not that I then knew I had anything good in possession, nor am I now sensible of any qualification, but the renewing of the same feeling, and the continuance of that love, which I trust will never be quenched by any of the waters of trial or waves of conflict, wherewith the poor vessel may yet be tossed in its probationary passage to the land of rest. Surely, if ever I am favoured to enter the harbour, it will be through abundant mercy; for at seasons, so many are the fears attendant on the path allotted me, that the grain of faith seems too small to keep in steady hope of everlastingly anchoring there: nevertheless, when favoured to get into the region of calm resignation, faith strengthens and hope revives; and knowing that the Lord sitteth above the water floods, and remaineth King forever, the burden is, I trust, acceptably cast on him, and a consoling persuasion experienced, that he continueth to care for me. These are things mostly worn within, but to thee, my dear brother, it is no marvel if the heart should get a little vent, seeing how wondrously thy mind has been dipped in relation to a subject, wherein, like the roll written within and without, my meditations are em-

ployed oftener than the returning day, though I thought not of touching upon it just now. It was a sort of sad communication which my spirit seemed holding with thine, and the uniting feeling inclined me thus to tell thee so; believing thine is truly a path of deep exercising travail, wherein perhaps the tracks of many footsteps are not seen—a line wherein thou art made to resemble thy great Master, who 'was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.' Well, this thou knowest is the acceptable way to 'fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ for the body's sake, which is the church.' And O, saith my soul, that great was the addition to the church militant of such members as were resigned to these dispensations, and willing to be plunged deep enough to complete this measure of inward suffering. But dost thou not fear, I speak freely what I have said in my heart often, that there is much of a dwelling on the surface, not only in people, but in the ministry? Are the different states visited by all thus concerned, as their various exigencies require? The ground of true ministry appears increasingly awful to my view, and 'Who is sufficient for the work,' is the frequent inquiry raised; and who can be fitted, but such as are willing to drink of the cup and bear the repeated baptisms! These bear about in the body the marks of the Lord Jesus, and these availingly visit the sick and imprisoned seed, even in silent travail, when deep only uttereth unto deep. Well, my endeared friend, great is the liberty of the truth, and much the freedom wherewith I address thee, as though conversing, or, as dear Esther Tuke used to say, 'thinking aloud.'"

"20th.—Set off this morning about eight o'clock, with my dear father, who has given up to accompany me a little on my journey, and several other Friends; put up at Benjamin Finsham's, and attended the meeting of Friends. Appointed one for the town's people at six o'clock. Went to to James Haley's, where came his brother and sister Coxhead, with whom I had a religious opportunity, and it appeared to be well received. He is called sir John, and is a member of Parliament; she, a plain woman.

"21st.—This morning we stepped into most of the families of Friends. Dined at Thomas Coxhead's, with his wife and several others, he being gone to London; and after it my spirit was broken and humbled so much as to bring me on my knees. I remembered a circumstance which occurred, when I sat out with David Brooks for New England; we had stopped at a house several days' journey from home, and taking up an old Testament,

I attempted to read ; but my spirit was swallowed up with such a weight and solemnity, and, as I then apprehended, the spirit of supplication was poured out on me as I had never felt it before, that I could not read ; and laying down my book, sat in an awful state of mind, until called to dinner, and then gave way to my exercise ; and after it my elder brother, David Brooks, continued the same. Ah ! surely it was a moment not to be forgotten by me, in my then infant state. And how earnestly did my soul crave preservation in this season now vouchsafed, both for myself and for others in an infant state.

“22nd.—To Benjamin Finsham’s. Here we obtained liberty to go and set in the chamber of a sick daughter, where we had father and mother, son and daughter together, and my friend S. Horne was favoured fully to relieve her mind, for which I rejoiced ; and taking an affectionate leave, my father and I mounted our horses and pursued our journey. Stopt on our way about four miles, and visited a widow and daughter-in-law, which, I hope was a time of encouragement. Got to Bishop Stortford about two o’clock, and soon after gave liberty to invite their neighbours, to come together at meeting at six o’clock. I admire at the kindness shown me of latter days. My burden has been lightened and I moved on cheerfully this day, accompanied by my dear father. The appointed meeting was large, and to me a laborious one, but was favoured, after a considerable time of silence, to begin in great weakness, and got through. When I was coming out, I met with a large number of poor, shabby looking youth on the stairs, who stopt, and some also were near the door, and I had to encourage them to be good children, that so they might be made great ; having had in the course of my testimony to address such, and told them that God was able to raise up from the stones of the street, children unto Abraham.

“24th.—To meeting at Saffron Walden, and was favoured with an open precious time of encouragement, and at the close appointed one for the town, which was a season of much enlargement in testimony with me, and I had a sweet refreshing time. After getting home and sitting quiet, a humble hope revived, that the Lord my heavenly Master would not leave me, though he may see meet yet to prove and try my faith, patience and love.

“26th.—To the monthly meeting, which was larger than usual, and attended by divers youth from a distance ; in the fore part of it my soul was humbled and prostrated in prayer for myself, fellow-labourers in this land and others, with those left behind at home ; and afterwards I had a pretty large time in

testimony. The business was sweetly conducted in brotherly love ; we dined at G. Gibson’s with a number of Friends, after which came in divers more, and amongst them I had a full good time, tendering the minds of several of the youth ; soon after which had to part from my dear father David Bacon, he setting off with Wm. Grover and wife, with a view of returning to London, and I am left behind without a companion ; but not like a partridge on the mountain, or a sparrow on the house top, because sustaining help has been near, and still remains to be so at this moment. Thanks be rendered where they are due : and O may my poor soul trust in the Lord throughout the present journey, and to the end of my pilgrimage in this land, come whatever may be permitted to come, to try me.

“27th.—Arose in a poor and stripped state, and went to the week-day meeting, where I was soon favoured with such a sweet silence, and in it had to look towards my dear wife, with faith to believe that the Almighty arm is near to sweeten her mind, and protect those I have left behind, in life or in death, that I could have sat contentedly through the meeting in silence. But after a season I was favoured to minister a word of encouragement to my friends ; and surely there is need of humble thankfulness for the favours I have experienced of late, and since coming to this place.”

On the 28th he was at Stansted ; 29th at Thaxted ; 30th at Dunmow ; and the 31st, first-day, at the meeting at Chelmsford, in which he says, “E. and G. Gibson had a little to communicate, and I thought in the fore part something would have fallen to my share, but all was dried up, and I sat the meeting through in silence. In the afternoon my mind was drawn to look toward my dear wife and family, far separated in body from me. How has my spirit been present with them, accompanied with prayers and supplications to the Father of mercies on their account, and with sweetness and assurance that the Preserver of men is near and will be so : this has often been the case, and yet when thoughts deeply impress my soul, that if it should be ordered in the counsel of our God, that my dear companion and I meet not again in this world, surely I have believed that we shall in the world to come, where there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage, as saith our blessed Redeemer and Saviour ; and where such as finish their course with joy in this world, are to be as the angels in heaven. Even so be it, O God, with humble submission saith my soul, whether such a baptism be to try my faith and love and the stroke be deferred, or whether I

may be as a sign to the people in this land, as the prophet was in his day. O my God, favour me as much as is profitable for thy servant, to put sorrow away from my heart, that both with flesh and heart I may seek thy face continually, and be favoured to do and suffer thy blessed will, which will be my sanctification—Amen.”

While here he addressed the following letter to Sarah Cresson, who had been but a short time in the station of a minister, viz :

“ Robert Marriage’s, near Chelmsford, Essex,
Eighth month 1st, 1796.

“ Dear Cousin,

“ Having left most of my letters in my trunk in London, and thine amongst them, I have it not with me; but thinking much of thee this morning, which I may tell thee I have done at other times, with near and tender affection, I concluded to take up my pen and tell thee so.

“ Many and various are the trials which such poor things as I am, separated from near and dear connections, have to pass through; and they have a tendency to dip the mind into a feeling sympathy with and for those who have set out in the same blessed work. The desire of my soul is, that thou, with all those who are called of our heavenly Father to labour in his vineyard, may keep steady to the work; for blessed are they who keep their hands to the plough, looking and pressing forwards, under the direction of their Holy Head and High priest. These will meet with sufficient encouragement by the way :—remember then, dear child, the way to profit is to give thyself wholly to the work, so will thy profiting appear to all; study to show thyself approved unto the Lord thy God, a workwoman in his house and family that need not be ashamed,—rightly dividing the word of Truth, unto which service thou art beyond any doubt in my mind called. Let not little acts of faith and love, in the gospel of him, who hath called thee and sanctified thee for his work, pass by undone; for a cheerful surrender of thy will and faculties in little acts of obedience, will make way for more, so wilt thou know thy day’s work keeping pace with the day, and then thou mayest look forward to the end, which crowns all, even a finishing of thy work and course with joy, and receive that crown, which is laid up in store for all such as love the Lord Jesus Christ, and do his will. Love retirement and reading the Holy Scriptures. Treasure up such parts of them as forcibly strike thy mind, and then at seasons thou wilt witness the key of David

handed to thee, which will unlock thy little treasury, and open the mysteries with more enlargement, for the help and benefit of others, who are ignorant and unlearned. Here is the use and end of a gospel ministry, which is not received of man, but of God; and that which is received in secret, quiet retirement, revives in meetings and families, and commandment is given to proclaim it abroad. Therefore, as a beloved younger sister in the work, I charge and counsel thee to give thyself to reading, meditation and prayer, and may thy God and mine give thee wisdom in all things, to go in and out before the people. Let no one despise thy youth; neither do thou let in discouragement from this quarter; but in humility and reverence, seek for a qualification to say, Here am I Lord, first prepare and then send me.

“ I have now, whilst writing, the pleasant company of my valuable friend and mother, Elizabeth Gibson: she and her husband have both been with me nearly a week. He has gone to a monthly meeting about eighteen miles off, and has left me at his son-in-law’s to rest,—and if they do not both go on with me to-morrow, I expect dear George will, and for all I see, go with me through this county. He is indeed, in my opinion, a choice spirited Friend, and a comfortable couple they both appear to be, much beloved by their friends. Two nieces of his live with them, who have been as affectionate to me whilst at their house, as I could look for my own children to be; and very comfortable I felt under their uncle’s roof. I thought this account would be pleasing to thy dear mother, to whom present my continued love and sympathy; and tell her, that it was good house-keeping formerly, when the prophet kept the widow’s house; and my desire is, that the great Prophet of prophets, may yet have room in her house and heart. My dear love to thy brother Ebenezer,—tell him, though I have not felt qualified to answer his affectionate letter, yet he may be assured that he has a place in the mind of his absent relation, who has rejoiced in hearing that he was dear J. W.’s armour bearer. And O that he and my dear son, may be companions in the way that leads to the everlasting kingdom.

“ My love to all the rest of the precious lesser plants in the family. O that they may grow up as plants in their youth, and know a being dignified by the Truth in their day. May thou and thy dear mother be encouraged to continue labour towards them, to bend the tender twigs and form the mind. Ah! how my heart yearns towards mine own likewise, for whom my prayers are put up, that they may

be the Lord's children. In near and tender love I salute thee once more, who am thy affectionate friend and relation,

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

"Eighth month 2nd.—After attending the meeting at Malden, which I trust was a profitable one, rode to the widow Hurnard's.

"3rd.—A solid opportunity with this family, including the servant maid, who was very much tendered, even to weeping aloud. Went to meeting at Witham, where I understood was a Roman priest, one of the emigrants from France, a curate, and divers persons of note; amongst them a physician, who had been much prejudiced against Friends; he stood most of the time, and appeared considerably tendered. A Friend meeting him afterward, he was broken, and sent his love and good wishes to me, and appeared much satisfied in being at meeting. The Lord be praised for the manifestations of his goodness to my soul, both in the meeting and since, by shining through the cloud. Were it not for a draught of living water from the brook by the way, what would become of such a poor lonely creature!

"4th.—To the meeting at Kelvedon, which was large, and an open favoured time; the people behaved well. The people in the streets, as we passed along, were very respectful and kind in noticing me, and I felt much love to them. A number of poor children were at the meeting, and I hope from among this class the Lord will raise up, in time, children unto Abraham, even as from among the stones. A number of persons of higher degree attended also, and I trust it was a meeting which will be remembered—the Lord be praised for the help extended.

"5th.—Attended the meeting at Coggeshall, and though I had a large time, it was not so open as yesterday: the circumstance of James Parnell being taken up in this place, revived in my mind, and I had to mention it; also the great sufferings of Friends in those days, and now how we are favoured: I was in no danger of a prison for preaching the gospel of life and salvation. After dismissing those not of our Society, I stopt with Friends, and had a tendering good time.

"6th.—Although favoured in meetings and in sittings, and with a quiet mind at other times of late; yet I could not but weep on my pillow this morning on looking forward. O for purity of heart! Surely, if this gives us to see the face of a merciful God, it will have a tendency also to open the eye to see our duty clearly in all things. The meeting at Copford was an open good time, wherein I found it much easier to get relief than I often do. Dined at an inn near by, and afterwards rode

to John Kendall's at Colchester, who, with his wife were at the meeting. After tea I took a walk with G. Gibson and John Kendall to the castle, and went over the old ruins, where I was shown the hole in the wall, from which it is supposed dear James Parnell fell when confined in this place; and also, his apartment below, which looks like a baker's oven; the thickness of the wall being about four times the length of my walking stick. Went into the library, and saw amongst many old books, a number of Friends' writings.

"7th, first-day.—The meeting was largely attended by Friends and divers others, and I had a full good opportunity; at the close, appointed one at six o'clock in the evening, which was very large, and an open, relieving time; in the course of which, I had to mention the sufferings of the martyrs, and of our Friends in the beginning, and particularly of that innocent youth James Parnell, in this place, and advised the people to read his writings, and seek and inquire after the truth for themselves. They behaved remarkably solid, and left the meeting so, even those who stood out of doors, who were many. One person in the morning was much affected, and refused to go away, though his companion urged him to leave the meeting—twice coming back for the purpose.

"9th.—To a meeting held in a barn at Mannintree, which was large, and an open good time: the people manifested much kindness, several of them taking me by the hand and expressing it. Rode to Harwich in the evening, and lodged at an inn.

"10th.—To a large meeting in the market place, which was solid and comfortable; the people showing much kindness and respect.

"12th.—To a meeting at Halstead, which was nearly filled up with the town's people, and a pretty open time: stopt with Friends afterwards, and was engaged to stir them up to maintain the precious testimonies given us as a people to bear, and also to encourage the mournful travellers.

"13th.—Went to a meeting at Colne under pretty close exercise and thoughtfulness, respecting the uncertainty of all earthly comfort, and soon had to begin on this subject. It was a tendering season to some. There were present a number of poor aged people, leaning on their staves, one blind, &c., and I was ready to think the plunge I had before the meeting, and in the fore part of it, brought me into sympathy with such. After dinner we rode to Halstead, and after tea to Joseph Smith's, near Stebbing.

14th, first-day.—Attended Stebbing meeting, which was filled up with Friends from different places, and many of the town's peo-

ple; amongst whom I went poor and stript, and continued so for some time; but afterwards, strength arising, I had an open time.

"15th.—After resting the greater part of this day we moved to E. Knight's, at a little village called Fenchingfield. This kind Friend, after the meeting on first-day, mentioned his desire that I would have a meeting in this place: it does not appear there ever was a Friends' meeting held here, and none but himself and wife, under our name, reside in the village. When we came to his house, he took us to see an old bark house which he had fitted up with seats and a gallery, and he was out until after ten o'clock giving notice,—going about five miles off after we arrived. May the Lord bless his faith and love to the cause in which I have embarked.

"16th.—Went to the meeting, which was very large, many being out doors—and it proved a favoured, open time; in which, through holy help, my heart was much enlarged, and the people behaved solidly. I remembered these expressions; 'I am the Lord that healeth thee, that teacheth thee to profit; and which leadeth thee in the way by which thou shouldest go.' Notwithstanding I exerted myself for a long time, I felt much better than I did before meeting—the pain in my breast, which I had had before, being removed. In the evening had an opportunity with E. Knight, wife and daughter, to my satisfaction. I have not met with greater faith and love, I think in this land, than this Friend has manifested. I thought of the governor of the island of Tortola, who caused seats to be carried many miles on men's heads to accommodate a meeting held by Thomas Chalkley. See Library, vol. 6, p. 114.

"19th.—A struggling, humbling night: and though I felt very poor and unworthy in the morning of this day, and went so to the meeting at Haverhill, nevertheless, I was much enlarged in a full meeting for the town; the house not containing the people. I was informed that this was a place of suffering to our forefathers—now, what a change. A priest attended the meeting, as well as a doctor and lawyer, and it was a solid time.

"21st, first-day.—Went to Cambridge with James Wright and daughter, where I met with George Gibson and wife. When we went to the meeting, a multitude were gathered in the street and passage near, and after the doors were opened, they soon filled the house, and it proved a solid time. Dined at the inn with nearly forty Friends, and had an opportunity with this large company, wherein I endeavoured to persuade them to hold up their light before the people: near the close several neighbours came in, to whom my mind

was afresh turned. After I had parted with dear George Gibson, and he had rode about a mile on his way to Walden, he was not easy without following me, and he overtook us and accompanied me to his nephew's at Royston.

"22nd.—I find this morning that there is a little company under our name in this place, and after some thoughtful exercise I was most easy to see them by themselves. I accordingly had an opportunity with them; and a full, close time it was, and dear George rejoiced that he came to us. We then went to Hitchin and put up at R. Wheeler's.

"24th.—Feeling easy to move from this place, Hitchin, and mentioning it to Rudd Wheeler, he prepared to go with me. We got into Amersham near dark, after riding about thirty miles.

"25th.—Attended the week-day meeting; divers of the town came in, and I had an open, good meeting. This is the town where the corpse, mentioned in Thomas Ellwood's journal, [See Library, vol. 7, p. 394,] was thrown from Friends' shoulders and laid in the street some time; and Isaac Penington, T. Ellwood and others were put into prison for attending the funeral. I was shown the place, near the market house. After tea we went to High Wiccomb.

"26th.—To the meeting at High Wiccomb, and on the 27th got into Oxford and put up at an inn. On entering into this town we were mocked by the children; and I have not noticed more drunkenness any where in this land, than in walking through this place this evening.

"28th, first-day.—Went to meeting poor and stript; it was very large and crowded. A remarkable quiet attended the gathering, and continued throughout; and the people parted with much solidity, to my humbling admiration; for it was an open, good time to me, and I hope to many others. At the close I stopt the few Friends that live in this place, and we had a comfortable time together. After dining we set off, passing through Witney, and arrived at Burford, where we met a kind reception from Thomas and Elizabeth Minchell.

"30th.—After a silent sitting with T. Huntley's scholars, and the few Friends who live in this place, I felt easy to move on,—passed through Tilbury, where stands an old meeting-house of Friends, but no meeting is held in it.

"31st.—Proceeded to Cirencester and put up with Thomas Brown. To the week-day meeting at this place, which was a pretty open time: in the afternoon went on to Bristol, where we arrived towards evening.

"Ninth month 1st.—To Thomas Phillips', near the Wells, where came the widow Ussher and daughter, who are attending upon a daughter in a consumption, and near her end; and a sweet season we had together. When I met with them in Waterford, Ireland, they were gay women, now so friendly and plain that I did not know them.

"6th.—The meeting here was large, and I had a pretty open, relieving time, though close to some states, yet a comfortable opening toward the visited youth."

While at Bristol he wrote a letter to his friend Susanna Horne, dated ninth month 7th, from which the following is taken, viz :

"I parted from thee with a cheerful mind, believing thy stay with us was right, and it was not long before a vacancy was felt by me, who am frequently a poor blind creature, but endeavouring to cast my care on the great Caretaker and Preserver of his servants, I moved on from place to place, as way opened. I had to admire how my spirit was supported in the season of parting from my affectionate father and friend [David Bacon;] the Shepherd of Israel being my support in that hour, enabling me to resign up wife, children, and, I trust, all into his hands, who knoweth best what is best for us.

"Thou hast been favoured with a sense of my state in coming to this place, and I seem at some loss how to describe the feelings of my mind. However, this is the sum: it was like going down into the valley and shadow of death,—O the buffetings and inward presentations of evil, both night and day, that I experienced; so that I have been ready to say, Surely my soul dwelleth among lions. At times all seems gone, and fear surprises me as in the night; when former experiences are called in question, and sometimes the apprehension stares me in the face, that, after all I have passed through, deceit may so enter that I shall fail. Such close things have escaped my lips, in two meetings I have attended, that I have in some degree trembled in myself; and surely I have need, considering what a poor creature I am."

"8th.—To the meeting at six o'clock, and after sitting a considerable time silent, felt a portion of encouragement to hold forth to the sincere seekers and mourners; having first been favoured with a ray of light and encouragement myself.

"11th.—Attended meeting here again, which was large, and a remarkable time. O what a mercy and favour; and yet, afterwards the tempter was near, who would whis-

per this language; 'Well done; thou hast had a large time.' O may my soul be prostrated! The widow Ussher and daughter Lucy, and other Friends dined with us, and when we sat down to table I ventured to appear in prayer, which proved a tendering season; the Lord be praised, and the creature abased.

"12th.—A tendering time at breakfast, with a large number of Friends. Two seeking people came to see me; one of whom went with me into another room, and opened her condition, which was remarkable; and said she never had felt so comfortable before in the company of any people as this morning with Friends. Attended the select meeting for this place, and I was brought into a state of trembling, soon after sitting down,—remembering the language of the Master, where he said, 'With desire I have desired to eat this pass-over with you; one of you has lifted up the heel against me,' &c., and had to express it with more: and now I saw measurably into my exercise when standing at the grave of an individual, whose funeral I attended a few days ago, and which continued upon me for some time after. We could not get forward, and so adjourned the meeting that more might be together next time.

"13th.—To meeting, which was large, and a very open, precious time. Sat with the members of the select meeting, and before they got through the business I requested leave to withdraw; this was a time to be remembered,—close and searching. Feel much relief of mind, for which I know I ought to be, and hope I am, thankful to the Father of living mercies, and willing to move on to the next work, which may in wisdom be opened.

"14th.—Had a solemn time in prayer with a number of Friends, among whom were divers tender minds; and it was a time to be remembered. A young man who is under conviction came in, with whom I had a tendering time alone. Parted sweetly from my friends at Bristol, and journeyed on to Bath, where we dined, and reached Melksham, twenty-four miles."

16th.—Got to Hungerford, and 17th to Reading; where he tarried a few days to rest and wait for the holding of the quarterly meeting.

"20th.—To the quarterly meeting; and soon after sitting down my mind was brought under exercise, and it proved a tendering time, but not a long meeting. In that for business, I was favoured in testimony to the humbling of divers, which was acknowledged to; and although things are low, yet there seemed some ground gained against opposers."

The next day they got to Uxbridge, and on the 22nd to London.

In a letter to Rebecca Jones, written from London, he says :

"It was pleasant to find thou hadst got through thy arduous task, and to hear from others that thou art cheerful. Thou remainest as a seal upon my spirit, as one whom the Father of mercies was pleased to baptize in an eminent degree, into a sense of my state before leaving home,—‘By one spirit are ye all baptized into one body, and made to drink into one spirit;’ and O that I may be accounted worthy to experience this baptism whilst in this land, and to the end of my pilgrimage. The love which flows in my heart reaches forth towards all the children and servants of our heavenly Father’s family in my native land, as well as here. There is a precious remnant preserved here, among all classes, and great has been the love I have felt to the youth in this city, both in meetings and in families. If I may speak as an instrument employed in the Lord’s work, I would add, that there is a precious visitation extended to this class. O the tenderness and gravity I have seen in some who are very young in years; so much so, that I have been ready to say in the secret of my heart, surely the Lord has begun a work in the minds of the children by the power of his love, which will in time spread to the astonishment, as well as the comfort, of many. Indeed, at times, I have almost been induced, in the opening which has presented, to lay my hand upon the heads of some, and tell them what good things are in store for them. On the other hand, I have found thy sisterly advice good, not to be afraid of the rich and great. Dear Rebecca, if my knees have not smitten together, they have at least trembled, and Habakkuk’s experience been mine, in degree, when in the families of the great and towering ones, desiring that they might find a resting place in the day of trouble, which may be nearer at hand than many careless sons and daughters are aware of. I magnify not the officer, but the office, and that adorable Hand, who commissions and sends forth his servants; yea, I bless his name, in that he is raising up labourers, one here and another there, in this land, who appear hopeful."

"27th, third-day.—To London quarterly meeting, which was large, many of the youth being present: dear S. H. opened a door for me, and I had an enlarged time of encouragement to all, but especially to the youth; and I sat through the rest of the meeting for business, with greater sweetness and composure of mind than I have experienced of late; I also rejoiced with much joy, to behold that

weight had increased in this quarterly meeting,—the business was conducted comfortably.

"Tenth month 5th.—This morning feel more serenity and calmness of mind than I have experienced for a length of time; and now while making this note, am anxiously desirous to cast away that labour and toil which have made my way, at seasons, uncomfortable. O that my heart may be lifted up to God in faith; and in all things be given up to his blessed will, that so I may be favoured from season to season, not only to know it, but also to do it. Attended Gracechurch street meeting; and it was an awful time, at least to me, from these words; ‘As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.’

"6th.—To the monthly meeting at Tottenham, before which Susanna Horne spread her prospect of visiting the families within Horsleydown monthly meeting, and a minute was made setting her at liberty.

"10th.—Wait on thy God, O my soul, for the further unfoldings of his will; who can turn his dispensations, as a man turneth his water courses in his field; and remember, that if the Lord’s will is done, it is thy sanctification and redemption, under all trouble, whether outward or hidden.

"11th.—To Horsleydown monthly meeting, where I opened my concern to visit their families, to the men and women before they separated; my friend Susanna Horne following in the same manner; both were minuted, and Benjamin Simkins appointed to accompany me, and Mary Smith, Anna Kay, and Elizabeth Hobson, to accompany my female friend. Dear Richard Chester came to this meeting, and expressed his sympathy. In the first meeting I ventured to prostrate myself in supplication.

"12th.—Very deep were my struggles and conflicts this morning: however, they in some degree passed over before noon; about which time, I took a walk to T. Phillips’ and dined, and had a tendering opportunity with the family; in my walk back, which was a lonely one, my heart was tendered and broken, and a language of sweet encouragement sprang up before I reached home. But ah! how often do such sensations get dissipated. Spent the evening, however, more free from that weight of distress which has long been my humbling companion.

"16th, first-day.—Felt my mind turned to sit with Friends at Horsleydown; and it was a pretty comfortable time: in the close mentioned a desire to see their neighbours together in the afternoon. Many came, and I sat most of the time in silence, until divers left the

meeting; but near the close I had to tell them how it was with me. O that there was more of a true hungering and thirsting after righteousness amongst the people in this city. How little is done when the people's minds are turned outward. In the evening the committee to arrange the families, met with us."

On the next day they commenced the family visit, and although he had to labour along under much exercise, among many that he visited, yet he, as well as his beloved friend, were favoured to hold forth the language of reproof, encouragement, and instruction, in the demonstration of the spirit, and with power.

From this period until the 8th of the following month, he continued without much intermission, engaged in this service; when they concluded "to break off for two days and go to Tottenham.

"Eleventh month 9th.—This afternoon I am tried with the prospect of more work, in company with S. H., our prospects being the same respecting visiting the families of Friends at Ratcliff, and she is now returning home to attend the monthly meeting, to open her concern and obtain further liberty and enlargement.

"10th.—Went to Waltham very low in mind; indeed, it seemed as if I could hold out little or no encouragement to my friend; she, however, spread her prospect solidly before her friends, and it was united with. This evening deep thoughtfulness attends me; O that these fears and cares may prove my preservation, by having a tendency to direct the mind to the only Helper."

The next day they resumed their labours within the compass of Horsleydown monthly meeting, which they finished on the 19th.

"22nd.—To Horsleydown week-day meeting, notice having been given on first-day for all the members to attend, as well as such as are looking towards our Society: it was a very full meeting, and I trust a solid one, affording an opportunity to both of us fully to relieve our minds, and it ended sweetly and comfortably. Dined at Anna Kay's, the kind Friend who accompanied us, with Benjamin Simkins, Hagger Allen, and divers others; after which, I had a solid religious opportunity, wherein these expressions impressed my mind; 'My peace I leave with you,' &c.; and in my quiet sitting I remembered the last of the same chapter, as I found afterwards on looking for it, which seemed to me applicable to this finishing stroke, 'Arise, let us go hence.'

"24th.—Attended Ratcliff meeting, and after sitting most of the time under close exercise

of mind, I was favoured in looking over my steppings of late, with a pretty composed mind, and ventured to bend the knee in prayer for preservation; and after it, there being a comfortable quiet over the meeting, I opened my prospect before the men and women, of going from house to house amongst them; and when the men met in their apartment they took it up, and after expressions of unity and sympathy with me, it was minuted; at which time my friend S. Horne came in and opened her prospect, in a feeling manner, which was united with, and minuted also. After meeting met the committee appointed to make arrangements for us."

On the 25th they commenced visiting within the limits of this meeting; on the 27th, first-day, were at the morning and afternoon meeting, both of which were large, and he remarks, "I humbly hope were to profit, although singular things escaped my lips in the last; with a prospect that a day of distress is coming on the false teachers in the land, and that the Lord will redeem his sheep out of their hands. On the 29th, were with J. C.'s family, whom I visited sometime ago, in company with Simon Bayley; it was then a singular time, and now also, a tendering opportunity. This has been a memorable day, and the opportunity at the widow P.'s, like a seal that we have been rightly directed in labour together. On the 1st of twelfth month, being fifth-day, attended Ratcliff meeting, which was truly a remarkable time.

"Twelfth month 4th, first-day.—To Ratcliff meeting, which was pretty large; a number of neighbours coming in, and it was an open time. In the afternoon the house was also filled up, in part, with strangers, and I had a very relieving time. A person who has taken down several testimonies in short hand, came here for the purpose, but was persuaded to desist.

"6th.—To the meeting-house at ten o'clock, and met a number of persons mostly of our Society; and although, when I arose this morning, and also in the fore part of this sitting, I was low in mind, yet we had a satisfactory time.

"7th.—This morning our kind host J. H., took us to Tottenham, where we attended the select meeting; in which S. Horne mentioned her prospect of accompanying me into the families of Peel and Westminster monthly meetings, and they set her at liberty to open it in the monthly meeting to-morrow.

"8th.—My mind was humbled, and I ventured to bend the knee in prayer. S. Horne came into the men's meeting, accompanied by her mother and Mary Smith; and in a tender feeling manner opened her concern, which

was united with, and my mind is much relieved.

"10th.—Spent most of this morning in getting ready to leave town, and after dinner set off with G. and M. Stacey, in a post chaise for Uxbridge; the chaise broke down with us by the way, which did not detain us long, and about four o'clock we arrived at our friend Thomas Hull's, and met a kind reception.

"11th, first-day.—Passed the meeting through in silence and much exercise.

"12th.—O for more purity of heart in God's sight; that I may see my way, and be favoured with armour to resist the wicked one. Surely he has power to sift me as he did Peter. O Lord forgive, empty me, and wash and sanctify me for thy work.

"13th.—Awoke in distress; but since breakfast, I feel a little more easy. O that condescending love may vouchsafe to wash my feet, and shoe me again with the preparation of the gospel for his work and service; and if I am not abased enough, make me so. I dread, I fear, knowing the slippery places there are to walk through: 'cleanse thou me from secret faults, let them not have dominion over me.'"

The following is taken from a letter addressed to him by his beloved friend Rebecca Jones, dated Philadelphia, tenth month 26th, 1796.

"Dear Thomas,

"Thy few lines of the seventh month, dictated in brotherly regard and sympathy, came duly to hand, and like thy personal visits formerly, had a consoling effect,—my mind being often low and depressed, yet not without a degree of humble trust in the goodness and mercy of an Almighty helper, who hath done great things for me—holy and reverend is his name, saith my soul. I rejoice in believing that the same good hand is with thee, and will be with thee during thy arduous journey; and when it is accomplished, if I am in the body, I shall be truly glad in thy return to thy dear family and native country, with sheaves of enriching peace. This will also, I trust, be granted to all my fellow-labourers from America, now in Europe, some of whom I hear are doing valiantly. You were all brought livingly into my view about two weeks ago, under the influence of the spirit of supplication in our North meeting; when a living hope was raised, that the Shepherd of Israel, who put forth, will go before, and as he is listened to and faithfully followed, will give eternal life, and none shall be able to pluck out of his holy hand."

"15th.—In a poor and stript condition I

went to the week-day meeting in this place; not knowing but that I should pass it in silent sorrow and mourning, and so through the remainder of the day. My spirit was bowed in secret humble supplication during most of the meeting, and frequently thought I would have to go down on my knees, but the exercise lessened, and such a sweet calm covered me towards the last, accompanied with an humble hope that mercy was extended to me, that my soul was thankful for this ray of light and love once more vouchsafed, and withal felt a gentle pressure to stand up with a few lively expressions, which I delivered, respecting silent worship and sympathy one with another under it. After I sat down my companion M. S. appeared in supplication, and the meeting closed comfortably, I trust to more than myself."

From Uxbridge he went to Staines, to attend the monthly meeting; and while there he wrote a letter, from which the following is extracted, viz;

Staines, Twelfth month 16th, 1796.

"Although I parted from thee and left thy father's comfortable habitation, with seeming cheerfulness, yet, I seem as if I can hardly forbear describing in some degree the state I have been in since. I thought I had seen an opening to leave London and spend some time at Uxbridge, Staines, &c. and so pushed off in a very stript condition indeed; G. Stacey and dear M. accompanied me to Uxbridge. But such a day as last first-day was, I have not often experienced; nay, I know not that at any time in this land, I have had a greater plunge. I have not language, at present to set forth, and indeed, it would not be profitable to endeavour to express, the deep wading of my poor oppressed soul; and in this scene I have passed through I even feared I had not helped thee forward in all respects, on thy journey, so thou may see what a poor prop I am; lean not to it any further than thy Master gives liberty. I had not the least opening, either in the meeting or in any family—we came to this place to monthly meeting, and here I was also emptied."

"18th, first-day.—To the morning and afternoon meeting at Uxbridge, which were seasons of close thoughtfulness. I had a small communication near the close of the first, and was shut up in the last. Drank tea at Thomas Finch's, and then stepped in to see Thomas Ashby's weakly wife, and here I had to remember freshly, my own tried state when in the chamber of a declining precious companion, and the evidence I was favoured with in that day

of her being accepted of her God—and also had to mention it.

“19th.—Spent this morning pretty much in reading, and at three o’clock M. Stacey and I set off in the coach, and got to their house in Westminster about seven o’clock.

“21st.—To Peel monthly meeting, in which I was silently shut up: opened a prospect of visiting them in their families, and my friend S. Horne also came into the men’s meeting and laid a like concern before them: both were united with and minuted, and John Bevan appointed to accompany me: but a low dull time to me.

“22nd.—A very conflicting night, wherein jealousy, doubts and fears were my companions: I have thought of late, that I should be most miserable indeed if left to myself and forsaken of my God,—if the potter should lay aside the lump of clay. O for more watchfulness, reverence and becoming fear. Will it not be better to lay down my life than live to dishonour that truth which I have been favoured at seasons to espouse and plead for? O the deceitfulness of the heart of man. Lord have mercy, and help me through all that is yet to be endured. That which I see not teach thou me; and if I have done iniquity, strength is only with thee to preserve from doing more. I hope my soul is humbled this morning. To meeting and was favoured to get into a quiet and resigned state, which indeed is a mercy.

“24th.—This morning came M. Stacey and her daughter Mary Ann, who has been low in mind, and some communication arose freshly in my heart towards her, in an encouraging line, and it had a tendency a little to raise my spirits; for I have indeed felt, and may I not say been, an unworthy creature. O how sweet is a little portion of heavenly bread.

“25th, first-day. It has been a very cold snowy time of late, the thermometer this morning down to three degrees. Thanks to the Father and fountain of mercy, my mind feels more cheered and comforted than for a long time. O that it may be a day of renewal of my espousals, and may it please my good Master to strengthen me for further labour, if it be his will, that so my task in this land may be accomplished to my own peace. Why am I so much shut up? Are there not some active minds that may be profited by me as a sign to look at? Attended morning and afternoon meeting, and in the first felt enlargement in testimony, and in the afternoon was quiet and comfortable.

“26th.—To the select quarterly meeting, and next day to the quarterly meeting for business, and was once more favoured with an open time in the meeting for worship, and found an opportunity to relieve my mind;

also in the meeting for business, respecting tithes, &c. Dined at home, and after it had an open opportunity with a number of Friends, among whom was P. B., a dear young woman in a tender state of mind. Went to the adjournment, and here again relieved my mind.

“28th.—To Peel meeting, in a low condition, accompanied by R. Smith, where I met my beloved friend and fellow helper S. Horne. I was somewhat relieved by prostration in prayer: dined at John Bevan’s, at whose house we have taken up our quarters; and in the afternoon began the family visit, accompanied by John Bevan and Mary Stacey.

“30th.—Had an open time in the meeting at Clerkenwell school, both amongst those met, and with the scholars: dined at the school, and after it had a precious opportunity with the family, tutors and servants, without the children; after which visited the old people, both men and women, in the other house; and had a pretty satisfactory time; and finding my companion’s mind was not clear respecting the children, we collected them together and had a good time; and although one or two families were laid out, I felt so spent that I was most easy to wind up for the evening, and I hope the day’s work will prove encouraging to them and us.

“First month 1st, 1797, first-day: opens another year, and very likely further trials may come upon me. Went to meeting, and was shut up in silence. Near the close of the afternoon meeting very close things escaped my lips, and such was the weight and concern that rested on me after returning home, that I could say but little, nor be cheerful in the midst of a large company; and at six o’clock felt most easy to visit a family that was laid out for us, which was a memorable time.

“3rd.—After dinner set off in a post chaise to Uxbridge, with a view of attending the burial of Thomas Ashby’s wife, at Staines, on fifth-day next: arrived at Samuel Hull’s before night, and felt a liberty to encourage Friends to invite their neighbours. Spent the evening at T. Hull’s, pretty calm and resigned, except one little miss, for which I was humbled after lying down. O how watchful a minister, a pastor, should be in all his conduct.

“4th.—To meeting, at which a considerable number were collected: E. Bevington, who is out on a visit to the meetings in Middlesex, was there and appeared; but my mind was closed up again in silent conflict. O what shall be done for the people in this land in places, and when will the book of prophecy be opened, and their hearts also. After dinner took post chaise and went to Staines.

“5th.—To meeting, where the body was

brought, and it was a crowded meeting, but a very low time to me; I laboured in weakness, but to little relief: doubting and fears very much prevailed in my mind, whether I was in my place. After dinner we had a sitting with a large company, wherein my companion appeared in prayer, and E. Bevington in testimony; but I felt like a book sealed in this opportunity, but some time after the company being more thinned, my mind was suddenly brought under exercise, and I felt some ease by expression, and again after tea, felt some enlargement in testimony.

"6th.—Returned to Westminster.

"8th, first-day.—Felt poor, and went so to Peel meeting and sat it through in silence. In the afternoon meeting was also shut up in silence, viewing my steps, when a total stop appeared necessary; and my mind turned toward the monthly meeting at Westminster next fifth-day, and see if way will open to make a beginning in that quarter. From the first, both that meeting and this, seemed pretty much as one, so far as regarded my concern; so I felt a liberty to tell my companions my thoughts, and also the committee in waiting to lay out more families, that the cloud rested on the tabernacle and it was safest to stand still. Struggled along through the evening nearly as well as I knew how. This evening a portion of Scripture was read, which is a practice I unite with.

"9th, second-day.—To morning meeting, and sat it pretty quietly: went afterwards with my companion and paid a sweet visit to S. R., her sister Sarah and sister-in-law. After it, stopt a little while with two goodly servant maids, and my mind has not been so refreshed for some time past, as it was under this roof. Spent the afternoon and evening more free from depression, and before going to bed, after the eldest daughter had read a chapter in the bible, we had a sitting, in which we were both favoured to hand out suitable counsel.

"10th, third-day.—Some little opening on my bed, into a further dispensation, I hope of more light and liberty: but stop—why such anxiety? Are not these dark and cloudy seasons profitable? And canst thou not keep the faith, and also the patience, O my tossed soul? O that this may be mercifully granted to poor unworthy me, has been the language of my heart this morning; and may I be favoured, to persevere through all; and may the Lord, in the riches of his love, be pleased to grant me the blessing of preservation, that I faint not;—then I know that all trials will work together for good in the end. Here we are standing, I hope as servants in waiting; no way opening into any family, and I am com-

forted in the remembrance of these expressions; 'Let your conversation be without covetousness, and be content with such things as ye have;' for he hath said, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;' so that we may boldly say, the Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.

"12th.—To Westminster monthly meeting, where we found William Rickman: H. F. appeared in a few words in supplication, and my companion S. Horne immediately after her—and then I had an open good time in testimony. We laid our prospect of visiting them in their families, together with M. Stacey, before the meeting, which was united with, and Josiah Messer and Lydia Forster named to accompany us. Found letters from my dear Sarah and others, and my spirit is bowed and humbled on looking towards home, and begs for faith, patience and preservation. O my dear wife, how has the prayer of my heart gone forth to the Father and fountain of all our mercies on thy account, that he may be thy husband, thy preserver, and thy redeemer. This day commenced visiting families.

"15th, first-day.—To Westminster meeting, and was favoured with an open time of enlargement in testimony, much to the relief of my own mind. Dined at G. Stacey's, and accompanied by him, with my companion S. Horne, went to the Park meeting, where the body of Francis Merrick was brought; a Friend whom we visited in the course of our engagement in that meeting. This was a remarkable meeting to me, having to reason with the auditory concerning righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come;—my mind was brought low and humbled after it.

"22nd, first-day.—Went to Westminster meeting under feelings of poverty; and to my admiration was strengthened to labour, both morning and afternoon, largely and relievingly, and afterwards in an opportunity with F. S.'s large family, where we had a precious time, so that I thought after getting home, it was little short of a miracle of mercy extended to me this day. Laid down peaceful and quiet, and thought I might soon retire into a comfortable sleep; but in a little time it departed from me. Thoughts of an humbling and trying nature were my companions, but trust my will was reduced and resigned to the will of Him who commissioned me to come into this land; and has strengthened me to labour from time to time in it. O the close and trying prospects that open, and yet I have no reason to murmur or repine; for if the Lord my heavenly master does but go with me in them, I hope all will be well.

"Second month, 2nd.—A degree of comfort on waking this morning in looking for-

ward to future service, with respect to which, I have of late been much blinded. A little reviving hope, however, has sprung up, that way will be made, and the prayer, I trust the upright prayer, of my heart has been for the blessing of preservation. I covet not riches, or honour, or applause, but the guidance of the good Spirit until the end come. As some of our friends had been talking of attending Ratcliff week-day meeting, I felt an openness in my mind to go and sit with them: proceeding in the family visit in this place seems sealed up as yet. I went accordingly to meeting, and had a language of encouragement to hold out to those who are mourners like myself."

Charter-house Square, Second month 5th, 1797.

"Dear friend,

"Thy acceptable letter, enclosing one from Samuel Couch, came to hand a few days ago, and although long on the way, was yet seasonable, though indeed when I read it, I seemed hardly to have a capacity afforded fully to understand it. My experience in this land has often been, and continues to be, that of being stripped and baptized; and yet I hope there remain so much honesty and uprightness in my poor and oft wading mind, that I dare not disbelieve, that although the Lord may be pleased, for wise purposes sometimes unknown, but to be waited on to see the end, to feed his messengers with the bread of adversity, and give them the waters of affliction to drink, yet as saith the prophet, 'thine eye shall see thy teacher.' O blessed teaching has this been to me in days past, and surely I could not have done, and cannot do yet, without it. Thou hast a little encouraged me by this language: 'Shall the exercised servants, who are baptized into the state and condition of the people, conclude it is of no avail? Necessary is it to guard against the grand discourager of all good, and his subtle reasonings: the work that he would mar is often in as prosperous a way, when hidden from our eye; so that there is encouragement to endeavour, in simplicity and godly sincerity, to break up the fallow ground, leaving the increase thereof to the great and good Husbandman. From the faithful labourer sheaves of peace will not be withheld.' Well, my beloved sympathizing friend, in reading these lines over, and now again on penning them, I am willing to say, Go on, O my soul, to the end of thy journey here, and beg assistance to endure, through all states what thy wise and gracious Master may appoint. Ah! here's the thing; when I am favoured to see that my various baptisms are of his appointment, then I do know that his will ever proved my sanctification. But

again, what is to be done when we are shut up in a close prison house, and can hardly see any light through the grates? I write to one who knows that his brethren in the ministry go down in this day into the prison-house,—surely then, 'the captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail.' No mortal, dear Henry, knows what I have passed through since putting my feet on the British shore; yea, in my going off from home, and in the passage over the waters; the thought of it at times humbles my mind. I suppose I should not have written after this manner to thee at some other times, but am apt to do it as I feel.

"I have gone through most or all of the families of Friends in this city, except in one monthly meeting. The wind has taken me ahead and I cannot move, and am patiently (at least I hope so,) waiting for it to come fair for a movement. What in the ordering of divine Providence may be my lot, when this arduous business is got through with, is at present pretty much hid; though I have not been without glimmerings in more favoured seasons: did I say favoured—are they not all so? O yes."

"5th, first-day.—I went to meeting poor, but was favoured with a relieving time, though very closely exercised with regard to divers states. In the afternoon meeting I was also much enlarged to the seekers present. In the evening had several precious religious opportunities. Heard after morning meeting, that dear old John Hill died this day. Precious soul, may mine inherit the same as thine, when divine Goodness may be pleased to end my day. I loved thee much in this world of trials and conflicts.

"6th.—Began our family visit again, and on the 20th finished this service."

Having taken a very heavy cold a short time before they finished the visit, he was confined to the house for several days from the effects of it; on the 13th of the third month, in writing to his son, he says; "I do not remember to have had a heavier cold, or more pain in my head and face, since I have been in England. I was very carefully nursed at my friend John Bevan's, Charter-house square, London; not only by his wife and daughters, but my valued companion, who though we had gone through our visit to that meeting, was not easy to leave me; and when I was able to go out, her mother and sister came for me and brought me to their quiet and hospitable habitation in White heart lane, Tottenham; where I have been mostly since. I account it a favour that I am here in a state

of retirement : I have got so used to this kind family, and they to me, my strippings and baptisms, that when I am here I feel under no bonds. To give a little idea of my present state, I have compared myself to a vessel that has been tossed in a voyage at sea, and is unloaded, and repairs found necessary to be done, even to the keel ; and if I am again counted worthy to be equipped and sent off on another embassy, it will be of the Lord's mercy. I might enlarge on the subject, but am willing to leave it now, and when further openings of duty present, I hope with cheerfulness to be enabled to say, Here am I, send me."

In reference to his outward affairs, of which his son had the management, he says ; "Dear David Sands told me once in New England, that what we do not gain in pence, we may gain in experience. May it be so with you, and may you be favoured to get on irreproachably. It is a notable saying of the apostle, that 'They that will be rich, fall into divers temptations and a snare,' &c. : and I fear, now whilst writing, that some of the young merchants amongst you, who dare venture to trade above what they have of their own, and to a large amount too, will be left to smart deeply when it may be too late. O how sweet is a little of one's own, with content. I never coveted to be rich and great in this world, neither do I covet it for thee, my son ; and I comfortingly hope thou believes me, and art measurably convinced in thyself of that way in which thou shouldst go. May the Lord, my blessed helper, strengthen, establish, and more and more settle thee on the living foundation, to my rejoicing, and to the rejoicing of his church and people."

In a letter of the same date, addressed to his much loved friend Rebecca Jones, he says :

"Thy acceptable letter came to hand the 13th of the first month, just as I was entering into a family visit within Westminster quarter, accompanied by Mary Stacey and Susanna Horne ; since which, I have gone through those of the Peel, which finishes the families of London, making between five and six hundred sittings ; and now after this arduous labour, I feel myself a poor unprofitable servant. Frequently have I remembered thy counsel, not to be afraid of the rich and great ; and I trust, through marvellous condescending help, this has been my experience ; and very close things have escaped my lips, sometimes to my own astonishment, and I suppose to that of others ; and I have thought, that for some of those things, satan, the adversary, has

envied my poor, wading soul, and by various stratagems, siftings and buffetings, (for indeed he has been permitted to be a sore thorn in my flesh,) has endeavoured to draw me down to destruction. O, my dear sister, I cannot describe on paper, where I have been in this respect. I have been examining and re-examining, and though weakness and infirmity are mine, yet I trust I can say, I have not wickedly departed from the law and the testimony ; and have been led to beg that every corner of my deceitful heart might be searched. Well, it has been so, and a degree of sweetness springs out of these bitters. Hast thou experienced such a state as this, when abroad in this land, when all seemed gone, and thou could lay hold on nothing ? when heaven and earth were wrapt up as a scroll, and thou hadst again to wait for the creation of a new heaven ! O the unsearchable wisdom of the Lord, whose ways are past finding out. If this has been thy experience at any time, and surely methinks it has, then canst thou sympathize with me : and O that thou may be favoured still to pray to the Helper of Israel, that the feet of thy poor feeble friend and brother may not slide.

I do not write murmuringly, but I hope with a mind so far devoted, that when I can be favoured to hear the language, Whom shall we send, and who will go for us ? I can say, Here am I Lord, send me. O may my soul be preserved here, until the latest period of my life ; ever sensible that they who run, and the Lord sends not, cannot profit the great cause. I have frequently visited dear Thomas Phillips in his illness, who departed this morning about four o'clock. He has been a deeply sympathizing elder to me ; and amongst other precious things he dropt, said that he hoped the Lord would carry me through all my trials in this land ; and I think it was yesterday, after I left him, he had me called back, and said, 'Give my love to Friends in America ; though I do not personally know them, I sympathize with them in their late troubles.' Some days before, while sitting by him, he said with tenderness, 'It is a low time amongst us : things are trying, but there is a better day ahead for the young people. What a comfortable thing to die in this faith—I have loved the truth and good Friends,' &c.

"Tell my dear absent family, that my prayers have been, at seasons, put up for them, when so favoured, that that blessing which makes truly rich, and which must be left to an all-wise Providence to dispense, when and how he pleases, may be their happy experience."

"Third month 31st.—Attended the burial of Thomas Hull, at Uxbridge: we had a very crowded meeting, and in it I felt some enlargement to speak to the people. S. Harrison was here also, and appeared after me. Dined at the house of the deceased, and afterwards my companion and M. Stacey; and I, had an opportunity of relieving our minds amongst the relations. I have not been opened in any public meeting or opportunity, except a few words, since the 20th of last month, which closed our family visit.

"Fourth month 1st.—Returned to London after an early dinner, and got there in good time.

"2nd, first-day.—Went to Gracechurch street meeting, and O what a close time it was in pleading with the loose professors; amongst other things that arose in my mind, was this, to advise them to read, and let their children read also, that excellent epistle of Stephen Crisp's, respecting the present and succeeding times, and also the trembling prophet Habakkuk; and I felt some ease and relief. Went to meeting in the afternoon, I trust, with a dedicated heart; and though there appeared to be many strangers there, all was sealed up. I could do nothing; but stopped after meeting and encouraged one of this number, who kept his seat, and told me he was expecting something. I commended him to the grace of God for his teacher.

"Fifth month 3rd.—Spent the time between the 3rd of fourth month and this period at London, Newington, &c., in a low, exercised state; and it is this day five months, if I remember right, since the date of the last letter from my wife; of whom I have thought with much anxiety and solicitude: it is not unlikely that my letters may have miscarried, as we learn the American vessels of late are taken. This morning felt my spirit much oppressed; took a lonely, solitary walk into the fields, and there poured out my sighs and tears to the Father and Fountain of my mercies; I remembered his gracious dealings with me when in the wilderness of Carolina and Georgia, and how often, when riding in lonely places on the road, London was set before me, and that I was to hasten to prepare for the voyage to this place. But O, the stripings of favour I have experienced since being in this land! The buffetings of satan; the thorn in the flesh—the fears, lest I have slipped in some degree; yea, that I have not at all times stepped aright. My soul was poured out in prayer for mercy and forgiveness, and for patience to endure the singular trials I have to encounter, and was favoured with a secret, soul-sustaining hope, that al-

though I have long had, and it may yet be continued, to walk through the valley and shadow of death, that my most merciful Lord will give me to experience a table spread in the presence of my enemies; and that the bitter cup will be sweetened, so far as to enable me yet to drink thereof to some profit. I humbly hope I can make this appeal unto him; 'Thou knowest I neither seek nor desire either outward or inward great riches, but of thy appointment, and to be led in a plain path, because of mine enemies; therefore, O Lord, sanctify the present dispensation, and forgive all my secret faults.

"Sixth month 9th.—No settled and fixed prospect since finishing the family visit in Peel monthly meeting, which is now between three and four months; and since yearly meeting was over, my mind has been very deeply exercised and tried. Some little opening towards a movement has presented, but it lasted not long, and has closed up; and now my condition, in a state of blindness, is very trying to the man's part. Sometimes for a little moment there has been such resignation, faith and patience experienced, as have hushed all; and again, when I consider the distance I am from my home, and how long I have been away, and no clear opening to move out of the neighbourhood of London,—fears and doubtings arising, as to what man may think or say of me. I have slidden into a low spot. O that I was more steady, and bore up under all my weights more uprightly! O my soul, banish as much as possible a murmuring spirit.

"11th, first-day.—Arose in a low state this morning: David Sands set off soon after breakfast, accompanied by Joseph Smith, to Wandsworth meeting, and requested I would come to him in the afternoon, he having some thoughts of a public meeting in that neighbourhood. After he was gone I took courage and went to Ratcliff, accompanied by Thomas Richardson, and through the renewed extension of divine love, had an open, comfortable time: some strangers came in, and one man appeared much affected. About three o'clock Truman Harford and I started for Wandsworth, and found a meeting appointed at five o'clock; it was pretty largely attended, and I was silent.

"12th.—T. H. took me to London in his chaise, to attend the select meeting, where William Savery mentioned his distress at finding one of his testimonies was published, by a man, who for sometime has been employed in taking down what has been delivered in our meetings, which does not meet with our approbation."

The following extract is from a letter to him, dated, Uxbridge, sixth month 10th, 1797, written by Ann Crowley, viz :

"I trust my beloved friend will excuse me for troubling him with a few lines, which I believe I should not have done, but from an apprehension that liberty is felt to communicate a little of my tried situation, to one who often travels in the deeps, and is thereby qualified to administer a word of counsel to those who may have had less experience. Such has been the stripped state of my mind for a long season, that I have often been tempted to let go my confidence, and conclude it was impossible to hold on my way, and that I must inevitably fall by the hand of my enemy. At other times, am ready to think that I have been under a delusion, and have not yet distinguished the voice of the true Shepherd; and thus, as well as with various other discouraging circumstances, has my faith been tried, until it is reduced to a very low ebb. The language formerly expressed by one, who no doubt felt his lonely situation, often seems applicable to me, 'I am like a pelican of the wilderness—I am like an owl of the desert; I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the house top.' None seems to fathom the exercise of my tribulated soul, nor knows the bitterness of my heart: yet it is possible this may all be ordered in best wisdom, and sometimes I am ready to hope it is; for if these trials are rightly abode under, I have little doubt but they will tend to drive the soul home to that safe place of shelter, which I believe has been found by many to be a secure hiding place, even from the greatest storms. Here our dependence becomes more solidly fixed on that all-sufficient Arm of help, which is able to support in the needful time; when, perhaps, if greater opportunity was afforded, I might be induced, from a hope of getting relief, improperly to disclose the painful situation of my mind, and seek for inferior help, when nothing short of that divine consolation, which comes from the Fountain of inexhaustible good, immediately handed to my soul, might be permitted to prove sufficient to revive the mind in hope. Thus I am enabled, at seasons, to endeavour to reconcile my mind to my tried allotment. I sincerely wish, my dear friend, to be preserved from saying anything which may increase my own poverty, or give uneasiness to thy feeling mind, and if I have done so, I am quite willing to stand reproved, and desire thy entire freedom herein. I frequently wished, during my late stay in London, to spend a little time in thy instructive company; but feeling myself un-

worthy of the conversation and society of those whom I so greatly preferred in the truth, to myself, I had not courage to seek it, but retired much alone, bemoaning my own weakness and poverty, concluding that none knew how it fared with me. When I heard some of my beloved friends expressing the overshadowing of divine good which was so largely to be felt in some of our gatherings, and the sense of gratitude which dwelt on their minds for such favours, my soul was introduced into a state of lamentation, fearing that my heart was become obdurate, because I could not sensibly partake of that heavenly enjoyment and soul-sustaining virtue, which many others appeared to share, and whereby the soul is kept alive unto God. But through all, I am ready, at seasons, to lay hold on the hope, that a state of poverty and desertion is seen to be most profitable for me, and that these proving seasons are not always intended as a rod of chastisement. I think I can, at times, feelingly breathe this language; 'Search me, O Lord, and try me and know my way, and if there be anything in me which prevents thy great work from going forward in my heart, do thou it away: let not thine hand spare, nor thine eye pity, until thou hast made me what thou wouldst have me to be.'

"It is not my intention, by thus addressing my endeared friend, to be pouring out the language of complaint, for I am truly sensible that I have been made partaker of many more favours than my little dedication merits; but being fully convinced that thou art one of those who have passed through many tribulations, and whose baptisms have been of a fiery nature, I thought I felt something more than a bare liberty to unbosom a little to thee the tried state of my mind, believing that deep can utter unto deep, and that it is those only, who have trodden the same suffering path, who can availingly sympathize with minds buried in suffering and death.

"It may seem presuming in me, whose experience in divine mysteries is so small, to say, that my beloved friend has often been brought near in sympathetic remembrance, and according to my small measure I have felt strong desires that thou mayest experience a daily increase of that faith and patience, which enabled many of our ancient worthies to bear the burden in the heat of the day. When favoured to look a little beyond the present day of suffering, and call to mind that at the end of the race, a crown immortal is given to all the faithful dedicated servants in the Father's family, it animates us to press through the many crowds of difficulties which arise in the way."

"20th.—David Sands and I had some instructive conversation together respecting several matters, and hope I have gained something by it. Returned to my chamber from a secret impression on my mind, in order to prostrate myself at the footstool of my gracious Lord and Master, and felt some relief. O how precious is one little ray of light and life dispensed, and a living hope revived, which enables me to say, Lord I desire to wait thy time for enlargement. Ah! it is good to be content, even to be shut up as in prison, and not to cast away confidence then, though the doors may appear to be fast secured. No way opens clearly, either to go home to my family and friends, or to any place in this nation; and what can I do but endeavour after resignation. So be it—stand fast, O my soul, and yet look up unto thy only sure Helper, who has forgiven thee much, and has done much for thee in past days, and even in this land, in keeping thee from sinking in the hour of trial.

"22nd.—To Ratcliff monthly meeting with E. Janson, P. Speakman, and M. Horne, where we met Mary Watson and sister. Dined at T. Harford's, and a singular opportunity occurred, in which I thought Phebe Speakman was much favoured to speak to the state of the heads of this family; something like giving in my witness, appeared to be my duty, and M. Watson concluded the opportunity sweetly, I thought, in prayer.

"28th.—Went with Sarah Harrison to Gracechurch street meeting, where I poured out my tears, and after it prostrated myself in prayer. Felt a willingness to go with S. Harrison as far as Uxbridge, and leave London in such a way as not to return, if way should open."

The following is taken from a letter addressed to him by his beloved friend Mary Dudley, dated Bristol, sixth month 23rd, 1797.

"Thy farewell salutation, handed me on the evening previous to my leaving London, was truly cordial to my mind, which had been so much with thee, that I was about setting out to seek a little of thy valued society. However gratifying this might have been to me, I was content, and I may say, thankful, in being remembered by thee, as thou hast been by me, in a nearly uniting manner; and several times have I wished to salute thee as an endeared brother in the fellowship and tribulations of the gospel. This is a track in which from feeling sympathy, I do believe thy exercised spirit moves, and through which perhaps, in like degree, many are not passing, although each one may conclude his own burden enough. I remember while writing

the language, 'He trod the wine press alone, and of the people there was none with him,' and believe there may be, in measure, a similar experience in the line of painful exercise, although in the present superficial state of things such may appear to have neither form nor comeliness, like their blessed Master. Well, my dear friend, 'Thou God seest me,' is a precious appeal, and what an abundant mercy that he peculiarly regards and owns such as are resigned thus to be baptized, and with heartfelt submission drink the cup of suffering: these will not only know him, their suffering Lord, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death, but will also assuredly experience the power of his resurrection, and after these baptisms unto death, feel an increase of pure spiritual life. But why should my pen run on thus, as though such a poor creature as I am, could administer any relief or encouragement to thy tried mind, which has been so abundantly instructed from on high, for the sake of others, so that I have often said, thou needest not to be ashamed. He who, by His own divine power, hath caused thee hitherto to bring forth these things out of thy treasury, designs not now to shut up any longer than may qualify for increasing faithfulness in his work; and though I can often scarcely discern my own way one step, I have so much faith respecting thy way clearing up, that I was ready to say, that perhaps even now, the renewings of the heavenly commission await thee; and though I feelingly observed the declension of thy bodily strength, surely the great healer of breaches can do all in this respect, as thou and I, my dear friend, have had cause often to acknowledge."

"30th.—Went with Phebe Speakman and Ann Crowley to a little meeting at Rickmansworth, eight miles from Uxbridge, held in the parlour of Emmet Skidmore, in which dear Ann was drawn forth in an extraordinary manner; and returned back in the evening to Uxbridge.

"Seventh month 3rd.—After rising this morning I felt more cheerful and resigned, and this little pleasant feeling causes thankfulness. O how easy a thing it would be to the great Disposer of events to change the dispensation, even as streams in the south; and thereby cheer and comfort my wading mind. Forgive, O Lord, and have mercy on me,—then might I be favoured to teach transgressors thy way, and by the help of omnipotent power, sinners might be converted. O that the dispensation I am now passing through may be looked at hereafter, if my life is spared a little longer, and do me good in the latter end.

"4th.—Drove Ann Crowley to Jordan's to a meeting, appointed by Ann Alexander and company; we found a rough way for a few miles of the latter part; Ann and her sister and Ann Crowley appeared, and I was shut up in silence. The house was nearly full, and mostly made up of women of the middle or lower rank, some few excepted, who came in light and airy; a few men of the first description, and less of those of higher rank. Methought as I sat amongst them, what a change! probably I sat in or near the place where those favoured men, Isaac Penington and William Penn formerly did, when they could look over a large gathering of living professors, and very likely often handed forth to them living food from the Lord's heavenly table, to their mutual refreshment. Now, if the few Friends were away from before me, there would appear few or none but women with scarlet cloaks, in a raw undisciplined state. Alas! how has the crown fallen from off the head; and yet what evident marks of the footsteps to be seen. A neater meeting-house is not often to be seen, and many conveniences about it; and the grave yard is in nice order. We ate our dinners in an upper chamber, a cold fare, but to me it relished well, and reminded me of many such occasions in the wilderness of America. I learn that two ancient men keep up this meeting twice a week. I returned back to Uxbridge with my friend, and Ann Alexander went to Wiccomb.

"6th.—Truly I am a poor creature, and seemed this morning as though I could hardly lift a finger towards prayer; like one that had become bankrupt—broken to pieces: perhaps when this is truly so, my good Master may graciously be pleased again to make me up. I am ready to query whether ever there was such an one sent over sea; and yet, O that I may be favoured even in the fires to glorify His great name, whose work and word is a deep mystery. After dinner A. Crowley proposed a ride, with which I closed; and she and R. Hull and I rode as far as where Isaac Penington used to live, within sight of Chalfont. It is a pleasant rural spot, with a deep valley not far from it, and a grove of fine trees in and around it. The ancient garden walls are standing, and the one next the road is built partly of small flint stones and partly of brick: it is about two miles from Jordans.

"8th.—I hear that Ann Alexander and sister, and David Sands, are not far from us, appointing meetings amongst other professors; and here I am, blind, poor and naked, but not miserable; because I humbly trust I am not standing still thus, from day to day, in my own will.

"13th.—Took a solitary walk on the com-

mons, in a low exercised state of mind, and endeavoured to cast my whole self on the everlasting helper of his people. O how often could I fall prostrate on the earth, and bewail my state; but there is a secret stay and a language, be patient—be still. After dinner I again took my lonely walk—my bodily strength seems recruited, and O that patience may have its perfect work respecting my spiritual strength, or so much as the Lord in mercy may please to grant. I cannot move in my own will or desire, to his praise and honour. O that I may not bring reproach on that ever blessed truth, which I hope and trust has been espoused by me through holy help in days past; and I dare not believe otherwise now, though my little preaching seems to be, as it were, out of the prison window, or through the iron grating,—for soon after I am shut up again.

"17th.—To Tottenham and met with George and Sarah Dillwyn, Phebe Speakman, and her companion Ann Crowley. After dinner dear George supplicated, and my mind was tendered, and once more had a small Pisgah sight of good things. It was indeed pleasant to have a little prospect of what gospel ministry is, and I ventured to hand forth some encouragement to those afresh setting out, although so shut up myself.

"23rd, first-day.—Did not feel so much oppression as sometimes on awaking this morning. O that I might be favoured this day to cast away the labour and toil that have so often made me feel uncomfortable, and lift up my heart to God in faith; feeling an holy resolution formed by it to give up in all things to the Lord most merciful, to follow on to know him. Surely in the midst of all these deep plunges, my soul craves this, and dare not let him go. Better is it to die than to bring dishonour to the great name. O thou searcher of hearts, and trier of the reins of men, thou knowest my condition and canst speak to it. Turn out every wrong thing from my heart—root out every wrong plant, and grant me contentment under thy humbling hand. I went to Tottenham meeting, where I found M. Watson; a quiet, calm resignation spread over my mind in my walk thither, and soon after sitting down, an exercise spread, and the sight of the people assembled added weight to it, some of whom were at the last meeting I attended at Gracechurch street, which was a remarkable time. My exercise increased, and cleansing virtue from the divine presence was experienced in my own particular. O! methought, what a mercy once more to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; and feeling strength and boldness given me, I stood up with these words: 'he

that hath a dream let him tell his dream; and he that hath the word of the Lord, let him speak it faithfully; for what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord.' But what most rested on my mind, was the fresh revival of these expressions, 'Son of man, behold I take away from thee, the desire of thine eyes, with a stroke;' and as my soul has of later months been made so deeply sensible of this taking away, and even my pleasantest enjoyments have been crumbled as into the earth, I had not only to humble myself in telling the assembly so, but to reason with them of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come. M. Watson concluded the meeting in prayer, and in the little pause before we separated, my heart was thankful that these words were made good to me: 'But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God,' even by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Spirit. It is indeed a miracle of mercy—let reverence possess my soul, and a willingness to bow to His sovereign will and pleasure, from hence forward, and guard against a murmuring uneasy spirit. I trust that through all, this has not been charged against me, even in the midst of extremity, for there has been something which has kept my head above the waters; and I have been afraid of appearing to others, in this uncommon detention, to be a man at ease. The afternoon meeting was large, and in it I also laboured.

"27th.—It is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord even suddenly to make a poor man rich:—these expressions have revived this morning on getting up and making this note. Truly my detention after this manner is very marvellous—it is a trial of faith and patience; yet I am much more favoured than I deserve. Went to meeting at Tottenham and was largely exercised in testimony to divers classes, and felt comfortable and quiet after it.

"28th.—Awoke and arose quiet and more easy in mind, and my soul craved ability to say, I will trust in and rely on thee, O my God.

"30th, first-day.—To Tottenham meeting once more. I could not persuade myself that I was worthy to stand forth; but as there were so many of the gay and rich, &c., I endeavoured to discharge myself, and was very closely engaged on the subject of death. In the afternoon was again exercised in testimony, it being a large meeting.

"Eighth month 1st.—In the night season, I had a little to rejoice in the prospect that, after all, the Lord can make things new; and if it is his divine pleasure, fit me and send me into some part of this island to labour, and in

the conclusion favour me to return home with peace. O my travelling soul, wait thou on God, who will strengthen thee, and be thou ready to go forward, when the cloud is taken up, if even but a little: and O, saith my soul, that if there are fellow servants preparing to accompany me to my native land, that the great Master will be pleased to accomplish his work in them, and cause them to be in readiness. My beloved friend and fellow traveller and labourer, and I, had an opportunity this morning of conversing together, and my soul craves that our care and sympathy may not go beyond the altar, but that through all, preservation may be graciously granted, even unto the everlasting kingdom, whither I trust my dear Elizabeth, the wife of my youth, has gone, and where I have been favoured with strong confidence to believe my dear Sarah will be favoured to arrive in the Lord's time. My inward cries were put up in the night season, that almighty Goodness would bless my dear children with a more abundant knowledge of his ways. I trust I can appeal unto Him and say, Thou knowest I covet not great things in this world for them, but that if their lives and mine are spared, (and these I desire to resign up) they may cause my soul to rejoice in beholding them thy servants. My desires have also gone forth at seasons for my dear aged parent, that the Lord may more and more prepare her, as a shock of corn fit for the everlasting garner,—so be it, O merciful One; and, for thy name and mercy's sake, look down upon thy struggling servant and forgive, and do and give what thou, in thy unsearchable wisdom, seest to be best for him.

"3rd.—Lay awake for hours last night, pondering my ways, and the cause that such a path is my lot; and although these things are too mighty for me fully to comprehend, yet I hope my soul was brought measurably into a contrite state, with feelings of holy fear and resignation, which were exceedingly pleasant, even in the midst of the fires. Sometimes I am ready to break forth and say, Thou knowest, O Lord, I am willing to follow thee into any part of this land, or further, if it is thy will, and thy presence goes with me; but even here I am stopt with an humbling sense, that I know not what to ask for, without it is faith and patience to endure what the Lord may see best for me, either in staying or going. I went to the week-day meeting, and was favoured with a good degree of quiet throughout, and a humble hope and trust revived, that if the patience is kept, way will open.

"4th, sixth-day.—I hope I am in a waiting state, with a willing mind to go at my divine Master's command; and yet such is the weak-

ness of my mind, that I fear there has been, and perhaps may now be, a want of faith to set out. But surely it has been my soul's delight to move in the living faith, and to be employed in so glorious a work as preaching the gospel. O that it may in mercy be granted again, in the Lord's time, not my time. It is close work to keep the patience in extreme poverty, week after week. Notwithstanding all, this springs up as a comfort, that if I am favoured to travel along and bow to the heavenly will, all things will work together for my good at last.

"7th.—O that I could be favoured once more with a ray of living hope, and a belief that I am the Lord's servant; worthy to be further intrusted in his work, that I could forget, as much as is right and profitable, the things that are behind; things acted and transacted heretofore, and experience the mantle of adorable love and mercy cast over all my infirmities, which appear to be not a few, and be favoured patiently to wait the Lord's time for further opening into service in this land, if further labour is my lot. I cannot hasten his coming—O for trembling submission to the Lord's blessed will.

"8th.—O adorable High Priest, thy mercy, pity and love are an over-balance to all that my wading soul meets with; therefore, it has not sunk into despair. Forgive all my iniquities, that have so closely encompassed me about: I cannot, I dare not, hide anything from thee, thou all-seeing Judge, for thy penetrating eye goes through the whole earth. O Lord, continue thy protecting care and mercy to those whom thy poor, unworthy servant has left behind, for I desire to hope and trust in thee, O my God. Amen.

"20th.—To Tottenham meeting, which was large; and I had once more a full and open time. I ventured also, to bend in supplication, not only for myself, but for others; begging for the blessing of preservation, and the forgiveness of sins and iniquities; and that this meeting might be a time to look back at in seasons of stripping and desertion, as one of mercy and kindness. To afternoon meeting at four o'clock, and had to address the visited children of our heavenly Father, divers of whom I had cause to apprehend were there. In the evening felt comfortable. O what a miracle of mercy, extended to such an unworthy one! The Lord be praised,—and O for steady faith and reliance on the divine Arm—come what will.

"22nd.—Took leave of the family of T. Horne, who have shown me much kindness; it appearing to me that my time was nearly run out in this place,—Tottenham; where my soul has been deeply plunged. O Lord, be

pleased to reach forth thy forgiveness, mercy and truth, and open the way for thy poor, unworthy servant. Grant me ability to leave the things that are behind, and reach forward in an upright desire to do thy will only: without thee I can do nothing to profit or peace,—but by and through thy power, all things are accomplished that tend to thy honour.

"23rd.—Went to Gracechurch street meeting, and sat it in pensive silence, but was favoured so far as to see it right to go to Uxbridge.

"26th.—Set off with Joseph and R. Smith, and arrived safely at Uxbridge, and lodged at John Hull's.

"27th.—Attended the meeting, where was Sarah Lynes from London, who is on a visit to the north; she appeared in the ministry, but I was silent, as well as in the evening meeting.

"28th.—I have looked to see whether any known duty has been shrunk from in this land; even when the hand of the Lord has been heavy on me, and my soul has been bowed down under temptations and trials which have been permitted to assail me, and I see none. I felt pleasant in two visits made to E. W. and family, and W. F. and wife; children whom the Lord has favoured me in days past measurably to beget through the gospel.

"29th.—Felt a comfortable calm this morning, with liberty to go as far as High Wiccomb, fourteen miles, whither I rode on horse back. In the afternoon several Friends stepped in to see me, with whom I had a pretty open time.

"30th.—Attended the week-day meeting, and pretty soon after it was gathered, Sarah Lynes and Elizabeth Stephens came in, and likewise a number of the town's people, and we both had communications. After dinner I had a religious opportunity with a number of Friends, and then set out for Oxford,—and on descending Church hill, was shown a place called Crowell, near which, in the valley, I was informed Thomas Ellwood's father lived: the prospect around was beautiful indeed.

"31st.—After breakfast, accompanied by William Hull, proceeded on our journey to Chipping Norton, where we put up at William Atkins', who, with his wife and children received us gladly.

"Ninth month 1st.—Attended the week-day meeting, which was a pretty tendering time; and on the 2nd we set off about eight o'clock, having first had a sweet religious opportunity with the family, and arrived at Birmingham about dusk, having travelled forty-two miles: here we found Ann and William Alexander.

"3rd, first-day.—In the meeting, which was large, I had to sound an alarm to some,

and to offer consolation to another state; and in the afternoon had a full, comfortable time, many of the town's people being collected; my two female friends had also a share in the labour.

"5th.—Left Birmingham about eleven o'clock, accompanied by Joseph Shipton for a guide, (a young lawyer, who came into the Society by conviction:) William Hull also was with us. Stopt at Litchfield and dined; after which took a walk to the market place and town hall, where we understood William Savery had a meeting. We lodged at Burton on Trent.

"6th.—Went on about seven miles, and stopt at Derby to breakfast; and whilst J. Smith was transacting a little business, I took a walk into the town, through the graveyard, and to a great building with a high steeple. My spirits were oppressed, and I felt dejected and low. My thoughts turned to George Fox and his imprisonment; and if my exercise has been in sympathy and feeling with a state of deep trial and suffering, into which he and some of our forefathers were largely introduced, I am content; for I can feel little opening towards the people at large. O Lord, hasten the day of Zion's redemption and prosperity: bring down pride and haughtiness, and that ranting, unbelieving spirit, which is so prevalent in this land, and set up thy ensign of righteousness more conspicuously; and grant that my soul may still be supported to answer thy requirings, either in doing or suffering. The country round about Derby is very fine, but the road to this place hilly. After dinner we proceeded on, and arrived at Chesterfield, where we lodged.

"7th.—Sat with Friends in their week-day meeting, which was small; and though I felt much weakness, ventured to express my feelings. After dinner we rode to Sheffield, where William Fairbank and wife received us kindly. In the evening a large number of Friends came in, with whom I had a religious opportunity.

"8th.—Went on, accompanied by William Fairbank, passing through Wakefield, and arrived at Christiana Hustler's after night, where we found a pretty large company of Friends, it being the day on which their monthly meeting was held. Felt my mind light and easy; but when I laid down did not feel so well, fearing that in this state of liberty, I in some degree broke bounds: O the necessity of watching at all times.

"9th.—Left C. Hustler's about eleven o'clock, and passed through Keighley and Thornton to Martha Smith's, sister of my kind landlord, who, with his wife, are still with me. We crossed a steep mountain, which remind-

ed me of my journey over the Alleghany mountains in America. We passed through a fine country lying to the north—saw the town of Skipton, and the village called Carlton, about one mile from it; the last place is where Markham lived, the priest who cast Friends of Lotherdale into prison at York.

"10th, first-day.—Was accompanied by our London friends, J. and R. Smith, and others, into the dale called Lotherdale, where we found a pretty large gathering of Friends and others; and I had an open, tendering opportunity amongst them. We dined at Mary Stanfield's, whose husband, John Stanfield, is a prisoner at York, for tithes, at the suit of priest Markham; after which took a walk with Joseph Smith to the old meeting-house, to look at the ground, they proposing to build a new one. My heart went forth in love to dear Joseph, whilst he was sitting by my side in the meeting, on remembering to have heard him say, that he intended to build a new house for these poor Friends in this place; and I did believe, that in so doing, the Almighty would bless him. I felt comfortable and easy among this peeled little company; who live in a vale as poor and lonely, I thought, as some places on our Alleghany mountains.

"12th.—My mind has been turned this morning, towards my dear wife, children and family; and as respects some of them, with sighs and tears; and yet with desire, I trust, uprightly to say, 'Thy will be done, O God, and let mine submit in obedience to it. O preserve thy servant in this his lonely state.' We rode to Settle, and got to the select monthly meeting about five o'clock.

"13th.—Arose low and poor. If the Lord keep not the city, the watchman waketh but in vain; except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it. May I cast myself, therefore, on him, hoping and trusting still in his mercy and goodness; for indeed I am often a poor, solitary one. Attended the monthly meeting at eleven o'clock, and had to communicate pretty largely to several states. Two women walked, yesterday, from the Dale, about seventeen miles, in the rain, thunder and lightning, to attend the meeting.

"14th.—Felt a little revival of hope before leaving my bed this morning. How often have I been tried with respect to some singular testimonies which I had to bear in London,—when my mind has been almost ready to sink; and yet, through all, I hope and trust I can say, it has been the desire of my soul to act and speak uprightly, and I must leave the issue to the Lord most merciful. I recollect particularly, what a very painful, wakeful night I had, previous to one of the

last opportunities at Gracechurch street, when Ezekiel's situation was revived, and I handed it forth. My spirit was pressed down with it in the night while lying on my bed. I have thought my spiritual state, for months past, has resembled that of the prophet, when the widow fed him—his was outward want, as expressed in the Old Testament,—mine is inward; he was fed by the widow, who had naught but a little meal in the barrel, and oil in the cruse, and yet it held out through a time of drought. O that the great Prophet may be pleased to sustain and help me through this time of stripping and famine, who am mostly in a state of much weakness and blindness, and yet trust a little portion of faith and hope yet remains, although it be comparable to the handful of meal in the barrel, and a little oil in the cruse. Returned to Martha Smith's at Thornton.

"16th.—Felt no opening to appoint a meeting in this neighbourhood, and seem much a blank; yet hope, that as a scholar in the school of Christ, I am getting this lesson by heart,—Thy will be done.

"17th, first-day.—Joseph Smith went yesterday to Skipton, and before he set off, after endeavouring to get enough into the quiet to hear the Shepherd's voice, I ventured to encourage him to appoint a public meeting to be held there on second-day morning, and another at Lotherdale, to be held this morning, with which I felt easy. After breakfast, accompanied by Joseph Smith, got into the Dale about ten o'clock, and climbed up a steep, slippery hill, and had a satisfactory opportunity with a large number of what are called Sunday scholars. Some tenderness appeared amongst them, but I was much spent from the closeness of the room, and the breath of so many. Went to the meeting at eleven o'clock, which was very large, and an open relieving time—the people behaved solidly; I felt much fatigued, yet, after a tendering time with the exercised woman whose husband is in York castle for tithes, and others who came in, I set off across the mountains, the near way for Thornton.

"18th.—Got into Skipton about ten o'clock, and found that our meeting was to be held in a Methodist meeting-house, the one belonging to Friends being small, and as the other had been offered to Sarah Harrison when here, and the same person, a considerable man in the town, offering it again for our meeting, Friends were free to accept it. It is very commodious, and I had an open, comfortable time in the meeting, and hope it was so to divers who were gathered. The name of the person who offered the house is Peter Garforth; and I learn that his sister built it, and that a goodly

solid woman who was at our meeting, proposes building one a little distance from this place.

"22nd.—To Kendal week-day meeting; and though for sometime I sat in poverty, yet afterwards was a little comforted and cheered, and set at liberty, not only to warn the unruly, but to hand forth some comfort to the feeble minded. Dined at George and Deborah Braithwaite's with several Friends, and after it, Joseph Smith, George and I, took a walk to the old castle, and looked over the town; we also went into the large old steeple house, and I had the curiosity to step it on the inside, and made it 144 feet by 105.

"24th, first-day.—The meeting to-day was but a low, exercising time in the beginning: I laboured earnestly amongst them, and very closely, from these expressions, with which E. Robinson, a young woman lately convinced, closed her testimony before I arose: 'Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance,' &c. This young woman, I am informed, is turned out of doors by her mother for coming amongst Friends. The evening meeting was put off until six o'clock, and though I gave no liberty to invite any, yet it was large, and very close and exercising labour fell to my lot from these words; 'Seek not death in the error of your life.'

"25th.—A pretty calm mind this morning, though under conflict on my bed, in reflecting upon the little effect which religious labour seems to have on the minds of the people in the present day. O the independent, atheistical spirit that prevails over many, and has even entered and gained some ground in our religious Society. How often is my soul afflicted and bowed under a consideration of the state of the high towering ones, who know so little of the afflictions of Joseph, or the imprisoned seed.

"27th.—We got to Cockermouth, having rode forty-two miles.

"28th.—Attended the select quarterly meeting, which was large, and it fell to my lot to be closely engaged in a searching manner. At two o'clock, went to the quarterly meeting, in which I had a full, relieving opportunity, both in the meeting for worship and that for discipline. We had the company, at dinner and tea, of Sarah Talbot, and her companion Sarah Shackleton of Ireland, and Mary Sterry and Mary Watson, much to my comfort; and when we sat down to dine, my heart was enlarged in prayer for myself and fellow labourers,—and that the young people of this family might be blessed; and that we might be favoured in the present quarterly meeting, &c.

"29th.—To the parting meeting at nine o'clock, and after all my friends had an opportunity to relieve their minds, I had a

full, relieving time, and Mary Watson closed in prayer.

“30th.—Rested pretty well, and through favour feel my mind calm and resigned to the will of my heavenly Master, with breathing desires that I may be favoured to know him to go before, and to know his voice; then surely, let what requiring soever be opened, it will be my duty to say, ‘Here am I, send me!’ so be it, saith my soul, in humility and reverence. After breakfast we left Cocker-mouth, and passing through Preston, arrived at Whitehaven, where we put up at the widow Jane Pearson’s.

“Tenth month 2nd.—Had a singular opportunity with three of Jane’s grand-children, who though at first, light, were brought plentifully to their tears; after which set off, stopping at Keswick to dine, and got into Hawks-head late, where we lodged. This was a lonely but instructive ride to me, amongst the mountains—many sheep were feeding on the sides of the hills, and interspersed among them are lakes of considerable extent.

“3rd.—Drank tea at Clement Satterthwait’s, where I had a satisfactory opportunity, in which a dear Friend, Hannah Wilson, who is eighty years old, and lively and green in her old age, joined in a short testimony. How comfortable to find a seed preserved, who are accounted for a remnant.

“4th.—Took a walk over the meeting-house and grave-yard—the latter had seats of stone all around it, fixed in the wall; and in the middle a wall about as high as a seat, which the old Friend told us after we returned, was so constructed, she understood, in order to hold meetings there, in ancient times. In coming to this place the day before yesterday, we rode for sometime in sight of a hill called Pardsay Cragg, perhaps ten miles from Cocker-mouth, where Friends in the beginning, held their meetings in the open air—when the wind and rain beat on one side of the hill, they removed to the other, and it appeared to have ridges one above another, like steps, as if formed for the purpose of seats. Dined early and set off, and got to the ferry house at Windermere lake, kept by a blind man. Our horses were taken over in a large boat, and the rest of the company, with our friend John Bragg, took to a smaller one, and rowed around Curwen’s Island. The prospect is beautiful indeed to the eye, the land surrounding it being covered with shrubbery, fruit trees, and a comfortable looking house; but when I heard that the person who owns it was offered £20,000 for it, and would not take it, although containing only about forty-two acres, I thought what a pity so much should lie as it were dormant, when there are so

many poor, so many widows and fatherless children ready to perish. After landing we found there was no post chaise to be had, so my kind London friends, J. and R. Smith, were obliged to put up with a cart and a boy to drive them nine miles to Kendal, and it was a mountainous ride, and very entertaining.

“5th.—To the select quarterly meeting, where very singular things were delivered by me, although an utter stranger; but I heard afterwards, that they were pertinent: here I was met by Mary Sterry and Mary Watson. The quarterly select meeting was held at three o’clock in the afternoon, and the monthly meeting for Kendal in the morning at ten o’clock.

“6th.—To quarterly meeting, where the labour fell mostly on me, and I was favoured with a full, relieving time, both in the meeting for worship, and afterwards in that for discipline. I went also, into the women’s meeting with Simon Harker, who expressed a concern in a lively, tender manner, to visit families. Attended the parting meeting at six o’clock, and we sat nearly or quite two hours in silence, and to me it was a sweet, refreshing time, such as I have not frequently been indulged with; and in the close, I had a short testimony to deliver.”

In a letter from this place, dated tenth month 8th, 1797, he says:

“Which way I shall move from this place, I know not at present, and am content with my allotment, even when going a zig-zag course. I have been used to it in my native land, and through mercy it is made easy enough now, and I am daily trying to learn this important lesson, ‘Thy will, and not mine, O God, be done;’ and if preserved here, whether heights or depths, principalities or powers, life or death, may, in unsearchable wisdom be dispensed, all things will work together for good. I may just add, and that with humility and thankfulness of heart, that I have been favoured with much enlargement in these two quarterly meetings, viz: Cumberland and Northumberland and Kendal, and trust, acceptance in the minds of my friends.”

“10th.—To the week-day meeting, which I sat through in silence, and felt content and cheerful after it. Soon after dinner set off, accompanied by Joseph Smith and G. Braithwaite, all on horse back, to Ulverstone; we had a mountainous ride of twenty-one miles, and crossed lake Windermere, and got into town after night, about seven o’clock.

"11th.—Attended Swarthmore meeting, about a mile out of town; and after it, took a walk over to see the remains of the old hall, where judge Fell lived. It is in a ruinous condition, having gone much to decay; the room where they used to hold meetings, and which stood on the left of the entrance, is quite dilapidated. The entrance is paved with flag stone; on the right hand is a large room with a curious old fashioned window, somewhat like the modern projecting bow window; it is two steps up, and in it stands an old chair, on which was marked T. T. 1642. There is curious wrought work, in parts of the room, and I think it was flagged. The staircase is a very singular one, with curious carved work, and goes up to the roof. One of the chambers has very old fashioned cut work over the chimney place, and around it, and on the edge of the hearth stone. The once beautiful garden and orchard, and the walls round them are all in ruins. The meeting-house is neat and comfortable, much such an one as that at Jordan's: there is a good wall around a large grave-yard, with trees about the house, the two nearest the door not much unlike our pines or firs. Over the door is inscribed Ex. dono G. F., 1688; and I was informed he purchased the ground of one of his daughters-in-law, and ordered the house to be built, but never saw it. [See Friends' Library, vol. I. p. 96, 97.] There are yet two very old fashioned oaken chairs in the small part of the meeting-house, which he gave to Friends. One of them Robert Widders used to occupy, and John Taylor, of this country, the other; both are of very curious workmanship. There was but a small company of people at the meeting, but with thankfulness I may record, that both on going up the road to meeting, and soon after taking my seat, my mind was comforted. After dear G. B. had spoken my feelings in a few words, the meeting was gathered into a comfortable frame, and I ventured to bend in supplication; and then was pretty largely engaged in an encouraging line, especially to the youth. I thought I had a prospect of a renewed visitation to this place in a day to come, and mentioned somewhat of it to the meeting. In the silent part, I remembered a portion of the ninety-first psalm, and had a secret hope that I might lay hold of it for my encouragement; for indeed I was once more favoured to feel the salvation of God near; even Him who is the blotter out of sin, and the forgiver of past transgressions; and who said 'I will show him my salvation.' In the evening, after walking up a high hill and taking a view of the town, the bay and the place where George Fox was dragged by the rude, persecuting people and

nearly killed, and looking into the old steeple house, I had a solid religious opportunity with several Friends.

"12th.—After breakfast my mind was impressed with a prospect of going again to Swarthmore hall, for when we left it yesterday, as the woman who keeps it, let us out of the gate, my mind was rather unusually turned towards her, and as this concern remained with me on my bed, both on lying down and during my wakeful moments in the night, I told my companions I must go back—so they, with Elijah Salthouse the elder, went with me. Soon after getting in, I asked her if she was willing to send for her sons out of the harvest field, (for they were drawing oats,) and with her two grown-up daughters, sat with us for half an hour in a religious way. She soon had her sons in, with one other young man and a lad, with whom we had a baptizing time. One of the grown-up sons had lately returned from off a man-of-war, on board of which he had been decoyed: he was much broken into tenderness and tears, in the opportunity, and told me on parting, he was disposed to remain and help his mother, his father having recently died after a short illness. O the sweet peace I felt in and near these old ruins, as well as after I left them, from an honest discharge of duty. We left Ulverstone, stopping near lake Windermere to tea, and got to Kendal about dusk.

"14th.—I have occasion to acknowledge that the Lord has been my strength and my song, and also my salvation: he has opened and enlarged my heart in this north country, and wrought a willingness in me to follow him further, if the way should open. I had this morning a baptizing tendering time on my bed, with humbling prospects, and many tears. O may I be favoured to abide constantly in the will of God, who has led, and also fed me in this land, with food suitable and convenient for me, although it has been the bread of adversity, and at times, the bitter water of affliction; yet mine eye still beholds my teacher; and now, instead of going further north, I must turn a little back, and what matter if it be by the way of the wilderness, so as it is the way of my heavenly Master's good pleasure; then by following on fully and faithfully, all my trials and deep inward conflicts will no doubt be blessed and sanctified to me.

"After several religious opportunities in families, we set off, and passing through Yealand, we got to Lancaster, and put up at David Dockray's, and soon after we got in, a newspaper was put into my hands, containing an account of the yellow fever having appeared in Philadelphia.

"15th, first-day.—Attended the meeting, and was favoured to relieve my mind, first with a language of encouragement and consolation to the children, babes and sucklings in the church, and afterwards with a rod to false professors. In the afternoon at three o'clock, most, if not all of the morning company came again, with the addition of some strangers, and I had a large, open and relieving time; so much so, that I not only thought, whilst speaking, but said that it looked likely my stay would not be long in this place; for in other cases where there has been an opening and strength given to relieve my mind, there has been liberty also to go pretty soon. Drank tea at W. Jepson's, and soon after, there came in some orphan children, grand-daughters of Elizabeth Wilkinson, who was in America with Alice Hall; and I felt very sweet and comfortable toward them, and had encouragement to hold forth to them, but otherwise to another state present. O how this unbelieving, independent spirit grieves and pains my best life. In the evening a Friend came in, who had with him New York papers, giving a further account of the fever, of which about sixty persons had died; it appears to be much like that of '93.

"16th, second-day.—I hardly knew whether my mind was most in sympathy with the sick and distressed in Philadelphia yesterday, or dipped into the state of the meeting here, as I found it when amongst them: I had to tell some of the company, that they were wearing linsey woolsey garments, sowing their fields with divers sorts of grain, and ploughing with an ox and ass, &c., and my labour was close indeed. To-day a Friend told me that there is a young man here who is convinced, and comes to this meeting, whose mother threatened him much if he *thow'd* her, &c., which he believed it was his duty to do. She went to some of the gay Friends belonging here, to make her complaint, and said to them, she wished, if her son must go to meeting, that he might be such a Quaker as they were, who could attend meeting, and yet say *you*, and use the world's language in other respects. What a rebuke this was. After dinner, parted with my friends, G. Braithwaite and J. W.; I felt easy to go towards Sheffield, and set off and rode twenty-two miles to Preston, and met an open, kind reception from William Brown and his sister Alice. I had a sweet ride here, because of that ease and peace of mind I enjoyed.

"17th.—We passed through Blackburn and Haslenden, and arrived at Todmorden, where we lodged.

"18th.—Awoke stripped and poor this morning, and endeavoured to prostrate myself in

humble prayer to my great and Almighty helper, and trust I heard the still small voice, saying, 'Go to Sheffield.' Samuel Greenwood, a young man of this place, offering to accompany me, we journeyed on to High Flats, and just before we got there, I thought I had the most extensive prospect of any I had seen in this land, from a barren, high hill. We arrived at Sheffield after forty-six miles ride, and put up with my kind friends W. and Mary Fairbank.

"19th.—Arose this morning fresh and well, and now a consideration arises, why such haste to get back to this place? O my soul, wait in patience, for there is peace administered thus far. In my lonely ride, and especially during the latter part of the day, my thoughts were turned home to my family, and poor Philadelphia; and such has been the favour vouchsafed amidst my deep conflict, that there has been a fixed evidence sealed on my mind, that if an all-wise Providence calls some of my dear family hence, and I should not be permitted in this life again to enjoy their society, there is a place of rest and peace prepared. What a consolation this has been, at seasons, to my wading mind. O then let me leave these things to Him who judgeth righteously. Attended the week-day meeting, and was favoured with a satisfactory time. I told them that I had come nearly one hundred miles to attend this meeting; and in the close felt liberty to say, that it would be pleasant to have the neighbours invited to come and sit with them on first-day.

"21st.—Was informed that Friends have provided a large building formerly used as a foundry, about 32 yards by 20, and fitted it up with benches and a gallery, to accommodate the meeting on first-day; their own house being small.

"22nd, first-day.—Attended two very large meetings. It was computed that three thousand people were at the one held in the afternoon. Both of them were very satisfactory to my mind. After the morning meeting a captain of horse in this place, came and attempted to speak to me, but when he took me by the hand, he turned away and left me—he came again in the afternoon, and then told me his heart was too full to speak to me in the morning. In the evening we had a sweet religious opportunity in prayer and testimony at W. Fairbank's.

"25th, fourth-day.—To meeting, which was thought to be three-fourths filled with journeymen, apprentice lads, &c.; it was solid, and they left it in a commendable manner, affording considerable relief to my mind.

"26th.—To week-day meeting held in the large house, many of the inhabitants attended, and it was satisfactory to me, finding

much enlargement. At the close I appointed one for female servants, &c., to be held to-morrow afternoon.

"27th.—At eleven, accompanied by William Fairbank and Thomas Colley, I went to the work-house, and had a meeting with the poor people, and a large number of poor children; which was to satisfaction,—several of the overseers or managers being also present, who were respectful after the opportunity. At three o'clock, attended the meeting appointed for female servants, &c., which was much crowded, and on the whole a satisfactory, relieving time, though I had to stand up in much weakness. The people were long in getting out, and towards the last the tutoress of a school for poor girls, who had brought her scholars to meeting, and had seated them in the back part of the house, came forward with them, and placed them before me, under the gallery, and I had a satisfactory opportunity with them."

In a letter to George Dillwyn, dated the 28th of this month, after speaking of his release from London, &c., he says:

"When I returned last to Kendal, my way seemed closing up respecting the north, and opened towards Lancaster: this seemed like going back, but as the prospect fixed pleasantly on my mind, giving up thereto afforded sweet peace. From thence, this place opened, and fastened with more weight than any prospect for some time, and what appeared singular was, that I must hasten, and be at their week-day meeting. Some reasoning took place on the way; what should be the cause I knew not, whether to go into sickness myself, or hear of the sickness or death of some of my friends; but being favoured with strength to perform the journey, as the intimation to my mind was, so it has been performed. 'Go to Sheffield and it shall be shown thee what to do.' I found much to do, and have been helped, if not to much profit to others, yet to the relief of my own mind." After speaking of "the faith and zeal" of Friends in fitting up the large building, and the character of the meetings, which is described pretty much as in his diary, he says: "Dear George, this is a singular line in which I am led; yet, let the wits of this world say what they may, and I have been often deeply tried with this spirit, so prevalent with some, my mind has been convinced and confirmed in the belief, that the revelation of the mind and will of a most glorious High Priest, has not ceased, but is continued, more or less, in his church, and to his humble depending children. I have been querying why I should write thus; is there not occasion for such a

poor thing as I to lay my mouth as in the dust? Yes, and it has been so often, in this land of high profession; but surely there is still a power sufficient to make the very stones cry out."

The following account of this visit to Sheffield is from another hand, viz:

"On the 18th of tenth month, 1797, Thomas Scattergood came to Sheffield, and attended our week-day meeting next day, where he had much service, principally addressed to the youth; and at the conclusion mentioned his intention of staying over first-day, requesting that Friends would invite their neighbours to come and sit with us. As our meeting-house was not large enough to accommodate a great many more than our usual attenders, Friends obtained a very large building, erected for an iron foundery, which was unoccupied, fitted it up with a gallery and comfortable seats, and met there on first-day. The meeting was very largely attended by the inhabitants of our populous town, and Thomas was remarkably led to speak with convincing authority, awfully calling on the company to consider the uncertainty of time, and prepare to meet their God; telling us in how singular a manner he had been drawn here,—that when about one hundred miles distant, he felt a strong and forcible attraction to Sheffield, accompanied with an intelligible language in the secret of his heart, which followed him day and night, 'Go to Sheffield, go to Sheffield, and there it shall be shown thee what thou shalt do: hasten thee, hasten thee.' It was truly awful, and seemed to spread seriousness over the assembly; his testimony was long and very powerful. The afternoon meeting was still more crowded, it being estimated that three thousand persons were there; and in that meeting also his services were very great. To the surprise of the audience, the voice of our dear friend held out wonderfully, and in the evening his very countenance bespoke the peace of his dedicated mind: a remarkable degree of solemnity prevailed in both these meetings. After supper he had a memorable opportunity in my father's family, several young Friends being present; and after commemorating the greatness of divine power displayed that day, he addressed several persons in affectionate and encouraging language.

"On fourth-day morning, the 25th, another meeting was appointed at our friend's request, and held in the same large building, for the male sex solely, chiefly apprentices and working men of the manufactories in the town; and it was attended by a large number. On fifth-day, our usual meeting-day, a large num-

ber collected, and he was again enabled to minister to the various states of the people, to the admiration of many. At the conclusion of the meeting he expressed a desire to see the lower class of the female sex, such as servants, &c., exclusively, the next afternoon at three o'clock. The meeting was accordingly appointed, and a large number collected; it was computed that more than two thousand women were present; they were called upon by our dear friend in an awakening manner, to prepare for their latter end, and various states and stations were feelingly addressed: the girls of a charity school present, with their teacher, were particularly addressed, and the children reminded that women were the first promulgators of the gospel.

"In the forenoon of the same day, Thomas had a meeting in the poor-house with the families, pensioners, and a few others. On first-day, 29th, had two other very crowded meetings, attended by (it was believed) three thousand persons, in each of which he preached in the demonstration of the spirit, and with power, imparting many gospel truths, and touching upon the subjects of baptism, spiritual worship and our belief that revelation has not ceased. In the afternoon he was led to explain some of our peculiar tenets; amongst others, disapprobation of oaths and war, the latter of which, he said was one of the noblest testimonies we have to bear."

In a letter to his wife about this date, after alluding to the accounts which had reached him, of the progress of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, he says:

"This seems more than a bare report, and if true, is awful indeed. I have gone through abundance, in deep thoughtfulness about home, &c., frequently in this land, and could write much about it; but it may suffice to say, that since this account has reached me, my mind has been closely exercised; and yet, through mercy, and indeed to my humble admiration, possessing much quiet and resignation to the will of Him who judgeth righteously, and doeth all things well; and I know I cannot add to, or diminish by taking thought. Thou mayest naturally think, my dear, that I shall be under much anxiety to hear and know how things go with you in Philadelphia, and in my family; and if you are spared, it will be of adorable mercy; and if so ordered that some of us never meet again in mutability, strong has been my faith at times, when looking towards thee, that our heavenly Father is near, and that whether in life or death, all would be well. This has cheered my drooping soul, when looking towards my

family, and I have had renewed cause of late, after a very great conflict which was heavy upon me for months, to believe that I am in my allotment, and trust, under the protection of Him who feeds the ravens, and without whose notice, not a sparrow can fall to the ground; and if further trials await, O that my soul may be favoured to say in truth and with uprightness, 'Not my will, O Lord, but thine be done.'"

"29th, first-day.—Unwell last evening, with some cold and sore throat, which increased in the night, and feel poor in spirit this morning, and humbled. I trust mercy and kindness is with the Lord, who can heal and help. Went to meeting, which was very large, and a fine open time of much enlargement, for which I felt very thankful to the Lord, my most merciful, holy and mighty helper. O that my soul may feel after preservation in the future, come what may. To afternoon meeting, which was also very much crowded, and to my great admiration, a time of enlargement. O what a favour to get well through such large meetings.

"Eleventh month 1st.—Very weak and poor with respect to moving on, yet Derby, Derby, seems to sound in my ears in the same manner as this place did a week or two ago. About eleven o'clock, after some close thoughtfulness, came to a conclusion to go, and my kind host W. F., inclining to accompany me, we rode to Chesterfield and were kindly cared for by Mary Storrs, her husband being with Ann Alexander and sister Mary in Wales. Before we proceeded any further, I thought best to authorize her to write to Friends at Nottingham, to engage them to go to Derby and procure a large place for a meeting, and invite the inhabitants to come together on first-day next, after which we rode to Mansfield.

"3rd.—Spent this day pretty quietly at Richard Leaver's, except taking a little walk through the town, and found it pretty much in confusion, it being the day that servants, both male and female, come to offer themselves to hire.

"4th.—This morning my soul has craved animating strength, and I am ready to say forgiveness also; fearing there has been too much indulgence. We set off for Derby, and got in about dusk, and found several Friends there, who had procured the county hall, and fitted it up with seats. This evening we had a meeting at the inn with most of the professors in this place, to satisfaction.

"5th, first-day.—Held two large meetings, much to the relief of my mind; a very great crowd attended in the afternoon, and though there was much unsettlement at first, I was

favoured to get along, and the meeting ended well,—Truth being in dominion over lightness.

“6th.—Felt an openness to go into the families of the few professors in this place, and accordingly visited seven or eight families; on the whole my services have yielded solid comfort and peace to my mind, and now the query arises, Lord, what further wouldst thou have me to do?

“7th.—Felt a liberty to move on to Castle Donnington, where we had a religious opportunity in the family of George and Ruth Follows.

“8th.—Went to meeting and a considerable number of the town’s people came in; Ruth Follows opened a door for me to preach the gospel, and it was a tendering opportunity towards the close, I hope to satisfaction. After this my mind was turned towards Nottingham, though it appeared like going back again; and we arrived there a little after night.

“9th.—Went to meeting in a low condition and sat long in silence, but towards the close had some very close things to say, and afterwards encouragement and consolation to the widows and fatherless, and exercised ones.

“10th.—I took a lonely walk in the park back of the castle and dropt a silent tear, and was comforted in being thus alone, and yet not altogether alone, for I remembered with sweetness this passage, ‘thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and who trembleth at my word.’ O how sweet is retirement; here I remembered the many lonely and deeply exercising times I had when walking near Tottenham; and also some of the walks on Uxbridge common; how my way was hedged up at times, and at others, some sweet moments in submitting to the dispensation of an all-wise Providence, and yielding up my will to the trying prospects that frequently presented. In my lonely walk this morning my soul bowed in prostration, and begged for preservation to the end of this pilgrim journey, and was favoured in some degree to see the good land afar off.

“12th, first-day.—This meeting was a singular one—my heart was much enlarged to divers states, and I had to reason with some concerning righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. It was a tendering meeting, and a Friend told me that a youth said, he could not attend to business after meeting on fifth-day last, he was so affected. The Lord have the praise of his own work. To afternoon meeting at half past two o’clock, which was pretty much filled up with strangers, I thought of a serious class, and it proved a satisfactory time.

“15th.—Attended the meeting at Mansfield, and had a pretty open time, and on the 16th, was at meeting at Sutton, where considerable tenderness and solidity appeared. Thomas Kirksham, who had been a priest, and was well acquainted with Friends’ principles, seeing there was room in the house, sent for his scholars, and when they came in, my heart seemed moved within me in love towards them. The goodly master rejoiced particularly on seeing one of the wildest boys much reached and tendered. The meeting was a comfortable strengthening one to me, and in the close I prostrated myself in prayer. William Fox told me there was an atheist at Derby meeting, who said there must have been something supernatural attending such a discourse as was delivered there. I presume it is the same one who said he did not think it possible to be so reached by the ministry of any man. ‘Rejoice not, says our Saviour, in that the devils are made subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven.’ May the Lord have the praise, and man’s mouth be laid in the dust, as mine often is.

“17th.—To a very large meeting held in a malt-house; it was supposed that not much short of two thousand people were present, and it was an open, solid and satisfactory time, of much enlargement to me; several persons on coming out expressed their satisfaction, and blessed me in their way; but the Lord have the praise who helped me much.

“18th.—In our ride to Litchfield to day, we saw the place where George Fox was born.

“19th, first-day.—Went to a meeting in a dissenters’ meeting-house; Friends had it cleaned out and fitted up with seats very commodiously. The people were slow and long in gathering, but it was a pretty thorough time, in which I had to mention the remarkable circumstance of George Fox’s going through their market place. Dined at the inn with upwards of thirty Friends, and had a singularly tendering opportunity with them, opening the importance of their setting a good example in trade, dealing, &c., after which I felt easy to proceed to Sutton, and then to Birmingham. This was a sweet and pleasant ride to me, and I received a full reward at the hands of my Lord and Master, for labouring to fulfil my duty in going the late round, ending at Litchfield.

“22nd.—Attended a meeting appointed about a mile and a half out of town, which was large, some of the principal inhabitants being at it, and it proved an open and relieving time, several subjects being treated on, and I trust a solemn alarm sounded. I had

to tell them, that however some in our Society were as a stink in the nostrils of God and man in consequence of their evil conduct, yet there would be a gathering to this people, for the Lord had raised them up to bear testimony to his truth, and would support them.

"23rd.—We set off after seven o'clock, in a post chaise, and passing through Stratford on Avon and Skipton, arrived at Chipping Norton, and went to William Watkins', where we found Friends had not appointed a meeting, it being "fair-day," and they had held their week-day meeting to-day on this account. The thought struck my mind rather singularly on coming into the town, whether a meeting had been appointed, and I thought if Friends had not done so, that the prospect was likely to be taken away, and so it proved; for on hearing they had put it off until they saw me, I felt easy to pass on.

"24th.—We got into Oxford about four o'clock, and being unable to procure the town hall for a meeting, or any place sufficiently large, felt easy to go to High Wycombe, where we arrived on the 25th.

"26th, first-day.—Attended meeting and it was a refreshing time of encouragement. I was glad once more to sit quietly for a season amongst a little company of Friends; after which, both Mary Pryor and I had religious communication, and considerable brokenness appeared.

"29th.—Went to a meeting held in the town hall at Aylesbury, which was pretty much filled up with people of several descriptions: Mary Pryor opened the service in a short testimony, which had a tendency to quiet the meeting, and I thought it right to avail myself of the opportunity, before any unsettlement again took place; so I stood up in a state of weakness with the words of the most High through the prophet, 'Behold I will send for many fishers, saith the Lord, and they shall fish them; and I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them, from every mountain and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks.' It was a very laborious, trying time, and I did not feel that relief and comfort which I have done in some that are over; however, there were, I hope, some tender minds; in the fore part of my testimony I was led to open the state of a true gospel minister; and I heard afterward that several priests were present. After dinner we rode to Ayrsham, which was a mournful ride to me—the land lies open and dreary in these parts and without fences, so also are the minds of many of the people.

"30th.—Feeling no opening this morning to appoint a public meeting, I attended the week-day meeting, which was a quiet com-

fortable time, and I hope I was in the way of my duty: after dinner went to Uxbridge, accompanied by William Hull. I have felt myself little and solitary to-day. My labours since leaving this place several months ago, though they were heavy in the north, yet yielded me peace; and now they appear like a dream. O what sorrowful moments, may I not say hours, have I passed at Uxbridge, and now am again here, a poor, helpless servant; unless my Master is pleased again to give forth the word of command, and freshly anoint and appoint me to his service. I desire to trust in the Lord, who has been my helper hitherto, and endeavour to do my allotted duty, that so I may be favoured to dwell in the land of spiritual life, and be fed with food convenient for me. It has been a dull time with me of late—what next—and where next? is the language of my soul. Is a further baptism necessary to fit me for further labour? O the mystery of that way in which a true gospel minister is led and fed. I hope that at least I desire to be still rightly led about and instructed.

"Twelfth month 3rd, first-day.—To meeting in very great strippedness and poverty; and got some relief by unfolding some of my prospects in a close line.

From a letter received from his friend David Brooks, of North Carolina, dated twelfth month, 1797, to whom he looked up as a father in the truth, the following extracts are taken, viz:

"I received thy cordial letter, dated first month 31st, 1797,—I had then obtained a certificate to come northward, and was just coming out of the furnace. I am now at Baltimore, and there appearing a favourable conveyance, I felt free to inform thee, that through mercy I am yet in the body, and moving about in the exercise of my small gift. This town has lately been visited [with the yellow fever] by Him who remains to be terrible in judgment as well as glorious in holiness, and fearful in praises. I meet with a remnant in my passing up and down, with whom I have sweet fellowship, and sometimes can join them in weeping, as between the porch and the altar, under a painful sense of the poor, languishing state of the church, with a mental prayer, that the Lord may yet pity his people and spare his heritage. I am often led down into suffering with the pure seed which lies under oppression, and have to speak a word of comfort to the mourners. Dear Charity Cook, I expect, is by this time on that island, [Great Britain] and if thou meetest her remember my kind love to her, and let her know she has had my sympathy.

Dear friend, the length of time, and the distance of the way we are separated, only serves to strengthen the bond of gospel love, in a measure of which I salute thee, with desires that we may always wait at wisdom's gate to feel the fire burn, and the offering prepared and sanctified: for the main-spring that moves every thing into action which meets with the approbation of the great Shepherd, who bled for the flock, is in many places very low and weak; and we well know that nothing but the genuine product of his own spirit can ever promote his glorious cause, in which I trust we have embarked. Many in our land remember thee with great sweetness. Thy letter was seasonable and comforting to me, coming at a time when I was ready to cry out in the bitterness of my spirit as Elisha did, when he returned from following his master, who was taken up in the chariot of fire, and smote the water with the mantle and cried out, 'Where is the Lord God of Elijah?' Where is that power which cut Rahab and wounded the dragon, and caused the prophet Habakkuk to tremble, and his lips to quiver? Glory be to Israel's King forever, our trials are often sanctified to our growth and experience in the truth: farewell—approve thyself to be a workman in the holy building, that needeth not to be ashamed."

"4th.—I felt easy to go to Tottenham this morning, and found T. H. better. In the evening a religious opportunity occurred in his sick chamber, in which it seemed to me his removal would not be sudden, and I thought there was yet some further work for him to do, which I expressed.

"6th.—This morning I could not help giving vent to my tears, both in my chamber and after coming down stairs, and got a little relief. These things appear too mighty for me; and really I fear sinking into such a low spot as to think too little of past labours and services; for surely I must have been helped with a little help from on high, to go through what has been my lot of late months. O, I could fall prostrate and say, Lord forgive, sanctify and help me over my difficulties. 'Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement, I will not offend any more.' 'That which I see not teach thou me, and if I have done iniquity I will do so no more.' But ah! who can adopt the last expressions? it is the Lord alone who can enable any to do it.

"7th.—Went to the monthly meeting at Tottenham, and to my admiration I felt an opening to religious communication. The meeting for business was truly a very distressing one; duty neglected brings poverty,

and what is worse, death. I hope I laboured honestly.

"8th.—A wakeful and thoughtful night, and I scattered my tears this morning: when I look on the right and left, and forward, it seems as if both Friends and the people at large, are wrapt in a thick cloud that I cannot come at them, as to any religious service, and the weight of oppression that lays upon me is great. I endeavour to be cheerful at times, and do not show much of my feelings to others, and yet am ready often to say, what shall I do? 'I am oppressed; I am distressed; O Lord leave me not, but condescend to wash and cleanse, and undertake for me.' 'Give ear to my prayer, O God, and hide not thyself from my supplication. Attend unto me and hear me—I mourn in my complaint, and make a noise, because of the voice of the enemy; because of the oppression of the wicked: for they cast iniquity upon me, and in wrath they hate me. My heart is sore pained within me, and the terrors of death are fallen upon me; fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me.'

"9th.—Took a lonely walk after breakfast, and on hearing that the vicar of Tottenham is ill, I could not be easy without calling to see him. His wife came down stairs, and was much agitated and affected. I told her that hearing of her husband's illness, I felt love towards him, and could not be easy without calling in, and wished to see him, if it was agreeable. She went up, and after awhile returned, and excused my seeing him at this time, but wished me to call to-morrow. I told her I felt a motion of love in my heart, and found it right to attend to such intimations, and if I felt the same concern I should call again, and so came away. I felt a degree of sweetness attending this manifestation of duty, although in the cross: on returning I met Joseph Bevan and R. Chester, the latter I informed of a prospect that had been at times on my mind to go to Hartford, and have a public meeting; and that I thought of going to-morrow.

"10th, first-day.—How can I describe the pangs of exercise and conflict that I felt last night. When I awoke I thought I would endeavour as much as possible to forget and leave the things that are behind, and felt a little more composed. Went to meeting under exercise, much humbled, and again had a very close and searching testimony to bear. I was glad to feel the stirrings of life even in this trying way; and afterwards prostrated in prayer for forgiveness of sins, and for the blessing of preservation. O that more in the meeting had felt as I did! Before dinner I could not feel easy without offering another

visit to the parson near Thomas Horne's, whom I went to see yesterday, and had not admittance, but now went up into his room, and told him what was on my mind; he received the visit kindly, and I felt peace. After dinner got to Hartford about five o'clock, and got through the meeting there to satisfaction; and laid down more comfortable.

"11th, second-day.—I hope I can say my soul was humbled on waking this morning, and desirous of renewing my covenant with my God. After a while company came in, but I felt as though I could retire alone and prostrate myself, rather than be in company.

"12th.—A stormy, rainy morning, and my eyes are not open to see the way I am to go, and have been labouring after contentment. Through favour I have a more quiet mind. O what a lesson to learn, Thy will be done. It was the subject of my communication on first-day evening amongst the people, and may I be favoured more and more to learn it myself; then I humbly trust my bonds will break, and my chains be loosened in due time. A number of Friends came and drank tea with us. I sat with them in silent conflict and sorrow. I was glad to retire, and spent the remainder of the evening in reading Wm. Penn's works, which were sweet to my taste; and had also some religious conversation with the son of this family.

"13th.—'Who is so blind as thy servant?' if I am one of these, it is my duty surely to be content; for what greater honour can be paid to a master than submitting to his will in all dispensations. Went to the week-day meeting, where I begged for condescending mercy, that all my giving way, or flinching in my trials, even in thought, might be forgiven; and when it appeared nearly time to break up, I feared to leave the meeting without telling them that my soul had been let down into the deeps, and that I had seen a time when husband would have to take leave of wife, and wife of husband; a time such as that spoken of formerly, 'Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not;' and I called on the youth to renew their covenants with the Lord. I remembered also, and told them, what an enlarged, open time it was to me, the first meeting I was at in this place, and that I did believe there was then present a precious seed, that the good Master saw meet should be visited; and now had to call some to mourning, as the true way to a state of rejoicing. When I sat down it appeared as if a little shower or cloud had emptied itself; so much tenderness appeared. I hope some were baptized, and I left the meeting more lightsome and easy. Dined at Robert Manners'; and the way seemed to open to move

on to Chelmsford. O the very deep plunge my poor soul had there when visiting Essex, and I think it is the only place where I had not a public meeting; but I sat the meetings on first-day morning and afternoon in silence. O Lord, may I still entertain a hope that it is thy wisdom and power that is leading me about and instructing me; my soul craves ability to look up to thee, and if thou ordainest yet greater trials of my faith and patience, grant thy servant strength to say, Thy will be done.

"14th, fifth-day.—Set off early this morning, accompanied by M. Phillips and James Brown, to Chelmsford. Went round by Waltham Abbey and Epping, and found the waters very high; passed by one house on the way to Epping surrounded by water. Reached Chelmsford between three and four o'clock, where we stopt at Robert Greenwood's, and I desired Friends to be sent for; several came, and I told them my wish to have a meeting in the morning at ten o'clock, to which they made objections, saying it was market day. After night, several country Friends came in, with some others, and began to talk again about the meeting, which I found they had not begun to invite to, except one young man, who willingly engaged in it, and had rode seven miles out and back to inform a family. I was told that it was not likely the people would come, and there was a fear that Friends would not, but if I was not easy to have a meeting after market, in the afternoon, they would try, but the neighbours were not very free to come, &c. This cast a damp on my prospect, and after sitting some time in silent thought and conflict, I told them the prospect had left me, and I must wait until morning, and so we broke up.

"15th, sixth-day.—After breakfast I felt easy to move on, and got to the ferry opposite Gravesend, twenty-three miles, about three o'clock, but could not get over until night, and then rode seven miles to Rochester. Lodged at Dr. Cowper's, who with his wife and sister received us kindly.

"16th.—Yesterday I had thoughts of going to some further meetings, but now it closed up.

"17th, first-day.—Sat both meetings in silent conflict. In the evening went to William Rickman's and drank tea,—soon after which I felt a little to communicate to a state among the youth present, as I apprehended, and whilst I was trying to get the little company still, others came in, and had like to have prevented me; however, I measurably relieved my mind, and then went into the school room, and had a pretty full time with the boys. I ventured also to kneel down and pray for the raising up and sending forth of labourers, even from amongst them, to lands

afar off, afterwards had a comfortable time with a few young people.

"19th.—Went to William Rickman's and spent some time; after which took a walk for health. I also went to see several persons, and at some of the places had religious opportunities. In the evening my mind became exercised to speak to the company, and I was much turned towards the doctor's assistant, a gay, but apparently a goodly young man.

"20th.—Very stript and poor, and I have need to exercise the little faith and patience left. I dined at home, and took a lonely walk along the river. O the oppression and death that I felt.

"21st.—I concluded to set off this morning for London; when I drew near and was entering it, language fails to express the pangs of my travelling soul. 'Who shall dwell with devouring fire? Who shall dwell with everlasting burning?' I remembered what the royal Psalmist says; 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.' And at times of late I have been ready to query in myself, is there such a thing possible as to live without faith and without hope? Surely when the latter is deferred it makes the heart sick. Shall I ever more be favoured to witness the annexed part, 'When the desire cometh it is as a tree of life.' I seem as if I knew not what to ask for, without it is patience to bear all, and yet to hope all things. O may a poor, tried creature say, will it not be better to lay down the life of this body, for many spiritual deaths have been my portion, than to live to dishonour the noble and eternal truth of God, which my soul has espoused. Lord, do according to thy wisdom and mercy; and O that thou would be pleased to enable me to finish thy work, and if more suffering be allotted, that it may be for the seed's sake; and preserve thy servant, O God.

"24th.—Went to the burial of Foster Reynolds, and I do not remember when I felt more free from this load of oppression and death, that has so much pressed upon me, than on the road this morning. I felt a living motion in the meeting, and rejoiced in it, to minister in a very close manner; and after G. Dillwyn had also been engaged, I bent in supplication. After dinner had a singular, and I trust, profitable opportunity with the children and other relations at the house of the widow. Some sweetness has been infused in my bitter cup, and I receive it with gratitude and thankfulness, at my Lord and Master's hand, and beg for becoming patience to bear all things, and hope all things in time to come. I feel an awful calm and solemnity now in being alone. O sweet resignation! what a favour to receive the counsel of God.

"25th.—Rode to London with Thomas Shillitoe, and got there in time to attend the select quarterly meeting. I felt a sweet calm and composure on the way, and was very closely exercised in the meeting; and yet cannot say I felt fully relieved, although pretty comfortable. Went home with my kind friends, John and Tabitha Bevan, and after dinner had an encouraging, open time in communication, especially to the children. O how desirable to be guided in the midst of the paths of judgment and truth. I have my fears, and may they beget a care, and preserve in it.

"26th.—To the quarterly meeting, and both in the first and second meetings I had close and searching things to deliver. O my Lord and Master, thou favouredst me a few evenings ago with a precious calm, and the opening of vision again, in which moment my soul revered thy name; and thou gavest me boldness and assurance to plead thy cause once more this day, giving me to see thou hadst not forsaken me, in which my soul rejoiced. O continue the blessing of preservation, and open the way further to labour in this land, if it be thy will, that I may experience peace in the end. My beloved friend S. H. came into the men's meeting and spread a concern before us to have a meeting appointed for the youth to-morrow at ten o'clock, which was united with, and afterwards prayed for us; the Lord answer the petition.

"27th.—On awaking, and before leaving my chamber, my prayer was for preservation and help this day. Went to the youths' meeting, which was large, and the Friend who was concerned to appoint it, was largely opened for a stripping, and favoured, I trust, with sweet peace in an honest discharge of duty—a share also fell on me, with a few expressions also from several of the youth, and I hope and trust it was a solid, instructive time. If it is thy blessed will, O Lord, again to exercise thy servant, gird him about with strength sufficient for the day; for thou hast enabled me to set up my Ebenezer once more this day, in a public manner.

"28th.—This morning a prospect of duty was renewed to hold a public meeting in the evening at Westminster. I went, accompanied by Joseph Smith, and sat with them in their week-day meeting: G. D. and S. Fairbank were there, and it was a season of encouragement to the weary travellers. The meeting in Westminster meeting house was large, and I thought but a low, laborious time; I could not be easy without inviting the people to come and set with us on first-day morning next.

"29th.—To Clerkenwell meeting for the

school children. Here, as often before, I felt openness and some enlargement, and hope my confidence was renewed, and also a willingness to trust my divine Master in the future steppings along in life, to dispense whatever may be consistent with his will and pleasure; if I may but be accounted worthy rightly to suffer, and with humility and fear to rejoice. Appointed a meeting to be held here this evening. Went and dined with Joseph Savory's daughters, and believe I was in my place, having a tendering, and I hope, an instructive time with them. A large meeting at six o'clock, and it was an exercising, laborious time, but Friends thought truth gained the victory; the people were quiet at the close, and departed so.

"31st, first-day.—I am going to Westminster meeting, having invited the people to come and sit with me. O for sustaining help to part with my own will, and be given up to the divine disposal. The meeting was pretty large, and a solid time; and I invited them to come again, not to hear preaching, for I told them I could not do that; but such as were free to come at six o'clock in the evening, it would be pleasant to see. Dined at A. Fothergill's, and afterwards had a religious opportunity. The meeting was held long in silence, and was thought to be a solemn one; and towards the close, a time of instruction in religious communication, and the people departed very quietly and solid.

"1798, first month 1st, second day.—Had a refreshing night's sleep, and feel a quiet mind this morning, though nothing presents as a religious requiring. Here is the beginning of another year; and O if my life is preserved through it, that it may be spent to the honour and glory of my heavenly Master, Christ Jesus my Lord. Came to Joseph Smith's and heard that John Wright yesterday fell from his horse dead. He was at the burial of Foster Reynolds last first-day week, where I had to sound a solemn warning to prepare for death, and in a particular manner to the aged.

"3rd.—Went to Gracechurch street meeting low and poor, but had an arousing testimony to bear to some, and encouragement to hand to others.

"4th.—Feeling a desire to go to Ratcliff, I gave up to it, and dear Joseph Smith went with me. I dropt my tears in exercise, not only on my own account, but for others, and bent in supplication, and afterwards my line of communication was singular. O gracious Lord fulfill thy purposes in thy own way and time, and keep thy servant from falling or letting go his faith in thy all-sufficient power and love. Returned home and spent part of

the evening in reading C. Phillips' journal to my kind landlady, and feel rather lightened of my burden.

"5th, sixth-day.—Attended the meeting for sufferings, and it was evident that earthly wisdom prevailed; may it not be exalted over heavenly: and yet in the midst, my mind for a small space was favoured with a comfortable calm, and I saw that a purging time must and would overtake this part of the family. O how my soul longs, and has done so before in this city, that ancient simplicity and solidity might be restored.

"6th.—My prospects of public meetings closed with the last on first-day evening; and it is some encouragement to find that the labour in that was not as water spilt on a stone. A man who sat in the gallery, and for a time was noisy and unruly, went away thoughtful. He had been a great swearer, but has not been heard to use an oath since. In the beginning of the meeting two other men were light and airy, talking, &c., but before it closed tears flowed from one of them, and others expressed their satisfaction with the meeting, and admiration at the long solemn silence. The works of the Lord are indeed wonderful and hidden;—Lord, condescend to continue to be the keeper of thy servant, and open the way, in thy way and time, and grant me patience to wait for it.

"7th, first-day.—I felt very poor and empty on getting up this morning, but hope I was favoured with a right qualification of mind to beg for help; 'Give us this day our daily bread.' Attended Devonshire house meeting, accompanied by Joseph Smith, which was an open time, and I requested Friends to invite their neighbours. A number came in the afternoon, and I had another open opportunity, and appointed a meeting for strangers on third-day evening at six o'clock.

"9th.—I went to Devonshire house week-day meeting, which was a favoured time. In the evening at six o'clock, attended a large meeting of other societies held there; the house was full, or nearly so, and I got through to my own peace and satisfaction. M. Stacey and Margaret Allen, were fellow labourers with me.

"10th.—I went this morning to Peel meeting, and it was a sweet, contemplative season in silence, wherein my faith was renewed.

"11th.—To Tottenham monthly meeting, held at Waltham Abbey, where Ann Christy came with a minute to visit the families of Friends, and S. Horne and S. Fairbank laid a concern to go into the counties of Kent, Surry and Hampshire, which was united with.

"12th.—Had a quiet and pretty comfortable time at the Peel meeting, but nothing further

presented with respect to public meetings. I was in degree astonished on looking over the exercises I have passed through in the course of one month: 'I will lead the blind by a way which they know not, and in paths they have not seen.' Surely this has been my case—I endeavoured to pursue my journey into some counties the other side of London, but found I must turn back, and have been convinced of being in my place. O for protection and help against the adversary, and to stand prepared for further openings of duty. The washing pool and furnace are necessary for such a poor thing as I am, and I think I need them frequently.

"14th, first-day.—I thought it right to go to the Peel meeting, where I had a close testimony to deliver. I thought I was a poor creature, but these expressions impressed my mind soon after sitting down in meeting; 'Let us search and try our ways,' &c., and felt a willingness for mine to be so, and endeavoured to examine my own account, and before the meeting closed was engaged to put others in remembrance thereof, believing that the accounts of some present were not in readiness, either inwardly or outwardly, who were too much glued to the world; and though they loved to hear words, yet it was not pleasant to be searched. The afternoon meeting was nearly silent.

"16th.—Went to Devonshire house meeting, and soon after sitting down my mind became calm and comfortable. I was concerned to labour in an encouraging line, to my own comfort, and I hope that of others, particularly the youth.

"17th.—I went to the Peel meeting, desirous to be in the way of duty, and if any thing should open towards inviting the people at large, I felt resigned. It was silent, and my way closed up.

"18th.—Went to Ratcliff, which was a small meeting, and I had to persuade some to more faithfulness in little things. Went to T. H.'s and dined, and had a serious opportunity with him and wife. I hope and trust he is growing in the root under deep exercise. O may he be kept under it the Lord's time, and may his companion give up to be his helper.

"19th.—To meeting for sufferings. I thought there was a sweetness and solemnity spread in the gathering, and silent fore part; but it was not preserved and kept to. I found a time near the close to relieve my mind, and it opened a door for J. G. Bevan and George Dillwyn to do the same, and we were favoured in the close; for which I was thankful.

"21st, first-day.—To Devonshire house meeting, which was pretty much crowded by many strangers, and proved an open enlarged

opportunity; several came and spoke tenderly and affectionately to me after meeting, and one pretty finely dressed but goodly man, taking me by the hand, said; 'the Lord send forth more such preachers and prosper his work:' may it be so say I also, for the praise belongs to him. The afternoon meeting was put off to three o'clock—many people came again, and much labour fell on me, to the spending of my strength and voice. In the evening I was informed that dear Mary Horne died about two o'clock.

"22nd.—A pretty comfortable night's sleep; and on waking, my thoughts were soon turned to my afflicted Tottenham friends, and hearing of an opportunity to go and see them, I embraced it; nothing opening in London, I have concluded to stay, my voice being much gone by yesterday's exertions in part, and with the remains of a cold.

"23rd.—Had a wakeful tossing night; doubts and fears accompanying my weakness and infirmities, and I feared some of them prevailed too much, for which I was much abased. Had an opportunity with the surviving parent and all the children after dinner, but in much weakness, and I could hardly speak.

"24th.—Tears were my meat this morning on rising from my bed, with strong cries; clouds of distress gather about me, and nothing short of omnipotent help can preserve me to the end. O how empty and poor I feel; yes, such was my exercise, that I was ready to look on myself as vile, and yet I may not reproach or reflect on my Divine Master. Silence, then, ye troubling thoughts, and may my soul possess a calm, more so than has frequently of late been experienced, and be found yet a learner in the school of Christ, which only fits for gospel ministry. I spent a part of this evening in reading a work, wherein I found this remark on a passage of scripture, that took my attention; 'Then did they spit in his face and buffeted him; and others smote him with the palms of their hands;' Matthew xxvi. 67. This is incontestable truth; he who is now sitting at the right hand of God; he whom all the angels adore; he who could say, 'behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness; I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering,' Isaiah l. 3, 4, fulfills the words of an ancient prophecy; 'I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting.' 'He whose name is unutterable, suffered himself to be ill treated, in the most shameful agonizing and disgusting manner, by the meanest wretches, and he was silent: no ray of his

omnipotence struck his creatures dead. He concealed the power which created worlds. What feelings suffice to adore in a proper manner the greatness of that divine virtue.' I admire at the way in which I go shut up here from day to day. My voice is much gone in consequence of a cold, and exertion of late in speaking. When I examine and look back, I cannot find that my mind has shrunk or turned away from revealed duty, and yet what fears and cares accompany me lest the truth should be evilly spoken of by my means. This family is in a state of mourning, and I am comforted and instructed in seeing and feeling such quiet, and such tenderness manifested to the surviving parent, who is preserved calm, and I hope resigned to his allotment. O may the Lord prepare to open the way for me a poor servant, and grant me a sufficient portion of faith and patience to endure what may yet be to come.

"25th.—My cold and sore throat are better, and I feel measurably resigned to my present state; nothing opens but to attend week-day meeting here to day, and wait to accompany the remains of my friend to the meeting on first-day next. In her life time she owned me for a child, and as a mother sympathized with me under my trials, and her memory is precious. O that all her children may walk in the truth, and in the end of time close their days in peace.

"26th.—I spent my time to day in extracting some parts of holy scripture. Afterwards walked in the garden for health and meditation; I thought if there is nothing in such stops as this, surely then my faith and hope in the divine arm are vain: I cannot, I dare not, give up to believe so. O then grant me patience, with all other necessary virtues to endure; for thou only, O Lord, canst turn my wilderness into a fruitful field at thy pleasure.

"27th.—One word dropt last evening was an affliction to me. If for every idle word which man shall speak he must give an account, how awful is the reckoning. O that I could arrive at a more fixed habit of righteousness and purity of heart; for blessed are such, they shall enjoy greater union and communion with God. What are words or such memorandums as these, but as mementos to look back at. They are made in much simplicity, sometimes, it may be frequently, not remembering what passed yesterday, or not looking back to ascertain. I desire to be more industrious, and improve the time in these stops from travelling and ministerial labour. Singular indeed have been the stops and stays I have experienced in this land, and

even in this house. O Lord, break or loosen the chain that has held me; not in my time and will, but in thine; and preserve my poor soul from sinking under the temptations, conflicts and trials that have so long been permitted to assail. O Fountain of mercy and life, didst thou not enable thy servant when leaving that comfortable dwelling thou affordest me, parent, wife and children, and all, to follow thee whithersoever thou mightest be pleased to lead, and into what thou might be pleased to appoint—O then forsake me not.

"28th, first-day.—I rose with more calmness than some times of late. After breakfast walked the garden until some of the relations came to attend the burial; I followed the remains of the deceased to Tottenham meeting, where my mind was exercised and impressed with weight which soon ripened into duty, after sitting down amongst a large company. The language of our Saviour to those who did not understand what the woman was doing in anointing his head with the precious ointment, was presented as the subject to begin with, viz; 'Why trouble ye the woman, for she hath wrought a good work upon me. For in that she poured the ointment on my body, she did it for my burial.' What a small service is acceptable when performed in sincerity, though at the same time with a trembling hand and heart. I saw no opening after meeting to go to the ground in Southwark, but returned home, where I found the husband and daughter Martha.

"29th.—A great favour I thought to feel so quiet and such a degree of renewed comfort extended; my mind was gathered into a calm this morning. I record it as a favour thus to feel, and yet do I not fall short of that resignation which receives all dispensations with becoming cheerfulness at the hand of the Lord. O, I hope, I trust, my soul has been secretly supported above murmuring or repining, though it is trying to walk in darkness and see but little light. Praise the Lord, O my soul, through all, and forget not the benefits bestowed. As I walked the garden after breakfast, a prospect was renewed which had fastened on my mind in a time of prostration in my chamber, viz. to join company with those females (S. H. and S. F.) and begin where they left off some weeks ago, and lay the prospect before J. B. to accompany me. My heart leaped for joy within me in the prospect of a way opening into further labour, because he that laboureth, or reapeth, receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto everlasting life. May my soul delight in doing the Lord's work so long as strength and faculties permit, and until the great Lord of the harvest may be pleased to say it is enough.

"30th.—The same prospect opened as yesterday morning on rising, and I left my chamber more cheerful. My soul craves preservation through all, and that I may not be permitted to mar the work. Went to town, and on going to Devonshire house meeting, found my friend and neighbour, William Savery, there. It was a silent meeting—went with him to J. Savory's and dined.

"31st.—To Grace-church street meeting; dear George Dillwyn, I thought, had a sweet time, and I ventured to prostrate myself in prayer, and my faith was renewed.

"Second month 1st.—Felt content at home, when I received letters from my dear wife and mother. They were of an old date, but enclosed in one from my son, dated first month 1st, acceptable tokens of remembrance. In the afternoon accompanied by J. Smith, went to the burial of the widow Perry, and had to hand forth a little in much weakness.

"4th, first-day.—Went to Grace-church street meeting, and again was exercised in a very close testimony to the great and gay, &c.; after afternoon meeting, in which I was silent, went to a burial in Bunhill Fields, and felt an exercise while standing at the grave to address the children, a number of whom were there.

"5th.—Much exercised this morning whether to go with George Dillwyn to Chelmsford, &c., or move on towards Rochester with S. H. and S. F. After a time of conflict and going through a little piece of mortifying service, though there was but little time to get ready, yet by setting about it in earnest I soon accomplished it, and set off about two o'clock with them and William Forster, and got into Rochester between nine and ten o'clock, a distance of thirty miles. I put up at my old quarters, Dr. Cowper's, and the women at William Rickman's; still under much exercise and depression of mind.

"6th.—Attended the monthly meeting, and my two friends I thought spoke to the state of the meeting, and it was my lot again to sit in silent conflict, but before the business was concluded I laboured amongst the men.

"7th.—Our women inclining to go to the week-day meeting at Canterbury, and two chaises being provided, I drove one and Richard Weston the other; we had a very fine warm day, and got to William Elgar's a little after night, and were kindly received.

"8th.—Was favoured with a degree of sweet calm in the morning before I rose. Attended the week-day meeting, which was very small, and I laboured among them in poverty as well as I could. S. F. had a short testimony, and S. H. closed in prayer. I hope it was a meeting to some profit, or may prove

so in days to come, if the fault is not their own; returned to our quarters and dined.

"9th.—Rode back to Rochester twenty-six miles, and soon after arriving John Bevan came, in order to accompany me. In the evening dropt into silence, in which I ventured to labour amongst the company, and in particular, was turned toward a young married couple. Ah! how very poor and stript I feel of later days, and admire that any good thing should arise out of it.

"11th.—Sat the morning meeting silent; my two sisters laboured in a close manner, but I sat in usual poverty. Dined at William Cooper's, and afterwards we all stopt in to see T. White and daughter, and my mind was so clothed with sympathy as not to be easy without expressing it. Soon after I sat down in the afternoon meeting, a thought impressed me, that perhaps I might soon be enabled to relieve my mind amongst Friends, and then desire them to go to the dock yard and invite the people there, and others to come; but I had to conflict with my exercise a considerable time. O how my own infirmity came up and stared me in the face, and it was hard work to get at any thing. At last I ventured to labour, and that in a close line for the most part, with some encouragement to the visited ones; and also with the children: this meeting held late. Drank tea at R. Horsnail, Jr.'s, and afterwards went to the school, where I had some communication to the boys; but that which gave me most ease of mind, was what I had afterwards to say to the female servants in the family, who came and sat with us, together with a tender young person who keeps shop for William Horsnail. O Lord, if it is thy will that I should go on further, be pleased to accompany me and bear up my mind, and preserve it subjectly given up to thy will, through what is yet to be met with. O that of living without carefulness, as the lilies of the field grow, and to depend on Him who feeds the ravens: what greater blessing! I sometimes endeavour to encourage others so to do, and yet how poor and feeble in my own particular.

"12th.—Set off about seven o'clock, and put up at William Marsh's at Folkstone, soon after which, came in Joseph Elgar, his sister, and several others, with whom I had a religious opportunity,—pretty open.

"13th.—To the monthly meeting, in which my mind was opened and enlarged in testimony, and found work also in the business part, I hope to some profit. In the evening had one for the neighbourhood, which was largely attended; and after sitting about two hours in silence, I stood up in weakness and poverty and laboured amongst them.

"14th.—Friends were so kind as to send us to Dover in a post chaise. After dining at Richard Baker's, a number of us took a walk along the sea shore as far as the castle, &c. I feel poor and oppressed, although I am in a sweet family and comfortable as to them. How often is this language uppermost, and is it not necessary for me: 'Wash me in the laver of regeneration.'

"15th.—I have a pleasant lodging room next the sea, and some serious reflections impressed my mind this morning. I remembered what S. C. says concerning outward defence and armies; and on mentioning it to my host, he told me he often thought of it. Went to meeting, and I sat in silence nearly or quite two hours; my female friends, Richard Baker and daughter Mary, with William Rickman, all had communications; and at last I stood up with a few expressions, comparing myself to Obadiah, who fed the Lord's prophets in a cave, and my condition seems like going into a cave to visit the honest seed which lies hid. My mind was pretty much opened and enlarged, and the meeting was in a comfortable, solid state, and I hope ended so. Dined at R. Baker's, and felt poorly after dinner. O that I may be preserved worthy to have the divine will accomplished in and by me, in what may yet be to come. My way home in the right time, is what my soul seeks and craves at the divine hand, as has in mercy been granted in former journeys in the land of my nativity."

The following is an extract from a letter to his wife, dated;

"Dover, Second month 16th, 1798.

"My dear,

"The sympathetic feelings expressed in thy last letter were comfortable, and there is yet reason to continue them, as my path still differs from most of my fellow labourers in this land. I went as far north as I could see my way with clearness, and it was admirable to me, that in attending the two quarterly meetings at Kendal and Cockermouth, I felt such enlargement of heart, that it appeared pretty clear to me I should not be required to visit all the particular meetings; and so it turned out. After those meetings were over I felt quite easy to go towards London and its neighbourhood; and with thankfulness I may acknowledge, my way was made prosperous, and in some places I experienced much enlargement; but on approaching the before mentioned place, I thought it seemed like going down again into suffering; and may I not add, into death. My last letter, by Mary Pryor, was written at her house. She was

in London waiting to embark; and while there I experienced a season which, amongst many others passed through, is worthy to be remembered. From thence I passed into Essex, to Chelmsford, thinking to have a meeting there, it being the only place in that county where I omitted having a public meeting when I visited Friends; and here again I missed my aim, and felt easy to move on without it for the present, a little circumstance turning up that put it by. We crossed over the river Thames at Gravesend, and rode after night to Rochester, about seven miles, and about thirty from London, and put up at William Cowper's. I had thoughts of going on to the further end of this county, to places I have lately been at, but my way closed up. I was in a low, exercised state, and remained over their first-day meetings, and until the middle of the week following,—silent in the meetings, and shut up. At length way opened to go back to the great city, into which I entered under a load of conflict, but was kindly received by my dear friends J. and R. Smith. Here I spent several days, and hearing of the burial of Foster Reynolds, about ten miles out of London, my way opened to attend it. The corpse was taken into the meeting-house, and after being shut up, in meeting after meeting, for several days, I was favoured with what I thought rather a powerful opening, to reason with some as Paul did with Felix; and afterwards obtained much relief in an opportunity in the family of the deceased, and felt very calm, with much sweetness of mind in the evening. A few days after came on the quarterly meeting for London, which I felt my mind pressed to attend, and trust I was in my place. Since then I have been carefully feeling my way to appoint public meetings in London, a service which never opened before; and in several places I have been helped through, I trust, so as not to dishonour the cause. Thou wilt find by mine by Mary Pryor, that I had been spending some days at Tottenham, my kind friend T. H. having been, in the apprehension of the family, near death's door. I found him on the recovery, and indeed I did believe he would be restored to his family, and told them my thoughts, but with respect to his dear, weakly wife, it was hid from me. She appeared uncommonly well during his illness, and after that flagged and failed, and slipped away almost at unawares from them, but I trust as a shock of corn fully ripe. She was a sympathizer with me in my exercises, and I loved her; and it fell to my lot to be at her burial, first month 28th.

"I had this prospect of visiting Kent, &c., when at Sheffield, and have made the second attempt to do so. I am now in company with

Susanna Horne and Sarah Fairbank, who had mentioned their prospect to the monthly meeting, of going this journey into the counties of Kent, Sussex and Hampshire, before the decease of Mary Horne. We have been to several meetings together; and whether I shall go any further than through this county, and then return back to London, I cannot see at present. Things are very low in some places, and my mind is low also, and I have been comparing my state to that of Obadiah, whose work was to feed the prophets in the cave. It is trying work to go as into the earth, and into caves and rocks, but I labour after a qualification daily to say, 'Thy will, and not mine be done.' I have John Bevans, the Friend at whose house I made my home last winter in London, when visiting families, as a companion, who is a valuable elder of Peel meeting. I am now at Richard Baker's at Dover, and while taking a walk before breakfast this morning along the sea coast, I could see the French shore, and my mind was pretty strongly turned towards home, but there is a great sea between us, and so I must try to bound my thoughts, and bear with patience the painful conflicts that will arise. O that it may be with becoming patience, considering that if it is the Lord's will, he can as safely conduct me back, as he brought me here; whose will is our sanctification, and unto whose almighty protection and help I am desirous of commending thee, my dear wife, my aged mother, children, relations and friends, who am thy exercised and oft tried husband,

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

"17th.—I felt in a low state this morning, and saw no opening to move this day. We dined at Deborah Beck's, and had a religious opportunity, in which I had divers things to express to different states, from the aged grandmother, to the grandchild, and was also turned rather particularly to an apprentice. I felt some liberty last evening and this morning, to give some account of my travels in America, with a degree of cheerfulness attending; and I think dear R. Baker is considerably raised out of a very low state, in which we found him. Saw this afternoon a fleet of upwards of one hundred vessels off the harbour, going down the channel.

"18th, first-day.—Bonds and afflictions still continue to await me. I heard yesterday that my friend and brother William Savery is likely to go for Liverpool in less than two weeks, in order to embark for home. I see no opening, and very little ahead in this land, so after endeavouring to lift up my soul in prayer to God, not to be forsaken in the midst of the trials and temptations I have to con-

flict with, and for ability to cast myself on the mighty Helper, whose providence is extended over the whole earth, I arose under exercise; cast down, but I hope not forsaken. Went to the morning and afternoon meetings, and laboured in both, as also did my fellow helpers: spent the evening at home—a number of Friends came in and we had a religious opportunity. My companion told me that there was at meeting on fifth-day last, a person who had been heard to say, that he could make Scripture; and in the course of my communication I made use of the same expression, signifying the possibility of getting into such a depraved state, as to be bold enough not only to deny that good book, but even to speak on this wise. I had to labour to dissuade another from the spirit of war and fighting; he was closely spoken to, and his condition opened. Yesterday was a laborious one, and close work.

"19th.—I have had close exercise in this place, but my little room next the sea has been in degree like the prophet's room. My body has been refreshed, and this morning my mind also, in good degree. After breakfast R. Baker had the two women and I apart, and handed forth some seasonable advice to those young plants to encourage them; and I had a good time on parting, mostly addressed to Richard's wife. We stopt at Sandwich to dine, and arrived at Margate before night.

"20th.—No way opened towards a meeting, so we visited all the members in their houses.

"21st.—Felt so poorly this morning that I thought of lying in bed, but I struggled along, and after breakfast we had a sitting, in which I was engaged in a very close line, and again before we set off, in an encouraging way to three of the widow Newby's children: I felt great relief of mind. The ride of seventeen miles to Canterbury was a sweet one to me. O the works of the Lord are wonderful! Last evening I admired that I could not relieve my mind in the widow's family, and this morning several of the children were cast in my way. So it was with regard to two other states, and they were also brought in my way. When I met with J. N. at the burial of Samuel Spavold, she was in much gaiety, as her sisters now are, and now she appears to be an ornament to society; and I hope her next sister is coming on in her footsteps. Went to Ashford, fifteen miles, and arrived a little after night.

"22nd.—There was but a small company at meeting: I stood up first, and addressed some aged persons present, with desires that they might be ready to give up their account when called for. S. H. had a good time,

much in the same line, and S. F. was concerned in supplication. Afterwards I requested that such as were not members would withdraw, and had something for the younger class; and again desiring a further selection, I got pretty fully relieved. To the meeting this morning came T. F., about thirty years old, who some time after the expiration of his apprenticeship entered into the army, and was disowned by that meeting. He was also with us in the evening, and all of us were favoured to hand forth instructive remarks to him. He put a letter into my hands this morning, from which it appears that he is under great exercise of mind, and says I was favoured to find him out in meeting and in the sitting afterwards. My soul craves that he may be favoured rightly to get through his present conflict, and in days to come make a valuable, useful member of society. Yesterday and last evening I endeavoured to feel my way respecting going into a neighbouring county, remembering the exercise I passed through previous to entering this; but as my divine Master has favoured with evidences of being right so far, I felt encouraged to proceed into Sussex, and this day am pretty comfortable.

"24th.—We set off between eight and nine o'clock, and a more stormy, rainy ride I have not had, I think in this land: put up at Richard Rickman's, Lewes. In the afternoon my prospects were more clouded, but on the whole am pretty comfortable this evening.

"25th, first-day.—Went to meeting and found it was the day on which they hold their preparative meeting, and have no meeting in the afternoon. I have been concerned about the practice of holding such meetings on first-day; however, I thought it right to endeavour to see it out, and as I felt nothing to communicate in the first, I proposed that men and women should sit together, and hear the queries read and answered, as it was previous to quarterly and yearly meetings. I sat pretty quietly until that concerning plainness, &c., came on: the clerk made a modest answer, but one or two whose appearance did not strike me pleasantly, even to the outward eye, proposed that it should be more full, and say, generally careful. I felt much on this occasion, and indeed before, and had to query who there was amongst them that looked like Friends, with more of a very close nature.

"26th.—To breakfast with S. C., and had a sitting with her and two daughters; both our female Friends had a pretty full opportunity, and I had also to address one of them in a few words. To S. R.'s, where S. F. had most of the labour; after the opportunity was over, she said she felt comfortable, &c.; which

afforded me an opportunity to tell her that I wished it was otherwise; for how could any rightly concerned Friend feel comfortable, when the walls and gates of Zion were laid waste, as in this place. To C. S.'s, where much ignorance and rawness appeared; but I was enjoined to be tender, remembering the words of the Apostle, on some having compassion making a difference. To J. R.'s, where we dined, and had an opportunity: the labour fell on my two friends. O the stripped state I have been in to-day; so mournful and heavy that I could have broken away from my company and gone into the fields alone, to pour out my soul."

In a letter addressed to his son, dated second month 27th, 1798, at Lewes, he says:

"I am labouring along in much weakness, and perhaps I may safely add, at seasons in fear and trembling. Things are very low in some places, and I have to go down as into the grave; yet in some others, there has been a happy resurrection into life, and sweet peace, and my soul is thankful for the preservation experienced so far. May thou, my dear son, increase in the increases of thy heavenly Father's love, is the desire of thy father."

"28th.—Went to meeting, where I was shut up in silence. Rode to Brighton to John Glaisyer's,—felt more comfortable on the road. We had a sitting after supper, in which I had considerable to communicate, and felt love to this family, and liberty and ease in it. We walked to see the sea by moonlight, which was a very beautiful sight. This town is situated on the bank near the sea.

"Third month 1st.—We all took a walk before meeting along the sea-side. It was a pensive and mournful one to me: at meeting all of us were silent. Several Friends dined with us, after which I broke away and strolled along the sea coast. O me, what a walk! The Lord hid his face, and my soul was troubled.

"2nd.—I am upwards of three thousand miles from my family, and a wanderer in the fields, to seek relief, by endeavouring to prostrate myself before the Lord. I took a solitary walk before dinner, and felt no opening to go into the families, or to appoint a meeting. How am I wrapt about with darkness and sorrow, and can have little delight in what many, it is to be feared, freely indulge in, at this place so noted for pleasure.

"3rd.—I omitted to mention that last even- we sat in J. G.'s family; he being in the practice of calling them together and sitting down

with them, two evenings in the week. My companions had something to offer, and I was glad of such a quiet opportunity.

"I arose this morning under exercise, and after breakfast set off, accompanied by J. G. and rode to Arundle, twenty miles: put up at the widow Sarah Horne's. I laboured after resignation on the road, having endeavoured to see and feel my way to this place before I set off. May I be favoured to bear with patience the burden that continues on me, until it be removed, for I do not see that I can remove it. 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait, until my change come.' What could afflicted Job do better than to form such a resolution as this. Soon after getting into this place, J. Bevans and J. Glaisyer and I, took a walk along the river, and on our way home went into the castle gate. This is the castle where Mary Penington's first husband was ill, when she went to him. Soon after we got into the yard we met the owner, the duke of Norfolk, who behaved very courteously, and bid his servant show us inside the house, &c. I informed him where I came from, and he took me to see a stuffed moose, which he said came from my country.

"4th, first-day.—A night of labour and some pain. I thought myself a poor creature on awaking, having little or no prospect of being favoured to do any thing this day in a religious way; however, endeavoured to wash and anoint. It was the time of their holding both the meeting of ministers and elders, and also the monthly meeting; the first began at nine o'clock, and held until near eleven; the monthly meeting began at eleven, and held late. There was some opening to labour in both; in the fore part of the second meeting a number of town's people came in, and after S. F. had addressed her fellow professors, I felt my mind drawn forth in love to the others; and as she had mentioned the situation of Naaman, I believed it right to revive it again, and hope to some profit. They behaved solidly, and Friends were desired to stop, both men and women, and I thought S. H. had a good time amongst them. J. Bevans and I also laboured, I hope to some profit, in the business part, and the meeting ended well. Dined at Sarah Horne's with a considerable number of Friends, and was favoured afterwards with a conspicuously baptizing time. This was cause of admiration to me, who for days past have been so wrapt up as in a cloud. O Brighton! shall I soon forget my feelings, my humbling, bitter feelings in thee? Went afterwards with the company to see Tryphena Halloway, a widow near one hundred and two years of age. She had just gone to bed, but we were admitted up to see her, and I was

glad to find so much sensibility, and such a thankful heart for favours received. It was to my admiration, and a treat to me to sit by such a fellow pilgrim so far advanced in age. It is said she well remembers William Penn.

"5th.—Went to Chichester, accompanied by John Glaisyer, where we attended the burial of Mary Heath, who lived in Friends' meeting-house: after the corpse was laid in the ground, Friends retired into the meeting-house, and it was pretty much filled up with people of other societies. Soon after we were gathered, I thought there was a silence and degree of solemnity prevailed, and S. H. appeared in prayer,—S. F. in a lively little testimony. Afterwards much unsettlement appeared, and my mind was plunged very low, perhaps in part on my own account, and partly for the people. When we broke up the meeting, with much feebleness I requested the little company of Friends to stop, and I hope it proved a time of baptism. We dined with James Hack, Sr., and after dinner my mind was again engaged to minister; and I thought if it was a living bud or branch, it sprang up suddenly out of the dry and barren ground. This is a mystery; that I should at times feel, in my own apprehension, so wretched and miserable, loaded with, or surrounded by temptation, and yet be made instrumental to bring others into tears and tenderness. Well, the Lord have the praise of his own work.

"6th.—My heart is measurably thankful. O for sustaining help to carry me through, and bear up my drooping mind over all the conflicts yet to be met with. This one day more may bread sufficient to keep alive, and a little portion of peace be my lot; and O that the same may be the portion of all my companions in labour, and that we may be safely directed in the work we are engaged in, whether to go forward or back, whether to stay together or separate. We went to see all the families in this place, and my mind is more lifted up above my trials than I have experienced for some time past. In some families we had pretty close labour.

"7th.—Went to Brighton to the monthly meeting. On the road I lagged behind, and had a quiet, thoughtful time. It is the day appointed for a general fast, so called, and for humiliation for the sins of the nation; but to me it is a little like the lifting up of the head; I have had many fasting, humbling seasons since coming into this land.

The just are to live by faith: O that I may yet be favoured to live by a measure thereof. Very little pleasant bread have I eaten for three years and upwards, and it is good to be content, well knowing the Almighty can cause a change of feelings at his pleasure; he can

change the dispensation as a water course is turned in a field. O for watchfulness and care in stepping along, that the divine will may be done in and by me, a poor, unworthy servant.

"We got into Brighton before night; put up at J. Glaisyer's.

"8th.—The monthly meeting was very small: I counted about twelve men after the women left. At the close I felt a little matter to arise, and stopped those who were going away; it was staggering work, but a little increase of strength was given me, and there appeared to be an increase of weight: after I had closed S. H. had a pretty good time. Things are very low in this place, and we endeavoured to lend a helping hand.

"9th.—Took a walk to the sea before breakfast and feel refreshed: we proposed setting off for Horsham, but our friend S. H. is poorly. After breakfast felt so much love to spring up towards William Savery, as to induce me to sit down and write to him. Took another lonely walk along Brighton shore, in which my thoughts were turned over the sea, and my soul craves the continuation of the protecting power and providence of God. Man knows not my tried state; and when I view it, I am brought into a degree of trembling, and were it not that the fountain of mercy remains open to wash in, I should fail; but of late I have remembered the promise made me on setting off on this journey as a little inward intimation. The remainder of this day I thought but a broken one. J. G. sat down with his family in the evening, and a number of neighbours came in, but to me there appeared neither dew nor rain.

"10th.—We all set off accompanied by our kind friend J. G. as guide, to Horsham, twenty miles. I seemed refreshed in my body with the ride, but it has been a dull time otherwise, since making the above note on the sea shore.

"11th, first-day.—I fear that I let my tongue go too freely in conversation last evening, considering my state. What need of watchfulness, circumspection and care! I hope my mind has been measurably prostrated this morning. Ah! I should faint and fall if the Lord helped me not secretly. Dare I lift up mine eyes and soul to him? O yes! I must not, dare not, forbear doing so. Attended both meetings, and sat them through in silence: my companions laboured in the morning: I went in a low condition, particularly in the morning, and found there was nothing for me to do. I remembered my parting from my home, and my strippings since, and I wet the floor with my tears. Well, my soul desires to lay hold of the Lord's promise, to be with and support my wife and bless my

children—to help me, even though it may be through the correction of his rod, in this land, hoping and believing that the staff also will not fail in time of need. Drank tea at W. D.'s, where my companions had close communication, and I feared wholly to omit labouring also: came home and felt rather more easy.

"13th.—From Horsham to Ifield, twelve miles; put up at W. T.'s, a baker; both he and his wife are concerned Friends.

"14th.—Walked to Ifield meeting; the select meeting began at nine o'clock, and the monthly meeting at eleven. I found some openness to labour in the first, and also when I sat down in the large meeting-house, my thoughts were turned to look back and remember the state of society in the coming forth of Friends, and afterwards, and I had to mention it. It proved to my admiration a pretty open time. We laboured honestly in the business part, and on the whole felt easy.

"15th.—Set off about ten o'clock, after a sitting with the family where we lodged, and arrived at Brighton before night, having rode twenty-seven miles.

"16th.—Feel much recruited in strength this morning. Our beloved S. H. is poorly, and nursing her cold, which she has been troubled with for some days past. Here we are again at Brighton. We sat with the family in the evening, and I was glad of having a little time of quiet.

"17th.—I took a lonely walk along the sea shore, and from thence up a valley between the hills, and had a pensive, thoughtful time. Humbled in examining my accounts, yet do not feel condemnation, as though any religious service had been omitted.

"18th, first-day.—Many Friends attended the meeting, and it was filled up with others: my way closed up in silence, not of the pleasantest kind. After dinner had an opportunity with some young people, which proved a tendering time. Went to afternoon meeting at three o'clock, and after sitting until I thought it was time to conclude, looking over the meeting and seeing how thickly the people stood, and with what patience and quiet some behaved, though others were light part of the time, my heart yearned towards the goodly ones, and I was not easy without expressing a little, which little made way for more, and I hope it was to profit. The select meeting was held in the evening at seven o'clock. This was a very searching time, and very close expressions escaped my lips.

"19th.—To quarterly meeting, where many strangers attended; in the early part S. H. had some lively communication, and I was ready to conclude it would have fallen on me

to continue the labour, but it died away. Sometime after T. Summer stood up, and after he had closed I wished Friends to go to the business, for my mind seemed pressed down, and I looked to get relief amongst them when more select, which I was favoured to do, though in a very close way, both in the men's and women's meeting, and I trust, towards the close the precious oil was felt to flow, and truth was measurably over all; I was very much relieved, though weary. Came home to dine, and afterwards had several sweet opportunities with Friends who came in. My female companions dined out, but came in to tea, and we had a sitting with the family and others. Dear S. H. had a very enlarged time, and I felt an opening to follow: in this season it was opened to me, that it was likely to be a parting opportunity to us, though at times there has been some glimmering prospect of going with them into Hampshire; but now it looks likely they must try that county by themselves, and perhaps way will be made for me to get relieved from the people at large in Brighton—so be it. This I mentioned apart to S. H., and it is a comfort that her mind is prepared to receive it.

“20th.—Set off this morning with the women Friends and stopped at Thomas Leadbeater's, and had a sweet opportunity in his wife's sick room with her two daughters; love flowed freely. To W. G.'s and dined, and after I had got through my exercise in this convinced family, we had a sweet parting season. Soon after, the women set off for Chichester, and I returned to Brighton, weary with this day's ride, but comfortable in mind.

“21st.—Feel oppressed with a cold this morning, but as my thoughts have been frequently turned toward the inhabitants of this place, we sent for a Friend last night, and consulted about a suitable place for a meeting. A pretty large, convenient house, which had been occupied by the Presbyterians, but not used lately, was thought of, and as some of the members have offered it freely, it has been accepted, and a meeting appointed at six o'clock this evening. Much fatigued most of this day, I expect from yesterday's exertion and having caught cold. I felt so dull and heavy, that though I endeavoured to read, seemed as if I could not understand. Went to the meeting, which was much crowded, and forgot my infirmities, and it proved an open, relieving opportunity. In the close appointed another at the same hour to-morrow evening; returned home and felt pretty well and comfortable, and lay down so. Thanks be rendered to the Lord my helper.

“22nd.—To the week-day meeting, where

some few neighbours came in, and I had an instructive time of enlargement. The meeting at six o'clock was long in gathering, but crowded at last, and a very full opportunity to me; ending solidly and well.

“23rd.—My mind has been turned at times since coming into this place, towards the fishermen, and this morning after breakfast, Friends took upon them to go around to their houses and request the attendance of their wives and children, and as many of the husbands also as were on shore. The time fixed was five o'clock, as that seemed to suit best for this class of people. Many came, and some late, so that the meeting was long, perhaps nearly two hours, in gathering: it was trying to me to labour under such unsettlement; however, feeling love to them, I began and endeavoured to lead their minds into staidness; and though for a season it was hard work, and it seemed as if I had to encounter a dead mass, hard to get over, yet after this time of conflict, my heart was much enlarged, and tongue loosened; and I trust through divine favour extended, it was a good time to many, holding near four hours; and my mind was much relieved—the Lord have the praise.

“24th.—Not apprehending myself clear of this place, and several Friends being with me, I mentioned it to them, and proposed holding a meeting in the house we have occupied of late; with which they united, and the people were encouraged to come at eleven o'clock to-morrow, especially the fishermen. This has been a pretty quiet day. Took a walk for health along the shore, and the fishermen seemed to know me, and were respectful.

“25th, first-day.—Half year's meeting in Philadelphia; and the enquiry is, how fare my dear wife, children, and aged mother, and other relations and friends left behind? It is now nearly three months since my last letter from home was dated. I have endeavoured to resign up all into the hands of an overruling, wise and merciful Lord and Master, who was pleased to separate me from them. Divers of my friends, neighbours and acquaintances have been removed away from this stage of action since, and very likely more will be before I reach home, even if it is the Lord's will I should do so. What better then than to labour after resignation, and be favoured to say, ‘Thy heavenly will be done, by and towards us all.’

“To meeting at the Presbyterian meeting-house. It soon gathered, and was an open, enlarged time in testimony amongst them. I invited them to come again at the sixth hour. Dined at E. M.'s, and afterwards had a religious opportunity with the family,

in which a youth who is apprenticed to him, lately from Ackworth school, was much broken. At six o'clock went to the meeting, which was uncommonly crowded; it seemed to me that if the house had been as large again it would probably have been filled: it held until past eight o'clock. Another much enlarged time, though pretty close work to begin, and it ended comfortably. At the close of it I took my farewell of the inhabitants, and told them there was but one thing more that rested on my mind, and that was, to see the children of various descriptions together to-morrow evening at six o'clock; for I had observed how many of them crowded at times into those we held, and some others at the gate, who were not permitted to come in.

"26th.—This morning feel refreshed and well, favoured with a ray of light, life and comfort on my bed. Thanks be to God, who giveth us victory and peace, through our Lord Jesus Christ, his Son. After breakfast W. W., a gaily dressed person called in, and we had agreeable, open conversation. He appears to be an enlightened man, and is desirous of more meetings being held: he invited us to dine with him to-morrow. After he went away, there came in a poor Welsh woman, who appeared much tendered—not talkative, but quiet; and as we sat in stillness together, my thoughts were turned towards a people afar off, and I was comforted in the prospect of the possibility of having those raised up, even amongst the poor, who would own me, and care for me. When she departed she desired the Lord might go with and bless me. I took a walk for nearly two hours along the sea shore, and on my return a woman with ribbons about her head, came to see me, and said she wanted to take me by the hand, and signified her thankfulness for the opportunities she had had at the meetings, but rendered the praise unto God, and requested she might be permitted to be at the children's meeting. We went at six o'clock, and I felt very poorly. There was a very great collection indeed. When we went in, there was much buzz and noise among those in the galleries, &c., and J. B. endeavoured to quiet them by speaking to them, but it appeared to me to be of but little use, the meeting not being full, and many came in afterwards. I thought it best to try to get under exercise, and feel for the inward balance. The house was crowded with people of many sorts, of the upper, middle, and lower ranks. After some time I felt strength to stand up, though in much bodily weakness, hardly able to speak, in consequence of being so hoarse; but I told them in the beginning, that though many of them were noisy and rude, I felt love to them through all. There

was a pretty great calm and quiet soon after I began to speak, for I stood some time first; and it continued, and though I laboured in great bodily weakness, and felt much spent afterwards, it afforded me much relief, and considering all things was a pretty good meeting. Several spoke to me on coming out: one goodly woman, who appeared to have the care of some children of the upper rank, desired a blessing might go with me. I felt, when I got home, as though a fit of illness was coming on, and that I must go to bed, but in a little time, by taking something warm, it seemed like a cordial, and brought me to. O what sweet peace flowed into my mind on the breaking up of this last finishing meeting! I thought that if sickness, or any thing else in the ordering of Providence, came upon Brighton, I was clear of their blood.

"27th.—Felt peaceful and comfortable on awaking this morning. After breakfast went with my companion to see a public house-keeper, who was sick of a fever, and had a good time in his chamber—it was at his request. Afterwards went to Dr. H.'s, whose wife I heard was in a desponding, low way; here we had a comfortable time; both husband and wife were loving, and he wished more meetings to be held, as have others also. After an opportunity with a number of Friends who stepped in, I took leave; we mounted our horses, and accompanied by J. Glaisyer, got to W. G.'s, sixteen miles. On the way divers fishermen, &c., saluted me, and a man on horseback, as we passed him, said to us, 'Are you going on?' On telling him we were, he desired with tears that the Lord would bless me. This morning's ride has been a sweet one, for I feel recruited in bodily health, and sweet peace covers my mind on leaving Brighton. Remember it, O my soul, in low, stripping seasons: sanctify the Lord thy God, let him be thy fear and dread, who has been thy helper through deep baptisms of late, and unto whom belongs honour and glory, thanksgiving and praise, who only and alone is worthy, and nothing due to man.

"During this scene at Brighton, my mind has been turned toward our dear companions, from whom we parted for the work's sake: may the same Almighty hand which has graciously helped me, protect and preserve them. Not far from the place where W. G. lives, is the seat of Roger Clough, where William Penn used to live, called Worminghurst.

"28th.—Set off about seven o'clock. On taking leave of a daughter about ten years old, I told her my desire was that she might be dutiful to her parents, loving to her brother and sisters, and particularly to set a good ex-

ample to her younger sisters; and that when the evil one tempted her to do what was not right, she should resist him and not yield, and then he would leave her, and she would feel sweet and comfortable. She broke forth into tears, and said, 'O he does tempt and try me:' and I learned by her parents, that she complains of the temptations wherewith she is beset. I have not often met with such a child. We proceeded on to Alton, where we found our friends S. H. and S. F.: a number of Friends spent the evening with us, and I thought I was quite as cheerful during this day's ride, and also since coming into this place last evening, as was profitable for me. Surely I have need to be watchful, not only in the winter season, but also on the summer's day, lest my garments get defiled. I trust my mind is humbled this morning.

"29th.—To the select meeting at eight o'clock, and afterwards to the quarterly meeting. The public labour fell on S. H. I felt nothing to communicate until the queries were answered in the men's meeting; and I thought myself a poor thing to say any thing amongst Friends, for I felt like one going down again into sorrow and exercise. We dined at E. and H. Marshall's, and afterwards went to Deborah Merryweather's, where a number came, and my soul was much clothed with sorrow and exercise, and I ventured to bend in supplication, and afterwards to speak to a very tried state. I thought there was need for me to cry out for myself.

"30th.—Went to divers families with S. H. and S. F., but no communication was laid on me. I accompanied our women Friends to S. M.'s, where we had a memorable time after dinner; and I may with gratitude acknowledge, that after I had ventured to bend in supplication, I say ventured, because it is an awful thing, and afterwards in communication, my mind obtained considerable relief, and felt more easy. Marvellous are the dispensations of Providence. No way opens further into this county, or further westward. I feel glad and well satisfied that I am here, having fulfilled pretty much what opened on my mind when in the north, respecting the meetings through the counties where my lot of late has been cast, even with respect to the public ones. The Lord is a merciful and tender master, and has accepted my feeble endeavours to serve him. Stand resigned then, O my soul, to whatever further dispensations may be meted out. Drank tea at W. C.'s, and had a tendering opportunity, and believe some of them were strengthened by it. Returned home; and though I have had some religious communication in the opportunities

this day, yet felt very poor and solitary in the evening.

"31st.—Our women Friends having seen their way to move, are gone; mine seems hedged up. I struggled along until after dinner, and I hope did not much appear to the company to fast. Soon after J. B., my patient, kind companion and I, accompanied by Samuel May as guide, took horse for Godalming. It was pleasant once more to be on horseback, and for a little time I felt more lightsome. In this eighteen or nineteen miles ride we had to go over a pretty large heath, or tract of poor land. I lagged behind my company under much exercise of mind, and thought I could have laid prostrate on the earth, with my mouth in the dust, if so be there might be hope. Put up at the widow Mary Waring's, where I met with a very affectionate reception.

"Fourth month 1st, first-day.—I feel disposed to say, through best help extended, I will wait and I will hope; often coming to the conclusion, that it is not meet for me to be long without such strippings; and in the midst of them believe I do not feel a murmuring thought; and indeed why should I, when I have experienced so often, that the will of the Lord is my sanctification. Went to meeting and sat it through in silence, and felt content.

"To afternoon meeting, and was led in a particular manner to address the youth under visitation, and to deal pretty closely with some other states. The meeting of ministers and elders began at six o'clock, and held late, which was, I thought, a satisfactory time.

"2nd.—To quarterly meeting, where I sat nearly two hours, with nothing stirring as to the ministry. Elizabeth Waring appeared in a few words, also Hannah Pryor, and Ann Christy. Soon after I felt an opening to stand up, and had a pretty tendering time. The business did not end until about four o'clock; but it was a satisfactory meeting, in which some ground was gained. A committee was appointed to help the monthly meetings to labour with respect to tithes. Dined at home, and had a tendering opportunity with a pretty large company of youth and others.

"3rd.—I sat the monthly meeting in much quiet, under exercise. Dear H. Pryor, who still continues in the neighbourhood, I thought had a lively communication. In the business part of the meeting I felt desirous that individuals should prepare their spiritual accounts, which I expressed, and I was humbled into tears, in resignation to the Lord's blessed will. My way closes in this neighbourhood, and seems opening towards London again. O Lord my God, to thee I look, to thee I cry:

hitherto thou hast helped and sustained my wading soul, and for this favour I bless thy name,—even for so much quietude of mind as I feel at this present moment. To-day I heard of fresh fears and cares possessing the public mind respecting the state of affairs. I have heard very little of late respecting things in this land, or the commotions and stirrings further off; yet it seems as if my mind was in sympathy with the nation at large. But these things I leave to the great and merciful Judge of all the earth, and proceed to my feelings respecting myself and getting on. After dinner had a memorable opportunity with the family where we have been kindly entertained, and a number of others. Left them very tender, and many of them in tears; mounted our horses and rode to Esher, fourteen miles, and felt easy and comfortable.

“4th.—Lodged in a room richly furnished; yellow silk damask curtains to my bed, and silk curtains to the windows, &c., and on looking over the house this morning, I do not find much difference between it and the duke of Norfolk’s, over which J. B., J. G. and I, went with the duke’s servant, by his orders, when at the castle at Arundel.

“I have lodged in very mean habitations in time past, and was favoured with sweet peace and content. Lord, preserve in what may yet be meted out, that thy will may prove my sanctification. ‘Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the gospel’s, but he shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houses and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions, and in the world to come, life eternal.’ I have enjoyed fruitful fields and beautiful gardens for a moment, perhaps as sweetly so, from the great Giver of all good things, as some of the owners of them. Thanks be given where they are due, saith my soul.

“We attended the week-day meeting, which was a small one. I sat nearly or quite two hours; but towards the last felt an opening to minister to the states of others. It was a quiet and pretty comfortable time. In the afternoon rode to London. My companion took me home with him to Charter-house square, where we found S. Fairbank and S. Horne; they had not been long from Staines. I staid and drank tea, and after a little sweet opportunity in the family of my friend and kind companion, he sent me in a coach to Broad street, where I met an open, kind reception from my beloved friends J. and R. Smith, and lay me down quiet in mind, having no cause to doubt my returning to London once more

being right, though I can see nothing fully at present.

“5th.—Arose with a calm and resigned mind. O then, that like a child, I may be favoured to behave myself resignedly, given up to wait to know the Lord’s will, who has of late led me about and deeply instructed me. Magnify his name, O my soul, and forget not his benefits.

“6th.—Attended the meeting for sufferings, and had to remind them of the day of sifting and trial coming. I endeavoured, I hope, faithfully to clear my soul. Went home with Truman Harford and lodged.

“7th.—Tears were my meat on rising this morning, and viewing my condition. O Lord! help still with a little of thy soul-sustaining help. After dinner joined a committee of the monthly meeting in visiting a Methodist minister, who is convinced of Friends’ principles, and sat with them to a good degree of satisfaction. I got safe home to Joseph Smith’s, and spent the remainder of the evening pleasantly with them.

“8th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, and was largely engaged once more in pleading with the gay, first-day morning professors, with encouragement both to them and those of a different description also, to a good degree of satisfaction and relief. In the afternoon attended the same meeting, where Mary Lloyd of Birmingham, sat by me, and we were both led in the same line of communication, to a mourning, desolate state.

“9th.—To morning meeting, exercised in mind—a little book on Tithes was read, &c. In the afternoon to Tottenham with S. H., and once more met an affectionate reception from the father and daughter Martha.”

In a letter to his wife, dated fourth month 9th, 1798, at London, he says:

“I came to London last week, after an excursion of about two months into the counties of Kent, Sussex, and part of Surrey and Hampshire, and have had sweet peace in an honest discharge of duty, both amongst Friends and others; having had six public meetings in the town of Brighton, on the sea coast, before I could leave that place. Whether I shall stay in or about London until after the yearly meeting, I cannot fully see. I believed it my place to enter into this great city again, where clouds of exercise seem gathering around me; and if it is my lot in the will of God to be here, and suffer with my brethren and sisters, if suffering should be their lot, I have no reason to question and say to my Master, ‘Why dealest thou thus with me.’ O may I still be favoured to sanctify the Lord my

God, and let him be my fear through the remainder of my pilgrimage in this land, is my soul's desire. The outgoings of my heart have been towards my dear companion in life, with desires that Almighty God may sweeten every bitter cup to her."

"10th.—I came back to London and its neighbourhood in resignation to the Lord's will, ready and willing to refit and move on, if it is his will, to the further part of the land; having little desire to stay here and hereaway until after yearly meeting, although thereby I may see many dear Friends, also some of my country folks. A prospect has at different times opened, of some further service out of London. But now all seems closed up as in times past, and I am again a poor blank. Were it not for soul-sustaining help in some of those trying winter seasons, I should fear getting into a state of despair; but hitherto the Lord has helped, and I will endeavour still to trust Him, though he may permit me to go down yet deeper into the valley and shadow of death. May I wait for a day of deliverance, and be content with my bonds.

"11th.—To the burial of James Townsend: the corpse was taken to Peel meeting. My trouble multiplied on me. I went to the ground, and though I felt a poor creature, yet I ventured to stand forth amongst the people in a short testimony; after which I returned with my very kind friend J. H. and children.

"12th.—To meeting, which was altogether silent: my soul could do little more than cry, Lord have mercy, and wash and cleanse me.

"13th.—Spent this day pretty much in adjusting and endorsing my letters and papers. Received a letter last evening from S. H.; it appears by it that he was not satisfied with what I delivered in meeting. Thus I get along—often a poor staggering one; through good and evil report, and often weeping over my own infirmities. My soul has this day craved mercy, with sighs and cries, in the language of the Psalmist; 'Hear my voice, O God, in my prayer; preserve my life from the fear of the enemy. Hide me from the secret council of the wicked; from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity.'

"16th, second-day.—Went to London, and had a memorable ride; the flesh warring against the spirit, to bring me into bondage. After calling to see several Friends, I took a pensive, thoughtful walk over the fields, and my sorrow was stirred within me, and know not how to record my distress better than in David's words; 'Give ear to my prayer, O God; and hide not thyself from my supplication. Attend unto me, and hear me: I mourn in

my complaint, and make a noise; because of the voice of the enemy, because of the oppression of the wicked: for they cast iniquity upon me, and in wrath they hate me. My heart is sore pained within me: and the terrors of death are fallen upon me. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me, or covered me. And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest.'

"18th.—Awoke pretty early, and lay in a pensive, thoughtful frame of mind, looking over my movements, and felt an earnest solicitude and prayer arise, that I might be favoured to settle down into greater resignation of soul, and to bear with greater patience my yoke and bonds. I have been struggling with a prospect that has at times opened, to go again into the north of England on the opposite side of the island, to that it was my lot to be in last summer,—to Scotland, and even further if it is the will of God. I came to London fully resigned, I trust, to this prospect, and to refit and go off before yearly meeting; but it appears the time is not yet fully come, if it does come at all, and now the cloud rests upon my prospects. No opening to religious service presents, and at seasons the lion roars against me. O that I could be quiet and behave myself more like a weaned child, with submissive dependence upon an all-wise Father: this condition has looked very desirable this morning. O then, my soul, seek for divine assistance to press more and more into it, leaving those things that are behind, and the trying, perplexing thoughts that so often set themselves in array against thee. There is yet mercy, forgiveness and truth with the Lord, that he may be feared; and with him is plenteous redemption. Hope thou in him, that thou mayest praise him in a day to come, and know him to be the health and light of thy countenance, and thy God, who has helped thee over many difficulties in days and years past. I desire to lay prostrate before him, humbled in dust and ashes. There is no hiding from the all-seeing eye of Heaven. The language of my soul is, 'Why hast thou forsaken me; or wilt thou forsake or overlook thy poor servant?' and yet, is it not a great thing to be favoured to think, and to say, 'though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee.'

"19th.—In a lonely, pensive walk, I was favoured to think how easy a thing it would be with the mighty One of Israel to change the dispensation respecting my soul. I thought, how joyful it would be to live to see truth

and righteousness flourish in London and its neighbourhood, and living zeal for the law and testimony increase, and that I might joy and rejoice with them that rejoice. Went to meeting and sat it through in thoughtful silence, endeavouring to sum up my accounts since leaving Brighton, and settle them, and hope my soul was truly humbled.

"21st, seventh-day.—My soul is under oppression. What a staggering condition I seem to be in,—like a drunken man, but not with wine, but with the cup handed me by my gracious Lord to drink of. The cup which my heavenly Master giveth, or sees cause to permit to be dispensed, shall I not drink it? O yes; my soul craves ability to dwell here, all the Lord's time. I thought this day, how willingly could I enter into any religious service the Lord might be pleased to call for, even the honourable service of the best of pay masters, either amongst my friends, or amongst the people at large. On the way home my mind became more calm, and Waltham Abbey meeting came into view, and a willingness to go and sit quietly amongst the little company that is to assemble there to-morrow. My soul was bowed in thankfulness, and spent the remainder of the evening quiet and serene.

"22nd, first-day.—Arose with calmness and resignation. A very fine morning as to the outward,—and may I say, When shall I be favoured to behold the opening of another spring-time in my soul! when will the singing of birds be heard, with the voice of the turtle? Is it not more fit and acceptable to say, 'Not my time and will, but thine, O Lord, who doeth all things well: fit and prepare my soul to bear with becoming patience all the dispensations of thy providence, whether spiritual or temporal. Wash away my secret faults; cleanse me from them and thy will be done. Went to Waltham, accompanied by W. F., his son William, and J. W. I was silent in the meeting, yet favoured with some sight and prospect, not the sign of the prophet Jonas, but that of Ezekiel. O how little opening appears in places. I have faith to believe it will not be so always; but when the rod has been exercised for a time, there will be an open door for the servants and messengers. My soul craves a share of labour in this blessed day, yet with humble submission. The opening I was favoured with was sweet, and I thought if it was the Lord's will to remove me from my troubles here, He who made me, and has thus far supported, borne up, and corrected me also, would have mercy on me. May thankfulness fill my soul for this sense. J. H. and daughter dined with us, and after dinner we dropt into silence, in which he had

some religious communication, much of which I thought fitted my state. The afternoon meeting was dull and laborious, but near the close J. H. spoke fitly to my tried state; it was reviving and encouraging, and I felt willing to receive a crumb handed forth through a fellow servant, and one who in man's estimation is weak.

"24th.—O, if the fat and full in this land are brought to feel the situation my soul has laboured under for three years, it will be a time of mourning indeed. May such a sense, if permitted, prove a time of enlightening and gathering to the true Shepherd and Bishop of souls. The Lord hasten the blessed day of flocking unto Zion, as doves to the window of the ark.

"25th.—Something like the lifting up of the head was my thankful experience to-day, in a long and thoughtful walk. I remembered this passage of Scripture, and when I returned read it to my comfort; 'God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this, that power belongeth to God.' The Lord's servant breaks forth, both before and after these expressions, on this wise, and it appears applicable to my state, viz; 'Hear my cry, O God; attend unto my prayer. From the end of the earth will I cry unto thee, when my heart is overwhelmed: lead me to the rock that is higher than I. God hath spoken once, twice have I heard this, that power belongeth unto God: also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy, for thou renderest to every man according to his work.' These expressions also impressed my mind in my walk; 'I stand continually upon the watch tower in the day time, and am in my ward whole nights.'

"27th.—In the evening I felt my mind turned in near love and desire for the preservation of B. B. I rejoiced in feeling once more the arising of love, I trust gospel love, and to find a small return of the precious gift to me. My heart was also broken in a sense of the great love and tenderness which both of the parents and the children of this family had manifested to me.

"Fifth month 6th, first-day.—Thinking a little last evening of going to Gracechurch street meeting, and mentioning it to my kind friends, was encouraged; but on arising this morning, such was the sense of my weakness and unworthiness, that for a time I could not persuade myself it was right to attend to the little motion felt last evening; yet as the way seemed most open, I set off accompanied by S. D. In the meeting I bent in supplication, which much relieved my mind, and again after a lively communication through dear A. C., I ventured to utter a few sentences, expressive of the love I felt to that assembly, and which; thanks be to Him who is ever worthy, flowed

through me to the king on the throne, and also to the meanest of his subjects. 'By this we know we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' To the afternoon meeting at Tottenham. I had a pretty open time, especially in love and sympathy towards some of the youth present.

"10th.—Four years this day since I left my own habitation. Went to Tottenham monthly meeting.

"11th.—Not without a portion of sorrow and sadness on awaking this morning. Bowed in prayer before leaving my chamber, begging for preservation. I looked back to my conflicts this day four years: ah! it was a day to be remembered, if I may indulge for a moment. But is it not better to endeavour to forget the things that are behind, and press forward. O that I may be accounted worthy to be yet numbered amongst the Lord's servants. I have remembered the kind and consolatory expressions of our Lord to his disciples; 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint unto you a kingdom; even as my Father hath appointed unto me.'"

The following is extracted from a letter addressed to him by his friend Ann Crowley, dated:

"Aylesbury, 10th of Fifth month, 1798.

"Dearly beloved friend,

"Thy affectionate and sympathetic communication merited an earlier reply; but I have no doubt thou wilt believe, and that because experience hath taught thee, that minds occupied in a service so weighty and important as is our present calling, meet with various occurrences to prevent writing, even to those we dearly love and are nearly united to, by the binding tie of gospel fellowship. Thus from frequent exercises, and sensible feeling of great weakness of mind and body, I have been prevented from acknowledging, that thy token of continued remembrance and regard was truly salutary to my tried and stripped mind; and perhaps it could not have reached my hands at a season when more needed, for it arrived just as I was sitting solitary and mournful, not knowing which way to move, or what offering to make to obtain peace; distress clothed my mind and darkness seemed on every hand. The spring of gospel ministry had been long shut up, and appeared as a fountain sealed; my mind was like a stranger and alien to the knowledge of divine things; I thought as much so as though none of the mysteries of the kingdom had ever been unfolded to me. In this tried, proved state of mind, I found few could fathom my exercises, though divers

pitied, and were ready to hand forth a little advice,—such as wishing me to be faithful, and not carry such a burden from meeting to meeting, and thereby weaken my hands, and similar communications; all which were administered in great tenderness and love, and I could receive them as such; I thought they only tended to add to my tribulations, for all was as much sealed from me, as though I had never received any qualification or commission to preach the gospel. I was ready to call all former experiences in question, and to conclude I never had known a being anointed and appointed for that service. This was my situation when thy kind letter came to hand, which felt like balm to my soul; no doubt but thou wilt admit, if thou remembers what thou wrote, that it was a suitable cup of consolation; it felt to me like a little brook by the way, for which unmerited favour, gratitude was raised in my heart to the Lord, and I was thankful to feel he had not forgotten to be gracious, but had once more extended his never failing hand of help in the needful time. I did believe it was of his goodness to put it in thy mind thus to address a poor, weary traveller, to whose frequent baptisms and exercises I believe my beloved friend is not altogether a stranger; for having trodden a trying path thyself, thou canst more intimately dip into a sympathetic feeling with such, who in some degree may have to walk in similar footsteps. Yea, I verily believe the intercourse and communion of spirits is such, that we are permitted sensibly to feel one another's exercises and trials, before any outward information reaches our ears. Great is the privilege; indeed I felt it so; for I can say in perfect freedom, that in the course of all my travels I have not met with one that could so feelingly fathom my state of mind, as thou wast enabled to do, my endeared friend, though we were so widely separated as to the body; may I ever walk worthy of such notice, is the craving of my heart.

"I wish not to dwell too much on a relation of the many probations and deep exercises, which in unerring wisdom have fallen to my lot in the course of this journey, but rather call to mind and commemorate the gracious dealings of the Lord with us and with his people. How wonderfully hath he at times opened both the door of utterance and entrance, so that we have been constrained to acknowledge, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints.' Is he not working wonders in the earth? yea, verily, our eyes are made to behold, as well as our faith renewed to believe; so that at seasons we can bless and adore his holy name, and

say, 'Thou art a long-suffering, gracious God; inviting all, even the transgressors in Israel, to return and come to thy banqueting house, where thy banner over them will be love.' It is probable my beloved friend may have heard, that our line of labour has not been altogether confined to our religious Society; but for the enjoyment of that peace, which obedience to the renewed manifestations of duty can alone purchase, we have been made willing to have public meetings in many places; this thou wilt, I have no doubt, conclude has not been a little proving to my faith; particularly as my much beloved companion has little draft this way, though she has nearly and feelingly sympathized and felt with me in this arduous engagement; the secret travail of her spirit has been precious and strengthening to my mind. When the burden of this concern came weightily on my shoulders, how did nature shrink, so that I was ready to say, if it be possible let the cup pass from me; for I am no way qualified, and the undertaking is too mighty for one so little instructed in the school of Christ;—there is great danger of my supporting, or attempting to support the ark unbidden, and thereby bringing a reproach on the truth, and condemnation to my own soul. Such like reasonings took place; but after consultations of this sort I plainly saw my peace of mind and health of body, depended on obedience. Then was I reduced into such a state of resignation, as enabled me to say, as one formerly; 'If thou wilt give me bread to eat, (spiritual bread,) and raiment to put on, (the robes of righteousness and peace,) then shall the Lord be my God, and I will obey him.' When brought into this state of mind, I experienced way to be made, where I saw no way before; the mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs.

"I am ashamed of myself, when I see the full dedication of heart dear Sarah Lynes manifests to the world, by her resignation and obedience to such singular requirements; may she be preserved, so as in the winding up of time, to experience the answer of, 'Well done,' &c., is often the desire of my mind, as well as for myself, and all other exercised servants. We have several times fallen in company with dear Charity Cook and Mary Swett; I think them valuable, choice Friends: I wish their honest labours of love may be blessed to the inhabitants of this highly favoured nation. Charity Cook's gift lies much amongst other societies; Mary's much confined to our own band; however, they seem nearly united. We parted from them at Warwick—they have gone the Oxford road to London."

"15th.—What a scene I have passed through in the five months past! What deep plunges at seasons—what stops and stays; what blindness, weakness and poverty; and yet, not without intervals of light, life, strength and boldness. My soul desires to know what true humility is, and begs to be favoured to lay prostrate on the approach of the annual assembly, that in and through that, I may be found in my allotment. O Lord be merciful! wash and cleanse me; grant more victory over weakness and frail nature—gird me about with a portion of thy strength.

"18th.—The opening of the yearly meeting, and I am in a very broken, poor condition. The all-seeing eye knows how it is with me, and this has been some consolation: I feel no disposition to hide. What can such a weak creature do better, than labour after ability to breathe forth this language in secret, to him that sees in secret; 'Though thou slay me, yet will I trust in thee.' Attended a large meeting in one of the new houses. My mind was bowed, and my heart in some degree broken; and after a lively communication through my dear country-woman, Charity Cook, I ventured to prostrate myself in supplication. Martha Routh had a searching time, which was a relief to my mind. Elizabeth Ussher uttered a few words in prayer near the close.

"19th.—Having had my thoughts turned for several days toward Westminster, I went thither this morning with Thomas Colley. The labour fell on him, and I was content. At the close I gave liberty to invite the people to come in the evening. Went to meeting at five o'clock, and had a pretty good time. E. H. from Ireland, was also engaged, and Martha Routh appeared in solemn prayer.

"21st.—To select meeting, where dear John Wigham and Martha Routh gave in their certificates, and a sweet account of their visit to our country. It was a good meeting. The opening of the meeting for business at four o'clock was a profitable, good sitting.

"22nd.—Two sittings of the yearly meeting. The time was spent in reading the answers to the queries, as far as Surrey, and some good remarks were made: very little fell on me, and I had a quiet, peaceful day.

"23rd.—To a meeting for worship at Devonshire house, where I had a pretty open time of encouragement to the burden-bearers and tried ones. Deborah Darby, and also my country-women, Charity Cook and Mary Swett, had a share in the labour. After which I went to William S. Fry's, where I found a large company, and was exercised in religious communication. In the afternoon meeting for business, my mind was engaged

to speak in testimony against appointing such members as are not faithful to support the precious testimonies of Truth at home; and sending them to yearly meeting to open their mouths, to the afflicting and wounding of their brethren.

"24th.—Attended meeting, and also sat with the committee to prepare epistles, in which an opportunity was given to relieve my mind of an exercise, respecting those who were fit members for employment in the services of society, and those who were not.

"26th.—O humbling prospect! were it not that my soul has been given to believe, that the everlasting Arm still remains to be underneath, should I not faint indeed! Have faith in God then, O my tried soul. I sat with the large committee, which got on comfortably with the business, and at eleven o'clock went to the yearly meeting. After meeting, I mentioned to T. Harford a prospect I had of seeing the neighbours together at Ratcliff, and which weightily opened upon my mind in yearly meeting.

"27th, first-day.—My exercise seems of late to begin with morning light. O may I be favoured to turn my attention, with singleness of heart, to the meeting appointed at Ratcliff, that so through the Lord's help his holy name and truth may be honoured. O Lord be pleased to help me. Went to Ratcliff, accompanied by my friend S. H., where was a large meeting, mostly made up of people of other societies. It proved an open time, from the passage of Scripture describing Peter's seeing the sheet let down, and being fitted to go with the messengers. The same good hand which worked in Peter's heart, and prepared him for the service, opened also the heart of Cornelius to receive the message. A young man came to me after meeting, and said his doubts were now removed respecting our Society. Attended an evening meeting in the same place, which was large, and another favoured time, in which my mind was comfortably relieved.

"28th.—Very much abased and prostrate this morning, as on the bended knees of soul and body; and a little light and hope sprang up, in which I was enabled to believe that the Lord would break my bonds,—and the vision was as clear as that of my coming into this land. O then, my most merciful and adorable Lord and Master, let thy blessed will be done respecting me, and all that appertains to me. Thou hast shown thy servant in the deeps that thy hand has been at work, and underneath—thou hast shown me that thy mercy reacheth forth towards my dear aged parent, and that she is under thy protection;

and that thou hast provided an everlasting habitation for the wife of my bosom. Lord, my soul is overcome in the sense of it. Thou hast shown me, that thy tender notice and regard is toward my dear children. O keep them, and let them be thine; and thou hast shown me, that thou wilt yet provide for me; wilt give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

"29th.—The last sitting of the yearly meeting this afternoon, closed under a solemn calm. I have been a plentiful sharer in deep humility through the several sittings of this meeting; and have been favoured to speak to the relief of my mind, and also rejoiced in seeing truth gain ground; and in our having a precious, solid meeting; yet my conflicts and exercise are not removed.

"31st.—This morning I poured out my tears of distress and sorrow. I remembered the note made a few days ago, (28th,) and longed for ability to cast away my labour and toil, and have faith in God. I am now shut up as in a cloud. I could not make mention to the yearly meeting about going home, as my friends William Savery and Sarah Harrison did. I felt quiet and easy in that respect, and now am as blind as ever as to any further religious service in this land. Lord, keep me from falling on this sea of glass mingled with fire.

"Sixth month 1st.—O Lord God, remember me in my distress, for my soul is almost overwhelmed; forgive all my iniquities, sanctify and prepare me for further work, in thy way and in thy time, if more thou hast allotted for me to do.

"3rd, first-day.—I ventured on my knees in meeting, to beg for preservation for myself and all the Lord's conflicting servants, wherever their lot is cast. David's state presented, when he said, 'be merciful unto me, O Lord; be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee; yea, in the shadow of thy wing will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.'

In a letter to his son, dated London, sixth month 5th, he thus writes:

"I am yet in London, and indeed, discouragement would thicken upon me on this account, finding it trying to you at home, if I had occasion to conclude that it is not in the will of God: there would then be cause indeed to mourn; but I trust it is not in my own will, for I meet with many fiery trials, and ups and downs, which tend to the breaking of that in pieces. O may my soul be preserved to the end, is my fervent prayer. Yearly

meeting is over, and an evidence has been granted me that I have been in my place: it was very large, and sweetly owned by the Master of assemblies. I rejoice in seeing and believing that truth and righteousness are spreading—there being many precious young plants. I have met with Charity Cook, Mary Swett, Sarah Talbot, Phebe Speakman, William Savery, and also Sarah Harrison, to my comfort. In my former letters, if they have come to hand, you will perceive that I had got on the south side of London: I went through two counties fully, and part of another, and have been comforted in finding or hearing that it has not been in vain. I am a servant in waiting:—wait, then also, all you my dear family, who are so nearly interested in my welfare, and pray for me when you can, that I may fulfill the task, much whereof is drinking the cup of suffering. The cup which my heavenly Father giveth me, or permiteth me, to drink, shall I not drink it? O yes! and that with resignation. May the Lord on High, who is mightier than the noise of many waters, comfort, bear up, and sustain all your minds and also be with me.”

“10th.—I went to meeting in a weak state. Both morning and evening were deeply plunging times. After E. Ussher had appeared in a short testimony, toward the close of the meeting in the morning, applicable to my tried state, I ventured to go down on my knees. The afternoon meeting appeared to me to be a very solemn time, and I ventured to tell the assembly so.

“14th, fifth-day.—I have remembered this morning, that it is, I think, four years this day, since I landed at Tower wharf, London. O the scenes my soul has passed through in and about London since that time; and could I wish or desire that it should have been otherwise? O no. If the Lord is pleased to carry me through to the end, I shall have occasion to say, ‘great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints! who shall not fear before thee, and glorify thy name.’

“20th, fourth-day.—I have thought much of the poor and miserable people in Ireland, who are called rebels, as well as others called protestants; the misery and sufferings, unutterable perhaps, of many, as well as the deaths of not a few. How has my heart throbbed within me, when I have read the account. My mind has also been turned toward the rulers in this land; from the king on the throne, to his ministers and servants, and I have seen that it is not fortifications, either above or below the earth; neither armies nor

navies that will save this favoured land. No, nothing short of the out-stretched arm of the Lord, and the people bowing before him, and humbling themselves as in dust and ashes; keeping a fast from abominable wickedness, and sincerely praying unto God, the only hope of salvation.

“Seventh month, 1st, first-day.—Feel a willingness to endure all my trials, and not to cast away my little grain of faith. Lord, if I perish, I will perish at thy feet, has been the cry of my soul. Went to meeting at Tottenham, and near the close I ventured to bend in prayer, having had a little opening as out of the prison window, of a day of more enlargement. After afternoon meeting went home with William Dillwyn. O that mispending time may not be charged against me. Many are the charges of the accuser of the brethren, at seasons, when my soul is in a low condition. O Fountain of mercy, be pleased to clear my way, even if it be through the fire; let thy mercy go forth, and then my soul shall endure. I long to be employed by thee in the work of the gospel.

“3rd, third-day.—If I dare say that my sufferings in part are for others; and that I am dipped into sympathy with the nation at large, and in a peculiar manner, with the city of London, (yes, O London! my soul has been abased within thee); then most assuredly, I believe the Lord will fulfill what he has shown to his servants the prophets. O may my soul be favoured to partake resignedly of the cup of suffering meted out, and not be cast off of my God. If I am a sign to my brethren in this land, as a poor suffering servant; Lord grant me the comfort of thy holy presence, to go with me, and it will be enough. Thy power is above every power. Draw away my affections from all hindering, earthly concerns. Blot out and remove all my iniquities, and enable me to say, Thy will be done. I desired to pray for a clear evidence, that I was in suffering for some good purpose; and was stopt by this reflection; where then would be the exercise of faith? and it appeared desirable to walk by faith, if only by a grain. O then for resignation and more contentment in the divine will. Man by his efforts can do nothing: lie prostrate, O my soul, let the waves pass over thee. Walked over to High Cross, and spent part of the afternoon with S. H. and W. F. At the boys’ school in the evening, and felt more free from that inexpressible weight.”

The following is extracted from a letter received while in London, from his beloved friend Ann Crowley, viz:

“ Skipton, 6th of Seventh month, 1798.

“ Beloved friend,

“ It seems as though I could scarcely forbear embracing a few minutes of leisure to address thee, though not from an apprehension that the expression of continued love and sympathy can prove effectually consoling or strengthening to thy deeply exercised mind; especially as it comes from one whose experience in divine things, is that of a child's; but having felt my mind increasingly bound to thee, in the sweet fellowship of gospel love and life, and an inclination arising time after time, to tell thee as much, I thought it might afford me some relief to say, how near and dear thou art to my best life. I think I never felt it more so than of late, for which my soul is made thankful; because, if my feelings have been right, it is a union which will allow me to salute thee as a brother, or should I not rather say, a father, in tribulation, in sore conflicts and trials; when faith, patience and hope may be reduced to a low ebb. I think I was never more sensibly impressed with an apprehension that a large portion of suffering has fallen to thy lot, than since we last parted in London; yea, surely it must have been so, or I think I should not have been introduced into such a sympathetic engagement of heart, for one whom I so dearly love, and whose firm standing and preservation, through the various proving baptisms dispensed, I covet as my own; knowing that nothing short of the invincible and invisible arm of God's salvation, can support and bear up the tossed, tribulated mind, through the vicissitudes of time. An establishment in this belief leads to a daily breathing in the pathetic language; ‘ Arise O God! strengthen thy feeble servant with might in the inner man, that so preservation and perseverance through all may be experienced. But there are seasons when thy poor friend cannot lift up her soul to Heaven and cry for daily bread; but, feels hardness of heart, and distress of mind,—can justly compare her state to the heath in the desert, and knows not when good comes; can hear her fellow travellers and friends tell of the humbling seasons of refreshment they are made to partake of, when she is not able to utter, scarcely a rightly begotten sigh or groan, or shed a mournful tear; but all that proceeds from the only source of good is veiled from her, as things she had never partaken of in former seasons. Is this an experience with which my beloved friend is experimentally acquainted? Surely it feels to me, as if a similar bitter portion has been given him to drink, in the course of his pilgrimage; and if this should have been the case, it may afford me some encourage-

ment; because I am firm in the belief, that thy sufferings have not only abundantly qualified for service in the Lord's work, but they have brightened thee, as a well polished instrument, fitted to execute the office intended. Therefore, suffer me to say in simplicity, though in integrity of heart; ‘ Be not afraid, neither too much cast down or discouraged, for the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is thy God;’ He will be thy buckler, thy shield, and thy battle axe,—that so no weapon formed against thee, shall ever be able to prosper; but thou shalt be abundantly clothed upon with strength, wisdom and understanding, so that in the midst of trials, baptisms and provings, the acknowledgment will be raised, the Lord is worthy to be served, to be honoured and obeyed; for though he hideth his face for a season, yet at the break of day I see the Son of Righteousness arising; and faith is given me to believe, healing virtue is on his wings. Can the children of the bride chamber rejoice, when the bridegroom is not with them? And is it not a day when the bridegroom of souls is often withdrawing himself from his church and people, because of the degeneracy, the lukewarmness and indifferency of mind which is prevalent amongst the high professing Christians? Can we wonder then, that mourning should be the appointed garment of the Lord's exercised servants, who are rightly dipped into the present bewildered state of the church, and see with the eye of their mind, that the beauty is fallen from Israel, as on the high places. Cannot some of us say at seasons, ‘ For these things I weep; my eye runneth down with water.’ Well, dear friend, let not this cause us to faint, for it is a precious thing to be counted worthy to suffer for so noble a cause as righteousness and truth; let us put on strength, and in the name of the Lord press through every crowd of difficulty and discouragement which may arise in the way; working in the power of his might, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan, not only in ourselves, but in our fellow creatures; and establishing the kingdom of God and his righteousness; that so an addition to the church militant may be made by the faithfulness of the Lord's chosen, by and through whom he is working wonders, in order that his love, mercy and goodness may be magnified, in gathering sons from far, and daughters from the ends of the earth, that so a glorious addition may be made to the church triumphant. The praise of his own works belongs alone unto Him, who is worthy to receive honour and glory, thanksgiving and high renown; may my soul, with thousands more, be put in a fit capacity to ascribe it for ever and for ever.

"I have written in great freedom, which I hope will be received in that love I feel for thee, though I know it looks a little presuming for a child in experience to write thus to a father in the church; but as things arose, I simply penned them."

"13th.—On awaking this morning my exercise awoke with me. O may I be favoured to believe that I am not cast out of the notice and care of my heavenly Father! May I be corrected, proved, sifted and tried, and brought into order at last. Cleanse me from secret faults, O Lord: thou knowest my heart; I cannot hide any thing from thee. If more abasement is necessary, may it be my portion. After breakfast went to see my country-woman, Mary Swett, and found she was going with Sarah Harrison to look at a ship in the Thames, bound for Germany. I went along with them, and they expressed peace and satisfaction while sitting in the cabin. Tears were my food, but I endeavoured to sympathize with them, and in a feeble manner expressed it. After dinner accompanied several Friends to the examination of the scholars at Clerkenwell, and at the close ventured to address them."

The following is an extract of a letter, dated seventh month 23rd, 1798, addressed to his wife:

"I am yet in London, and when I shall feel clear and easy to leave it, and when I shall be favoured to leave this land and return to my native one, is at present hid from me. My mind has passed through much exercise and conflict since yearly meeting, and I endeavour as much as in me lies, to possess my soul in patience. How frequently have I thought of Richmond, in Virginia; how oft it was my lot to encompass that city about as a mountain, and a great one too; and yet, at the last I left it as light, comparatively speaking, as a cork, and never unto this day have I had a painful sensation respecting it. A mercy, yea an unspeakable one it will be, should my soul be thus favoured respecting this place, into which I came early in the fourth month last. I had been at Brighton, on the sea coast, and passed through singular exercises in that place; but after having five or six public meetings among them, was favoured to leave the place with sweet enriching peace. I saw this line of labour along the sea coast, when I was in the north last summer, and admired how much less was accepted, than was opened and magnified in my view at that time on looking forward. After leaving Brighton, I went with

my beloved friend John Bevans, to Hampshire quarterly meeting, and again met the women Friends with whom we set out from London. After getting through the quarterly meeting, I could not see my way into any meetings belonging to that meeting: I looked towards Plymouth, Falmouth, &c., but all closed up; so leaving our company, my beloved and tender companion (for so I esteemed him) and I moved on towards London, taking the quarterly meeting of Surrey by the way, in which I thought I was in my place; and from thence came to London. I felt sweet peace on returning, and willingly disposed to refit, and leave it before yearly meeting, if it was the Lord's will, but could not. I thought I was in my place during the time of holding that solemnity; but since, I have been shut up again, and am labouring after patient resignation to the divine will. I admire at the love and kindness of my dear friends J. and R. Smith, who continue to be tenderly sympathizing, as also others. Sarah Harrison, Mary Swett, Charity Cook, and George Stacey, started a few days ago for Germany. I saw no opening for me to go, though dear Sarah Harrison seemed to look for it, almost to the last. The ways of divine Providence are a great deep; too deep for a poor mortal to fathom, and my soul craves that neither heights nor depths, nor any other creature, may ever separate me from the mercy and love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord; but that my soul may wade through all, and in the end be favoured to say, 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints; who shall not fear before thee, and glorify thy name.'"

"24th.—In low moments I appear to myself as an idler; but am I indeed so, when my feelings are so unutterable from day to day? Will not my feeble efforts in this deep suffering, be accounted as work done in the sight of the great Master? O that it may be so, and that I may be favoured to cease in due time from this labour and toil. I crave daily strength to say, Thy will be done, and for patience to endure this fight of affliction. Attended Devonshire house meeting, and soon after I sat down, on seeing an individual come in, this language impressed my mind, and continued so with me, that at length I stood up with it, and endeavoured to encourage a state which is under buffeting and trials: 'Behold the man:' dear George Dillwyn followed in the same line, and after him William Savery."

"25th, fourth-day.—In the fore part of the meeting to-day, my heart was humbled, and I

trust felt a little revival of hope, that the Lord will carry me through all I have yet to meet with in this land. My heart is frequently melted within me, and my cries with tears are poured out unto thee, O Lord. Thou hast measurably favoured with a sense of thy forgiveness and mercy this morning, even in the deeps. William Savery closed the meeting in solemn prayer, in which I united with tears, and perhaps I never felt greater love for him at any time in my life than in this meeting. I spent the evening with him, and took an affectionate farewell; and this was the language of my soul when I left him; O Fountain of mercy, open the way for me to labour—remove the clouds; and be with my dear fellow servant, and safely waft him over the great deep to his family and friends in peace.

“26th.—I walked to Ratcliff meeting alone, and towards the close was engaged in prayer. O what a dispensation this is; how I mourn along the streets of London; and am ready to cry out unto God. After leaving dear William Savery last evening, I felt how easy it would be for all-powerful Help to change my condition from weakness, to strength and firmness. The Lord has been my helper hitherto, surely he will not leave me in this distant land, a poor, solitary man, as a desolate captive passing to and fro. I hope at times, that a blessing will spring out of my trials, if my faith and confidence fail not. When I can believe that I am doing or suffering the Lord’s will, it balances my soul, and is enough for the moment. I went to White Chapel burial ground to the burial of Captain ———; a number of his little sailor boys and others were there. I felt the evening before, an unusual impression on being invited to attend, and was favoured to speak at the grave,—it was a time of tears, and some of the lads wept aloud.

“27th.—To children’s meeting at Clerkenwell; it was small, but to my great admiration, my heart was enlarged to speak to the visited minds under trial; and afterwards appeared in supplication.

“Eighth month 4th, seventh-day.—An humbling morning, and yet I hope I see that a day of deliverance and enlargement will come, if patience is abode in. And must I indeed wait longer and be content thus to be shut up? Yes, I can make nothing: the maker and builder of all things is God. O then, the prayer of my soul is, that thou wouldest bless me indeed, that thy good hand may condescend to be with me, and that thou wouldest enlarge my coast, and keep me from evil, that it may not grieve my soul. Cover thy servant with the mantle of love, and bring up out of the

deeps; forgive his iniquities, for thy name and mercy sake, and qualify him to teach his fellow creatures thy ways. O that I could once more be favoured, through thy heavenly power, to convert and call sinners unto thee. Thou hast done much for me,—favour me, O Lord, I pray thee, to love thee and thy cause, yet much more.

“5th, first-day.—Attended the meeting at Wandsworth, where I had to deliver a close testimony. I thought myself unworthy, and yet feared to omit the opportunity presented. Amongst other things told them of a people who chant to the sound of the viol, and invented for themselves instruments of music, but forgot the afflictions of Joseph. I was afterwards informed it was true, and that there was not strength in the meeting to labour with such.

“7th.—Took a lonely walk, in which I remembered how I was tried, when in the utmost bounds of Georgia, in my native land. There I was proved for a season, and then a notable work and service opened, and through divine assistance was performed, and I returned with a good share of sweet enriching peace. I also remembered, that when in New England, my soul was proved and tried, how I lamented my state in a lonely place in the woods, and afterwards was made use of in reconciling a meeting, and bringing them back into love and unity.

“In the afternoon went to the girls’ school; and soon after I sat down in the large room, where the children were at work, they laid aside their work, and a comfortable silence ensued, in which I felt my mind not only drawn forth in communication, but also in prayer, and my own children were remembered, and those of my fellow servants labouring in this land. It was a very tendering time, and I felt astonished that it should be so on looking at my poor, stripped state.

“10th.—I sensibly felt my solitary condition this morning, and I said in my heart, May I still be preserved patient this one day more: ‘Cast thy burden on the Lord, he shall sustain thee.’ Lord, indulge thy servant with this favour.

“11th.—Prayer with tears this morning. ‘And the king said unto Zadok, carry back the ark of God into the city: if I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again and show me both it and his habitation. But if he say, I have no delight in thee, behold here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him.’ O holy confidence in this afflicted servant, even when he thought he was justly afflicted of his God, thus to cast himself on the Lord: better to fall into the hands of the Lord, than into the hands of men, for as is his majesty, so is his mercy.

..... When shall my feet be again shod with the preparation of the gospel, and my commission be sealed to go forth. I long at times that it may be so, but am checked and stopped by remembering, that if I am happily doing and suffering according to the will of God, I am doing what I should do; and with him, unto whom a thousand years are as one day, my time spent in this manner may prove acceptable—so be it, saith my soul.

“19th, first-day.—Had an open opportunity at Tottenham meeting to plead with the rich and gay, and also bent in prayer, and supplicated for the poor prisoners, both such as were so in spirit, and those outwardly in bonds; and also for the poor wandering emigrants, who are driven from their homes and all they hold dear: felt comfortable after meeting. I long to be set further at work; and stand resigned and willing in this respect. In the afternoon meeting I felt an opening to encourage the burden bearers and mourners.

“Ninth month 3rd, second-day.—Have a hope I am in my place, having felt on rising an intimation to be still, and wait in patience. The Lord grant it may be so, with a sufficient portion of faith to believe.

“5th.—I attended the burial of B. Head, whose body was brought from London to Tottenham meeting-house. To my admiration I was favoured, out of weakness to be raised into strength, and had an encouraging tendering opportunity.

“7th, first-day.—I am so stript this morning on arising and dressing, that if I can say in truth, ‘Lord have mercy;’—‘Lord, save or I perish;’ it is as far as I think I can go. Went to meeting very poor; but again through divine favour I was raised up in some degree of strength. I could not be easy without inviting the people at large to attend a meeting at five o’clock this evening, which was much filled up, and proved an open, solid time.

“13th, fifth-day.—Scattered a few tears this morning in my chamber on taking a view of my state; yet not without hope. Elisha had hope when he confidently said to his master Elijah, ‘as the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee.’ His master was a type of my Lord and master, Jesus Christ, who ever liveth to make intercession for us; who though ascended up on high, still regards the low estate of his servants:—have faith then, O my soul, in his most Holy name, who can open a way where no way appears.

“15th.—Received a letter from M. Dudley; amongst other sweet sisterly expressions, the following overcame me, and brought me into contrition: ‘My mind, according to its capacity, has felt for thee, under sensations resembling deep uttering unto deep; so that I cannot

admit a doubt of its having been with thy tribulated spirit a time of sorrow and distress; out of which if thou art not yet brought, the Lord will assuredly deliver thee, and put the new song into thy mouth; for he that has anointed is faithful, and will open the two leaved gates, and cut in sunder the bars of iron.’

“16th, first-day.—To Winchmore hill with T. H., where came many gay folks. I went in weakness and under a sense of great unworthiness, and sat the fore part of the meeting much so; but could not be easy without labouring with them from the wise man’s expressions concerning weights and measures, settling with partners, putting all down in writing, &c., alluding to merchants who are very punctual in settling their accounts weekly, and thus find it easy to balance them at the years’ end; which drew me to speak of settling our accounts with the Almighty, day by day, that so a heavy account might not remain against us in a time of sickness and death. I told them I believed no one there had come to that meeting in a sense of greater weakness and unworthiness than myself.—Upon returning I feel more light and easy. How pleasant to feel thus, even for a moment.

“19th.—..... My soul seems let down into sympathy with the wretched among men—O poor tried and tempted man, thou hast an advocate with the Father, who was also tempted and tried, even Jesus Christ the righteous.

“22nd.—A news-paper was brought to me, containing information that the yellow fever had broken out in Philadelphia, and that the inhabitants were very generally leaving the city. I am thankful that my mind was favoured with such quiet this morning.

“23rd, first-day.—This morning I looked home and said, Lord, I desire to submit all to thy disposal, who knowest best what is best for us; and was willing to offer up a prayer and tear for the inhabitants of Philadelphia; and thought also of the poor sailors wounded and mangled in the war in the Mediterranean. Lord, thy power, thy mercy, spread over sea and land. I was favoured with a pretty full and open time at Tottenham meeting. The afternoon meeting was put off to six o’clock, and the neighbours invited; it was a large, and I trust a solid meeting, and I felt relieved and comfortable after it.

“24th.—Attended the select quarterly meeting of London, which was small, many members being abroad at watering places. I had a pretty relieving opportunity after the queries were gone through, and in the close was engaged in prayer.

"25th.—Attended the quarterly meeting, and laboured in the first meeting; that for business was an exercising time, but at length a committee was appointed to sit with Friends of Tottenham, and try to help them over the difficulties respecting tithes and the payers of them.

"26th.—A more wakeful night than usual, and in those wakeful moments, it seemed as though I had to go through yesterday's meeting again. O how distressing is the state of these Tobiahs and Sanballats, who oppose the work, and yet are willing to be thought in their places.

"Tenth month 4th, fifth-day.—Went this morning to Westminster meeting, which was small, but to me a quiet sweet time, wherein my heart was a little enlarged and lifted up, and endeavoured to encourage others to trust in the Lord. M. Watson closed the meeting, I thought weightily, in solemn prayer.

"10th.—Although no opening presents to move away from London and its neighbourhood, yet I feel a comfortable degree of calmness and resignation. I am going into the city to look out a little, resembling, I think, the prophet's servant, who was bid to go again and again to look for the arising of the cloud, which after a time appeared the bigness of a man's hand. Is there not a cloud gathering? I beg for support and sustaining help a little longer. Attended Gracechurch street meeting, where dear Mary Watson was much favoured. She seemed to have the same weapon put into her hand which I was formerly favoured with: my spirit united while she plead with some who had known better days."

In a letter to his son, dated Waltham, William Dillwyn's, tenth month 13th, 1798, he says:

"It is now more than six months since I last came into London, and I have been there and near it, most of the time since, and perhaps I may say, that I never experienced a more humbling, trying dispensation; no way opening from hence, either to any part of the kingdom which I have not visited, or to go home. I humbly trust I am as a servant in waiting; and if my heavenly Master is pleased to accept of suffering, buffetings, siftings, and deep and close trials, as work done, or as filling up my measure, then there is a hope that joy will spring up in the morning, after the night of darkness passeth away. My mind has been turned toward you for months past, and as I looked out of my chamber window this frosty morning, I thought, how is it in Philadelphia? have hundreds been numbered to the grave? has the cold hand of

death been laid on my family and relations, or is the sickness once more removed by frosty weather? I have earnestly laboured for months past after a qualification, morning by morning, and often with tears of exercise and conflict, to say, 'not my will, but thine, O Lord, be done, respecting me and all that appertains to me;' and here I have left you, under the care and protection of Him who numbers the hairs of our head, and without whose notice not a sparrow can fall to the ground; and if he is pleased to permit me to see and enjoy you in a state of mutability, any or all of you, I have said in my heart, it will be a mercy—a favour to be acknowledged; and if otherwise,—if the all-wise and merciful Being is pleased to take any of you to a better place, even a more enriching and enduring habitation, His will be done. I salute you with tender solicitude and love, desiring to hear from you soon, and have yet a hope in due time, of seeing the way open with clearness to return. Time is the Lord's, and through all I hope he has not cast me off from being his servant. Blessed be his holy name, my soul yet craves ability to glorify him, even in the fires."

"14th, first-day.—J. Smith accompanied me to Devonshire meeting. I felt very low on going, and for some time after I sat down in it; but life and strength arose, and I had a pretty open time in ministering to a state under trials and temptations. Near the close an opening to the people at large presented quite unexpectedly, and I was favoured with cheerfulness and resignation to give up to it, and appoint a meeting at six o'clock. In the afternoon meeting was silent. At the appointed meeting I was favoured with a comfortable relieving time. How wonderful are the works of God in leading, instructing and feeding his messengers, and qualifying them to speak to the people. I was favoured to give up immediately, without consulting with flesh and blood, to the holding of this meeting, and had amongst other things to speak of Paul's so yielding to the heavenly vision.

"30th.—Another humbling, heart-searching, heart-breaking morning. The gathering of manna is a daily work; and if I can be enabled to say, 'Thy will be done and not mine,' morning by morning, and evening by evening, this is manna enough. This has been a day of sorrow, and yet may I be truly content, or as much so as such a poor creature dare to look for. 'I cry unto thee, O Lord, and thou dost not hear me: I stand up, and thou regardest me not.' 'Thou liftest me up to the wind; thou caustest me to ride upon it, and dissolvest my substance.' 'When I

looked for good, then evil came unto me: and when I waited for light, there came darkness. My bowels boiled, and rested not: the days of affliction prevented me.' How descriptive of a state of desertion, seeming desertion to us. Even our adorable High Priest cried out in agony, 'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and again at another time, 'I know that thou hearest me always.' Why may we not believe, that by and through the intercession of so great an High Priest, our prayers and our secret cries are heard and noticed. Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief.

"31st.—I crave to be favoured to know an increase in this experience; to be careful for nothing, but in every thing with prayers and supplications, with thanksgiving, to let my wants be known unto God. Notwithstanding all I meet with, there is abundance to be thankful for. Lord, forgive me my frowardness and uneasiness in this sifting, proving time; wherein my faith and confidence in thy protection and care have indeed been proved.

"Eleventh month 2nd.—I remembered these expressions of afflicted Job, on lying down this afternoon; 'terrors are come upon me, they pursue my soul as the wind, and my welfare passeth away as a cloud,' &c. In the evening T. H. brought me a letter from E. Cadbury, to J. Smith, enclosing a paragraph of a letter from her sister, at Burlington, giving an account, that my wife, son and daughter Mary had had the yellow fever. My dear Mary closed her life on the 3rd of ninth month in the morning; and it was thought my beloved Sarah and son Joseph were on the recovery. I trembled when the letter was put into my hands to read; having had a hint of its contents before from my friend. After pausing a while, took it up again, and made another attempt, but failed, and got M. Horne to read it to me. My dear friends fell into silent sympathy with me, and I not only thought with afflicted Job, but expressed it; 'the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

The following extracts from a letter from Rebecca Jones, dated Burlington, ninth month 26th, 1798, will give some further particulars, viz:

"My beloved friend and brother,

"It came into my mind this morning, feeling thee precious brought into view, to spend a little time in thus communing with thee. I find by accounts lately received from England by divers Friends here, that thou as yet dost not find a door of escape from the arduous field, in which thou hast been engaged honest-

ly to labour upwards of four years,—so that, though we are looking for the return of dear William Savery, (who has professed himself clear,) our expectation and hope is suppressed concerning thy returning with him. Fervent is my solicitude on thy account, dear Thomas, that thy sheaves may be full, whenever the Master may be pleased to say to thy exercised spirit, 'it is enough, go in peace.' Dear Sarah Harrison, we hear, is unexpectedly drawn towards Germany, and Mary Swett with her; this will be a fresh trial of faith and patience to her, and to her beloved husband: if thou writest her, do hand to her and Mary Swett, the salutation of my endeared love.

"Thou wilt hear by other letters, that our city has been permitted once more to feel the dire effects of the contagious disease, which carried off so many in 1793, and again the last year. This then is the third stroke of the kind, and by all accounts, more severe than the two preceding, by which many are numbered to the silent grave, both in our city and in New York, where also it spreads rapidly. Chester and Wilmington also are under the same humbling hand. From all these places, the greater part of the inhabitants removed early; but of those who remained, many have died, though many have also recovered, and some of these left their homes soon after.

"As thou art more qualified to enter into our feelings than some others, by having been amongst us in the year 1793, I need not say a great deal on that head, and yet it will excite the tribute of gratitude and thanksgiving to the Father of mercies, to know that thy dear wife and son, and several other Friends who are near and dear to us, have been safely brought through the disease: several known to thee in New York, as well as Philadelphia, &c. have fared otherwise; concerning divers of them it is sealed upon my spirit, that they have in a state of innocency, and measurable preparation of soul, passed quietly out of this vale of tears, into a joyous eternity of bliss and happiness.

"The time for holding our yearly meeting in course, is this week; but so few Friends are in the city, and the disease is so very heavy, that a few of the representatives met last second-day, and have believed it best to adjourn to the second week in next twelfth month; and their so doing has been truly relieving to the minds of many Friends in the country, as well as citizens that are out. Yet, that there should be so solemn and trying a cause for it, is deeply affecting to many of us, who see with awfulness the renewed judgments of the Almighty displayed, and still have reason to fear the people in general are

not learning righteousness ! But the subject, my dear friend, is too heavy for me to enlarge upon at present.

"I spent second-day at thy father Hoskins', and found thy dear Sarah and thy aged mother, who though much weakened in her faculties, is innocent and in good health, so that it would have been quite pleasant being with them, but for thinking of thee, and that thy mind would be affected when thou hearest the sequel of the account, that thy precious daughter Mary is removed to a better inheritance. She did not lay many days struggling with the disease ; her dear mother laying ill at the same time, was not acquainted with the solemn event, until she gained a little strength, and then bore it like a Christian, as I much desire and believe thou wilt, though nature will feel on the occasion. I believe thy dear child was in a state of innocence, and I had several times of late noticed her improvement in solidity as she advanced in growth, nearly to the stature of a young woman ; and her tenderness for her dear mother was such, that though they wished her to stay at Burlington, where she was a few weeks before, she entreated them to let her go and be with her connections in the city.

"My desire is, that this circumstance may not improperly affect or discourage thee, so as to prevent thy proceeding with diligence to finish what appears to remain of the work given thee to do ; which when completed, thy dear connections and friends will rejoice to receive thee again amongst them."

"REBECCA JONES."

The reader will also be interested, it is thought, in the following additional remarks from another hand, viz :

"Burlington, ninth month 30th, 1798.

"Dear Cousin :—

"It is from a renewed feeling of best love, I trust, that I am engaged to address thee in this way, though in weakness. Frequently during thy absence from this land, I have in my small measure, affectionately sympathized with thee in thy arduous engagement to promote the reign of peace on earth : And although from a fear of improperly intruding upon thy attention, I have hitherto been deterred from writing, it is not the first time I have had it impressively on my mind. However sensible, that to me belongs blushing and confusion of face, in the prospect of multiplied defections from the right way of the Lord, and this more in the way of secret faults, and what by some might be esteemed things of no moment, than of open violations of the law and the commandment, yet

being through the mercy and loving kindness of the Father of us all, at seasons quickened to an ardency of desire, that I may more and more aspire after further attainments in, and a deeper acquaintance with the work of sanctification in the soul, I have likewise felt a degree of solicitude, that thousands who are yet strangers to the blessed principle of light and grace inwardly revealed, may not only be brought to behold its unspeakable excellency, but to close in with it, and become subject to its blessed government. Hence I have found my heart to flow with love inexpressible towards those who are called conspicuously to hold up the standard of righteousness to the nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel to near and to distant lands. It has appeared to me a time of great commotion in the world, perhaps unequalled by any which has existed at any former period ; not only wars and rumours of wars mournfully prevail, but opinions and systems which have not the stamp of irrefutable certainty, are made to totter on their bases ; the chains which have enslaved men's minds for ages, are measurably loosened, and unlimited freedom of inquiry, spreads far and wide. It is however to be lamented, that the spirit of the age has extended too far into the other extreme ; and instead of bigotry and superstition, unrestrained licentiousness seems ready to overwhelm the people, and to lead them still further from the knowledge of the true God. Nevertheless, I believe that the faithful are at seasons favoured to behold a divine hand through all, and that it is the gracious intention of the all-seeing One, to bring about great and marvellous acts : and O ! how important has it appeared in my view, that the professors of Christianity every where, more especially within our pale, withdraw themselves from every thing that defileth, so as to exhibit to the world in its native dignity and purity, the peaceful nature of the religion of Jesus ; thus becoming instrumental by the sufficiency of his grace, to promote his work and advance his kingdom.

"And beloved cousin, however deep the baptisms, and closely trying the exercises, which those who are sent on the Lord's errands in this day have to undergo, yet I have thought, that over and above the secret sustaining support which never fails, even in times of the greatest extremity, there is great encouragement to such, in the reflection, that it is a day in which way is making in the hearts of many for a more ready reception of the truth, and wherein its messengers may be more distinguishedly instrumental in bringing people home to its saving efficacy. Is it not to be supposed, that notwithstanding the vast

strides which vice and profligacy have made, the number of those among various classes is great, who seeing the fallacy of mere forms and creeds and professions of religion, are led to seek after something that will afford their unsettled minds real consolation and support?

"The sound of war which has so long disturbed the tranquility of Europe, has at length also reached our borders; whether it will be permitted to increase to any very alarming degree, is not for us at present to know; but be this as it may, we have awful proof that the Majesty on high, can use other means for the punishment of a gainsaying and backsliding people. Poor Philadelphia is a melancholy instance; again has the pestilential cloud broken upon her; again have her streets become almost desolate, and the voice of sadness is heard therein. The yellow fever in its highest malignancy has now prevailed there for nearly two months, and it is generally allowed, to a pitch far exceeding the memorable year 1793, so that notwithstanding the citizens have, in a more general manner, left it than at any former similar period, the number of deaths considerably exceed that of '93, within the same dates. New York is at this time, and has been for several weeks past, in a situation not far behind it in distress, and the desertion thereof by the inhabitants nearly as extensive. Boston has likewise had a share of the calamity, though in a less degree; also Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and New London in Connecticut. At Chester and Wilmington it has raged, it is thought, proportionately to the number of inhabitants, at least to a degree equal to Philadelphia; and at several places, both in Pennsylvania and this state, it has made its appearance. Thus thou wilt perceive, in what a solemn manner the sword of chastisement has again been unsheathed, and ah! that it may be effectual to humble the haughtiness of man—to show the children of folly and disobedience the emptiness of every mundane hope, and induce them to repentance and amendment of life.

"Among a large number of fugitives that have come hither for shelter, are about twenty Friends' families, among which is our beloved Sarah Scattergood, with thy mother, Joseph, Rebecca and the young woman. Thou wilt no doubt, by other channels, be informed of many particulars respecting them, but I apprehend it would be right for me to attempt to communicate something, and indeed this is a principal motive of my writing at this time. They remained in the city until within about two or three weeks of the present time, and experienced a most trying, exercising season; for although it appears they were favoured with a remarkable degree of staidness and

resignation, yet the consideration of what would be best for them, relative to staying or leaving town, became a close trial. This will best appear by a letter which I received from thy precious son Joseph, whose conduct during this dispensation of divine Providence, has been comfortably rejoicing to his friends; I shall transcribe a part, viz:—"Eighth month 28th.—Having a short space of time to spare previous to the gathering of our meeting this morning, I thought I could do no less than acknowledge the receipt of thy truly affectionate and sympathizing lines. To be apprised of the remembrance and love of our friends at such a trying season as the present, is peculiarly grateful. Mother also received a letter from aunt Mary Newbold, expressive of the strong desire of our friends for our retreat from the city; it was put into her hands just as she was going into select meeting yesterday, after which we were both at grandfather Bacon's, and he strongly recommended a compliance with the request. Whilst we were engaged on the subject, uncle Jonathan Evans came in and earnestly joined in the same sentiment, acknowledging he had been some time uneasy about us, and wished much that we were gone. After all that, the matter seemed to devolve solely upon ourselves, and mother passed through an afternoon of exercise, and perhaps I may venture to say I was not altogether void of feeling on the occasion: no strength was afforded to engage in the business. Well, dear cousin, I feel it to be a time of uncertainty with us, and my heart and eyes are frequently affected when I contemplate the scene that is around me; I now feel more than I have language to express, so must affectionately bid thee for the present, farewell." A note at the bottom of the same letter, says: "Since closing the foregoing I went into the house and found mother in bed with a chill, &c.: if thou thinkest it will do, mention it with caution—thus trials are multiplying fast upon us."

"While at meeting he began to be unwell himself, which terminated in the prevailing disorder, and Mary was taken down about the same time, so that indeed they became a very afflicted family. But yet they were not forsaken or neglected; the faithful woman who lived with them, and who did not take the disorder, was very attentive and useful in taking care of them. Also Edward Garrigues and Nathan A. Smith, evinced on the occasion, as well as many others during the calamity, a truly Christian tenderness and sympathy, providing them with nurses, necessary things, and visiting them daily. Joseph had a pretty smart turn of it, yet his symptoms were thought to be rather of the more

favourable kind; but cousin Sarah and Mary were severely attacked,—the first lay several days so low that her recovery seemed doubtful, and when she arrived to a state of convalescence, she acquired her strength but slowly. But lovely, innocent Mary—how shall I speak of her! I feel near sympathy with thee on her account, and yet thou well knowest, that He whose dispensations are all in wisdom, has a right to dispose of us as he sees meet, and that when he inclines to take even such as are most near to us, unto himself, it is rather a cause of rejoicing than of grief. After struggling with the disorder for several days, she was taken from a world of temptation, to join, I trust, the blessed in the realms of purity and love. We are sweetly confirmed in this persuasion, in remembering that her conduct and deportment of later time evidenced an improvement, and that although her disposition was naturally volatile, her mind was in a great measure kept free from the taints of impurity. Consonant herewith is the opinion of Thomas Moore, a valuable religious young Englishman, with whom I understand thou wast acquainted in England. Being in company with him at Darby, where he at present sojourns, our conversation turned upon thy family, and speaking of Mary, he remarked in substance thus, ‘As I was sitting with the family, a short time before I left the city, and observing her innocent deportment and solidity, it rejoiced me to think she was improving, and what a comfort she was likely to be to her father on his return.’ An extract from another letter of Joseph’s to cousin Rachel Hoskins, directly after his getting out the first time, I am induced also to transcribe, viz:—‘Ninth month 9th.—Having arrived through favour, at a state of pretty tolerable strength, I feel my mind influenced, I trust, in best love again to address my dear cousin in this way. I feel as if I could not enter into a very minute detail of the afflictive dispensation, which no doubt in the ordering of best wisdom, hath, within these two weeks past, fallen to our lot; indeed I am ready to conclude it is hardly necessary, as I have but little doubt you have received nearly every particular from the pens of our truly kind and attentive friends E. Garrigues and N. Smith; they have been indefatigable in their attention, by visiting us divers times in a day, and in procuring necessities. I hope and believe their reward is sure. I got down stairs last fifth-day, but was very weak,—have been mending fast ever since—got out this morning to meeting, being the longest walk I had taken, but find myself not the worse for it. When I first went out, I think there was not a person to be seen in the street, and as I passed along

my own footsteps sounded solemnly in my ears; truly I thought that none but those who are actually on the spot could form an adequate idea of the solemnity of the scene which our distressed, depopulated city exhibits. I have also the satisfaction of informing thee that dear mother is mending: yesterday was the first of her being apprised of the death of dear sister Mary—she bears it with fortitude beyond what we expected; her weak state would not admit of an earlier discovery. The day of her decease was the first of my attempting to set up, and though so weak as to be just able to move a little about the room, I could not be easy without trying to get down to see her remains—which I effected, and beheld them decently laid out; her countenance was exceedingly yellow, but a pleasing innocence was fixed thereon, and an evidence seemed to possess my mind, that she was taken from the evil to come, and out of the way of many temptations, into those perpetually abiding habitations, where joy and peace forever dwell; therefore, what excuse is there for mourning?’

“After cousin Sarah and Joseph had pretty well recovered, the way opened for the family’s coming to this place, which was accomplished without much difficulty. Her accustomed meekness and serenity did not forsake her in this time of affliction, her mind being strengthened and supported by that Almighty Power, who fails not to be strength in weakness, and an impregnable fortress to which the righteous may flee, and find safety in times of trouble; so that she might adopt the language, (as dear Samuel Emlen told her in my hearing,) ‘All thy waves and thy billows passed over me.’”

“21st, fourth-day.—To Peel monthly meeting, where dear George Stacey, who returned last first-day from Germany, gave in an account of his travels there with S. Harrison, C. Cook, and M. Swett, and he being encouraged to go to the women’s meeting, I felt a liberty to go and set by him: and after he had given in his account there, I felt a motion to kneel down and return thanks for their preservation, and to pray that the Almighty might be pleased to protect all his servants and messengers whom he has sent forth in this land.

“22nd.—I feel deeply for the inhabitants of this city, and sorrow for them at seasons. Attended meeting at Westminster with Mary Stacey, where tears with anguish of soul were my portion; until a young man kneeled down in supplication, and appeared dipped into my feelings; and having before apprehended that duty would fall on me before the conclusion

of the meeting, upon his closing I gave up to it, and felt enlargement to pray for the inhabitants of this city, for the poor amongst men, who have no helper but the Lord, and that if it was his pleasure, in unspeakable wisdom, to humble and bend the sturdy oaks, he may be pleased also thus to manifest his mercy.

"23rd.—This has been a day of retirement, in which I have felt a comfortable degree of resignation and quiet; and in reading the Bible, some passages in Revelations, &c., were more opened to my view than ever before. I trust that in this deep plunging season for many months past, I have had a degree of fellowship with the sufferers in ages past, viz: David, Job, Jeremiah, &c., and also with my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and O how I should rejoice in being favoured once more with strength to go forth and publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of the wondrous works of the Lord. This I know the mighty One of Israel can accomplish in me and for me, if it be his will. But, if it is his pleasure to strip me longer, and that I must yet remain desolate, sitting on the ground, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God.' Pardon me, and cast all my iniquities behind thy back."

In a letter dated eleventh month 28th, 1798, at London, to his family, he says:

"Great indeed has been the travail of my soul in secret for six months past. I could copy many things from my little diary which would convince my friends that I have not been idle, and I have thought sometimes if it was my Master's good pleasure to remove me from my troubles here, the account of my time spent from day to day would witness for me; for indeed I have been a mournful Jeremiah in and near London, and but little can I do but weep, and wait for those days to be over, and to hear this language, 'It is enough.' I have not drawn back from any labour which was clearly pointed out in my own land, neither do I find this charge against me here, though of late weeks it has been a time of as deep searching of heart as ever my soul has experienced. Yet after all, with deep humility I acknowledge I have not been faultless. What a hard thing it is, when plunged into the deeps, to be content in the will of God. What a hard thing for the unsubjected will, wit, and reason of man to become a fool—one of no reputation. Truly I have thought, my soul never was made so sensible of what the patriarchs, prophets, and mournful sufferers in their day and generation passed through, and of the agonizing pangs of Him unto whom the heathen was given for an inheritance, and

the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession, who also gave his cheeks to the smiter, and his face to them that plucked off the hair, who hid not his face from shame and spitting, nor withheld his head from the crown of thorns, or his body from the cross; and all this willingly for our sakes; unto whom I beg ability to look up in all my struggles and trials. My soul can say of late with the royal Psalmist, 'O Lord God of my salvation, I have cried day and night before thee; let my prayer come before thee; incline thine ear unto my cry: for my soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth nigh unto the grave. I am counted with them that go down into the pit: I am as a man that has no strength: free among the dead, like the slain that lay in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more, and they are cut off by thy hand: thy hand layeth hard upon me, thou hast afflicted me with all thy waves: thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me, I am shut up; I cannot come forth.'

"25th, third-day.—Awoke early this morning and arose more calm and quiet, and I hope truly disposed to say, Here am I, Lord, send me. How precious to feel this even for a little moment: how comfortable in the outward, after a storm of tossing and danger, to experience an easy breeze; and so it is in a religious sense. I have had days of tossing and trouble for many months past, and now if it should consist with the will of the Lord, to grant me some ease and liberty of spirit, how thankful ought my soul to be. But it is not for me to judge: if more suffering is best, I ought likewise to be resigned to say, Here am I: Thy will be done, my heavenly Master. Keep thy tried servant from falling.

"Attended the quarterly meeting, which was very large; and to my thankful and humble admiration, much labour fell to my lot; my heart being opened and enlarged, both in testimony and in supplication. The business was conducted comfortably, and the meeting ended so. I felt a change in my situation last evening before I lay down, and went to bed more calm and comfortable in mind, when an opening presented of enlargement in the quarterly meeting, which has now been fulfilled; also the renewal of a prospect which has for some months been presented to my mind, and then died away and left me; that is, to visit the prisons of this city. This prospect seemed so fixed and sealed on my mind, that I stopped some Friends after meeting, and laid it before them for their concurrence and help in the arduous work.

"26th, fourth-day.—Empty and poor this morning, but I desire to be so, that I may be qualified to render up my will and affections

unto my God, that he may be pleased to guide my feet aright. I desire ability to say, day by day, Thy will be done. Attended Grace-church street meeting and laboured in testimony.

"28th.—Spent this evening more lightsome and comfortable than has often been my experience: feeling resigned to whatever kind Providence may be pleased to permit; yea, the cup he gives I am willing to drink. Lord, bless it, sanctify it, and preserve thy servant over and through all. O preserve me to the end of my days, and grant that in passing through tribulation and distress here, I may wash my garments in the blood of the Lamb.

"29th, seventh-day.—To a meeting appointed for the children of criminals, at the Philanthropist Reform, there were about one hundred and two. They were arranged in ranks before me, and stood. It was an open time, and when I kneeled down in supplication they went down also. Several of the committee who have the care of them, also the governor, and the masters who teach the boys their trades, attended, and were kind and respectful. After the opportunity we went to the girls' apartment, and had a pretty good time with about fifty of them. Some were noticed to weep, and I left them relieved in mind. Dined at Thomas Sturges' with Joseph Smith and Wilson Birkbeck, who accompanied me in this visit.

"30th, first-day.—J. Smith, W. Birkbeck and T. S. accompanied me to the House of correction. Had an opportunity with about fourteen men in a dismal place—however, it was relieving to my mind: the poor creatures behaved well, and I was dipped into sympathy with them, and hope it will prove a time of some profit and encouragement to individuals among them. Some of them on parting sent their blessing after me. Went into the women's room and had a satisfactory time with about eight or ten of them; some of whom appeared tender: from thence we stept into a school for girls, where there were about fifty, and I had a satisfactory opportunity among them. After dinner endeavoured to obtain a meeting at the Asylum for poor orphan children, but failed, and though I felt a great weight and exercise on my spirit on returning home, as I frequently have done in walking London streets, yet after reading with the family, I feel pretty comfortable and easy, for which favour I am thankful.

"31st, second-day; and the last day in the year. I had a comfortable night, and I awoke and arose so. But O what a baptism I passed through afterwards! how is it possible to describe it, except in David's words in the seventy-seventh psalm, on which I opened in my

distress upon taking up the blessed book to read. O Lord, my soul is bowed down because of oppression. Remember me and search me—let nothing remain unjudged, that I may stand before thee with acceptance, and be accounted worthy to promote thy cause and truth in the earth. Help me through my difficulties; wean me from all letting and hindering things. For thy mercy's sake, grant that I may leave that labour and toil that has made me to walk uncomfortably in the way, and lift up my heart to thee in faith and confidence, and give up in all things to do thy blessed will, that so I may yet be found doing thy work in my day and generation. Send forth the covering of thy righteousness. Strip me of all my filthy garments, and clothe thy servant with a change of raiment. Thou knowest the unutterable pangs of distress I have passed through for many months past, and I humbly hope my soul lies prostrate in dust and ashes before thee. Restore unto me peace and comfort.

"1799, first month 3rd, fifth-day.—I have had occasion to praise the Lord for ease of spirit this morning; that is, if we are to rejoice in ease and quietness of mind more than in dispensations more trying. The cloud separates, and a little light spreads. I desire to receive it with fear and trembling, for baptism, deep baptism is profitable. Went to the new jail for the county of Surrey, where I had an open time with about two hundred prisoners, much to the relief of my mind. Went afterwards to the Clink prison, where we found only two prisoners—a little arose on my mind for them."

In relation to this visit he remarks in a letter of this date.

"This day accompanied by my kind friends, I visited the prisoners in the new jail: a most extraordinary building indeed. I suppose we had all sorts, and truly I may say, such was the love and desire I felt for them when amongst them, and the enlargement of heart, that I forgot my own troubles, and how long I had been as it were in the pit. Tenderness was apparent in some, and a secret hope prevailed in my mind, that the opportunity would be, at least to some, like bread cast on the waters, found after many days." He adds, "I expect and look for deep labour and travail before the door will open peacefully to leave this city; how far I may be engaged in this arduous work, or what will next open, I feel disposed to leave to Him, who marvelously leads the blind by a way that they know not, and in paths they have not seen."

"4th.—Attended the meeting for sufferings. I am informed that the committee meet with much difficulty to obtain leave for me to go into the prisons—and no more business can be laid out this week.

"6th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, low in mind but had to labour once more in a close line. Appointed a public meeting to be held at six o'clock in the evening. Attended afternoon meeting at two o'clock, and a little arose on my mind to impart to the youth. In the appointed meeting, which was large, I was altogether shut up. Charity Cook preached early, and after a considerable time of silence, dear George Dillwyn took the service of the meeting entirely off my mind, and I felt content and easy.

"10th.—I opened the Bible on Job, sixth chapter, which is descriptive of my often tried state. C. C., M. S. and A. C. paid me an acceptable visit, in which my mind was comforted, and its burden a little removed. Is then faith, even when no more than a grain of mustard seed, able to remove a mountain? Yes, and it seems as though it was possible to live under the weight of a mountain, when this little grain is hid out of sight; yet, if it is hid in the heart, it is enough.

"12th.—A quiet day—a sweet calm spread over my mind whilst sitting by the fire side of my kind friend Truman Harford. I received a note from J. B., informing that they will not let me proceed further in visiting prisons. I received the account with composure of mind, for which I feel thankful.

"13th, first-day.—Went to Ratcliff meeting and had an open time in testimony. I was much abased on going to the afternoon meeting, but a solemnity soon spread, and I bent in supplication in a broken manner, with tears. I prayed fervently for strength and ability to drink the remainder of the cup of suffering, even the dregs of it, in this city, and subscribe to the Lord's will. M. Ransom had a good time after; and before the meeting broke up, I was enlarged, and much tenderness appeared. Spent the evening in pleasant conversation, and lay down pretty easy and comfortable."

"Dublin, First month 2nd, 1799.

"Dear Thomas,

"My long silence has not been for want of near sympathy, nor true brotherly love, as I know of no brother that I am more united to in the bond of gospel fellowship. Thy last letter was the most satisfactory that I ever received from thee; nor do I think it could have been penned more suitably to my then situation. Thou mentioned thy deep trials, in which thou felt as though thou wast plunged into the horrible pit and sunk to the bottom of it. When I

read this part of thy letter I was filled with a mixture of sorrow and joy; sorrow on thy account, that thy sufferings were so great, and joy on my own, to find I had the company of so dear a brother, travelling in a way I thought almost untrodden by any. I may acknowledge that my trials since in Ireland, have been like the loosening of new seals of the book of religious experience. But hitherto I have been helped and carried through every afflictive dispensation, and am at present in better health of body than when I first landed in Europe, and find much greater openness amongst people of every rank than when I first entered Ireland. I have lately visited most of the towns and places where the greatest destruction of lives and property occurred, and found many seeking people, whose former rests appeared to be much shaken, if not broken up; and with these I have had many refreshing seasons. Public meetings are generally crowded by the better sort of people, whose behaviour is very becoming the occasion. I have also visited most of the families of Friends where the greatest trials have appeared, as Carlow, Ballitore, Rathangan, &c., and returned to this city a few days since. What may open as the line of duty, I do not clearly see at present; but as I did not visit all the families before I left this city, I may likely do a little more in that way before I go to the northern parts the nation. My detention in this land has been very trying to me, as I seemed exposed to every kind of danger, not only by robbers and murderers, confusions and tumults of various kinds, but by unfeeling professors, who have greatly departed from the faith of their worthy forefathers, and yet desire to be called the children of Abraham: but I believe my trials of this sort are nearly over, as many who have been hidden are now made manifest, and of the more undesigning and simple hearted are favoured to see the snare, and divers have escaped from the wreck, and I humbly hope all may be gathered into the faith once delivered to the saints, and the prey be taken from the jaws of the devourer: but this must be the Lord's work, for none but him can do it. The general state of society appears to me but low, yet there are many precious plants in Ireland, and I think their number will increase, and is now increasing. Many enquire after thee with much affection and love. I have heard of thy late trial in the loss of thy dear daughter, and I believe do sympathize with thee in that and other afflictive dispensations, yet have not the least doubt but all those things that we meet with, and which may seem little else to our taste than the wormwood and gall, are but like the strong

winds sent to bring the leaky ship to a safe port. As I remember to have heard dear George Dillwyn say when in America, to an afflicted Friend, 'Our proper business at such times is to keep the head of the vessel the right way, and if we did so, we should gain by such dispensations.' I have not heard much from America respecting the state of our Friends, that I cannot tell who are removed or who are left, but have heard of some valuable Friends being removed from works to rewards. Having given thee a sketch of matters, I conclude in that brotherly love that many waters cannot quench, and rest thy affectionate friend and brother,

"DAVID SANDS."

"19th.—Took post chaise and rode to Canterbury to attend the funeral of William Elgar.

"20th, first-day.—To the burial house, and accompanied the corpse along the street to the meeting-house, which was much filled up with the town's people. Here I met dear Richard Baker, who was pretty largely engaged in the meeting. Tears were my meat in the fore part of it, and I was glad of the company and help of such a fellow labourer. Near the close I bent in prayer, and before the meeting broke up was most easy to appoint a meeting, although in much weakness, to be held at six o'clock in the evening. We followed the corpse a long way through the city, and a pretty long one out of the gate thereof; and a crowd gathered round the grave, beside Friends, of whom there was a reputable company. I laboured among them from these expressions; 'Fear God, and give glory to his name, for the hour of his judgments is come,' &c. It was a quiet time, to Friends' admiration, for in former years there had been sad doings, even to the pulling of ministering Friends down, &c. I dined at the burial house, and at the table I prayed that truth might not fall in the streets here; and also for the son of the deceased, in a particular manner. Afterward a large number of Friends came in, and I was favoured with much enlargement of heart in speaking to them. To the evening meeting, which was an open, solid time, and broke up so. Supped at our lodgings, and after it had an opportunity with the gay children of this widow, who have gone off from Society. After this day's work feel easy in mind.

"21st, second-day.—Went to W. Patterson's and visited his wife, who is declining fast; here came Richard Baker, and we were favoured together, I hope, with the breaking of spiritual bread. Went again to the house of the deceased, and had a solid opportunity

with divers Friends. Set off about one o'clock in a chaise for Dover, and met a very kind reception from the wife and children of Richard Baker.

"27th, first-day.—Set off soon after breakfast in a post chaise with R. H. and R. Baker, for Folkstone, where a meeting had been appointed, which was large and solid. It was comfortable to visit a simple-hearted people, and it seemed as if they were loath to break up meeting and depart. Dined at W. M.'s, and afterwards had a sweet, refreshing opportunity. Went back to R. Baker's, time enough to attend the evening meeting, which was much crowded, and closed in a solemn manner. I spent a sweet, refreshing evening after it at R. Baker's, where we had a religious opportunity, in which he appeared in testimony, and I was engaged in supplication, with a thankful heart, and lay down under this feeling."

In a letter addressed to his family, dated 28th of this month, after informing them of the preceding meetings, he says:

"Yesterday's labour and the sweet reward annexed, have set me up a little, and I fervently beg support, not only to the end of this journey, but to the end of my days, and that the Lord may have the honour and praise of his own work, in and by all his dedicated servants and messengers. . . . I hear likewise of the decease of M. B., only son of M.,—he has, by account, left great concerns behind. The last meeting I was at with him at Gilford, about nine or ten months ago, was a memorable one to me; indeed, I have oft remembered the impression then made on my mind, and which I had to express concerning some then present. The uncertainty of visible enjoyments is often uppermost with me in this land, and, my dwelling has been much, if may so express it, as among the dead. 'Free among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more, and they are cut off by thy hand. Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in darkness in the deeps. Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me; thou hast made me an abomination unto them. I am shut up, I cannot come forth.' This was David's experience in his state of affliction; and I have often read him and Job in the line of experience. But after all, this is the sum; I think I cannot, I must not, be without such trying dispensations. The Lord knows best what is best, and his sovereign, blessed will be done."

"30th.—Attended an appointed meeting

held in the town hall at Deal. The people were slow in coming, and for a considerable time there were but few. R. Baker stood in testimony for some time, during which others came in. Seeing a crowd near the stairs, and feeling love in my heart toward all, I stood up and with considerable pains got them to come forward, and make way for others, until at length the house was pretty full; and I was favoured with an open time. In the afternoon rode to Margate, and met a kind reception at the widow Newby's.

"31st.—To an appointed meeting in a large assembly room. R. Baker had the labour, and my share was in supplication, and I felt most easy to appoint another at six o'clock in the evening. It was small, occasioned by a great snow storm, and I was much shut up for nearly two hours; but at length had a satisfactory time with such as met.

"Third month 1st.—J. C., a fisherman and preacher among the Methodists came to see us, with whom we had some satisfactory conversation: he is a loving, goodly man, and proposed my having a meeting in their chapel this evening, which I declined. After meeting last evening, another Methodist preacher came to me, and I suppose was sensible that I had been disappointed in not seeing so many people together as I desired, and wished me not to be discouraged.

"2nd, seventh-day.—Feeling easy with respect to this place, I set off in a post chaise for Canterbury, and got to Dover about dusk.

"11th.—To Folkstone to the burial of J. Elgar at eleven o'clock. The new unfinished meeting house was fitted up with seats, and much crowded. It proved an open time: several serious soldiers were present. After dinner I had a remarkable religious opportunity, in which the builder of the meeting-house was much tendered and reached. Went to see the parents and children of the deceased, and had a comfortable opportunity. Walked to the sea side and met with the mayor of the town, who came to me in a kind manner, and expressed his satisfaction with the meeting, and said he hoped it would be profitable, especially to the young people; whose minds were uncultivated. He is a goodly man."

"Holdgate, Second month 7th, 1799.

"Beloved friend T. S.

"I trust our love and friendship is founded on a basis that admits of perfect freedom; and in this persuasion I feel encouraged to address thee at this season, though not without the recollection of having already demonstrated my continued remembrance of thee, since favoured with a letter from thee. But as

the pure cementing union of gospel fellowship, far exceeds all ceremonies, I shall not attempt much apology for the present mark of freedom, but in simplicity and sincerity take this method of convincing my endeared friend, that length of separation, either in distance or time, has by no means erased him out of my memory, nor caused any diminution of that love which first united our spirits. I have, at seasons, felt near love and sympathy with thy exercised mind, so that notwithstanding many have been my own conflicts and probations, yet I have thought, if it were possible, I could joyfully take part of thy burden on my own shoulder, that thy mind might in some degree be relieved. I esteem it an unspeakable favour, to feel such a degree of spiritual union, as to enable in some measure, to dip into fellow feeling with tribulated spirits. I know nothing that qualifies Christian travellers to sympathize with the tossed and afflicted, more than a large degree of suffering themselves; because what we have tasted, what our hands have handled, we can speak of experimentally. These, and similar considerations, have at times, encouraged me to labour after a state of contentment and endeavour to bear all things patiently, trying to believe in that blessed assertion; 'All things shall work together for good, to those that love and fear God.' The last account of thee furnished me with tidings of thy engagement in visiting the prisons in the city of London; an arduous work for a feeling mind, who is coveting above all things, the health and salvation of the souls of mankind; and consequently must be dipped into a state of deep suffering in feeling the great departure from purity and holiness, and the degeneracy of the human race. Oh! what cause is still administered by the deep revolting, backsliding professors, for the Lord's exercised servants and ministers, to put on the garment of sackcloth, weeping as between the porch and the altar, interceding with Omnipotence, for the continuation of his merciful regard towards the workmanship of his holy Hand! My soul is often bowed in humble contrition, when I feel the deplorable state of those who are saying, in the expressive language of conduct, 'We will not have this man to rule over us;' remembering that the Lord has pleaded in mercy, not only immediately by the revelation of his own pure Spirit, but has caused the alarming trumpet to be sounded in Zion by his instruments; and his judgments for transgressions declared on his holy mountain. May not the language be adopted, 'What more could the Lord have done for his vineyard?' Surely he hath dealt bountifully with his creature man; but O how obvious are the

returns of ingratitude, instead of the dedication of the whole heart to serve the King of kings with perfect obedience. Are there not those in the present day who can say with the mournful prophet, 'For these things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.' Though we are made abundantly sensible, that true religion is a heart felt, individual work; and that however solicitous we may feel for the spiritual welfare one of another, it is not possible for any man to redeem his brother, or give to God a ransom for his soul; yet, how does the universal love of our heavenly Father, so abound in the hearts of his disciples, that they are made willing to spend and be spent, in calling to repentance and amendment of life. And if through the efficacy of the Lord's mighty power, such are made instruments in his holy hand, to turn one soul unto righteousness and holiness of life, it will amply compensate for the labour, deep exercises and fiery baptisms, which I believe accompany all those who are rightly qualified to advocate a cause dignified with immortality and crowned with eternal life. Well then, dear friend, may thou and I put on strength in the name of the Lord, and do whatsoever our hands find to do with all our might; remembering that after having done the will of God, we have need of patience to receive the promise. I seem to feel so much of that love to flow in my heart towards my beloved fellow pilgrim, which leads to perfect freedom, that I am almost ready to forget I am writing to a father in Israel. Doubtless thou hast heard, ere this period, that my feeble frame has once more been reduced to a state of great weakness, insomuch that my recovery appeared for a time very doubtful. During the time of this affliction, my mind was mostly preserved in a state of calmness, though I felt no great redundancy of heavenly good, nor sensible feeling of the presence of Him whom my soul loveth; but was enabled, through holy help, to lift up my head, at seasons, in hope, remembering that I was in the hands of a gracious Creator; and that it became me, as a dependent servant, patiently to suffer his will, whether in life or death. After my disorder took a favourable turn, and my strength a little increased, the situation of my mind became very trying, so as not to be fully expressed in words, or comprehended by the natural understanding; but such a deeply exercised mind as my endeared friend's may be capable of fathoming in degree, what I have had to pass through, and in measure, am now wading under; when I tell him, hope of salvation for mine own soul hath hung upon so slender a thread, that I have been near letting go my confidence; uttering this language in the secret of my

heart, 'Surely my God hath forsaken me, he hath hid his face from me.' O the anguish of my stripped mind, when not able to put up a single petition for the help of Omnipotence, nor feel his protecting Arm underneath for my support; instead of this holy confidence, I was tempted to call in question all former experiences of the Lord's gracious dealings with me, apprehending I never was commissioned, nor rightly prepared and qualified to preach the everlasting gospel. The enemy of my soul's salvation, uses every stratagem to cast down below measure, and thereby keep from serving the Lord with a cheerful heart, and willing mind. I believe thou canst read me in the line of deep experience; the consideration of which gives liberty for free communication: for these are mysteries not understood to the full, only by such as have trod in similar footsteps."

"12th.—Attended the monthly meeting held at the new house, where several goodly people, beside Friends came, and also two serious soldiers. It was a sweet time, and these men were very tender. I had also an open opportunity in the men's meeting. After dinner the two soldiers came to us, and we had a precious season with them on parting. O what tenderness they evinced, and what sweetness and love was to be felt. The Lord be praised for this manifestation of merciful regard. Returned to Dover with R. B. and S. Talbot, in a post chaise, and was at a meeting appointed by S. Talbot. A few seeking people came in, and much solemnity prevailed; and now after so many meetings of exertion my bodily powers are broken down, and my voice much gone, yet the peace I feel is more than a reward for all. Blessed be the name of the Lord therefore."

The following extracts from a letter addressed to Rebecca Jones, though chiefly a repetition of his engagements, may not be uninteresting, viz:

"Dover, Second month 13th, 1799.

"My dear friend,

"Although it is some time since thou hast heard from me in this way, thou mayest rest assured I have not forgotten thee: no, my beloved, sympathizing sister, thou hast been as a seal on my heart in labours and travels, watchings and tears in this land, and I now feel a little strength and willingness once more to tell thee so.

I once entrusted thee with some of my painful experience not long before we parted, by showing some of my daily notes; and may yet inform, that the same tribulated path

has been assigned to thy poor brother in this land. Deep have been the wadings of my soul for months past, and at seasons I have thought my faith and hope have been tried almost to the uttermost; but surely underneath must have been the Everlasting Arm, or else I should have fainted by the way. I think I have been made sensible of your afflictions at large in Philadelphia, as well as that portion, which, no doubt in all-wise disposal, has fallen to the lot of my dear family; and I have been favoured with so much resignation of mind as to be able to say, 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord;'—and here I am disposed to leave it, for it has sometimes been almost too much for my thoughts to dwell upon. 'The works of the Lord, they are wonderful, and his works among men are hidden.'

"Thou wilt very likely hear, not only by my letters to my beloved Sarah, but others, that my mind has been turned to visit the miserable among my fellow creatures, shut up in prison houses, &c.; and I proceeded as far, in this arduous business, as way could be procured for me by my kind friends. As far as I went in the service, it was comfortable to my own mind, and I have no cause to doubt but that it was productive of some consolation, at least to some of the visited. Here once more I was thrown out of business, and in this state my friend Robert Howard, who, with dear J. G. Bevan, had been kindly interested in trying to make way, came to visit me. When I saw him coming in, the thought arose, whether he had not found some more work in the goals; but he soon informed me, that he was going to Canterbury to attend the burial of William Elgar, the principal Friend in that city, and was disposed to take me with him; and having had thoughts that there was some further labour assigned me, in that county, and seeing a little light shine on this movement, I took courage and set off with him, though under discouragement and depression of mind. However, through the Lord's goodness, light has continued, and here in this county of Kent, a new and unforeseen field of service has opened, very different from that which I was engaged in this time twelve months ago. I then saw little further than visiting the meetings of Friends, and only had one amongst others at Folkstone, which was satisfactory. Now the way has opened in a different line. The corpse of this Friend was taken to the little meeting-house, which was pretty much filled up, and we had a long walk to the grave, through one of the streets of the city. Numbers who were not Friends followed on

the opposite side of the street, and I rejoiced in having so large a company at the grave. The people behaved solidly, which I have been informed has often been far otherwise. Since that, I have had several public meetings at Dover, one at Deal, and two at Margate.

"Last first-day I attended the burial of our ancient friend Sarah Beck. The house was filled up pretty much by the town's people, and I had a public meeting in the evening,—both favoured seasons.

"On second-day went to the burial of John Elgar, Folkstone, who died of a scrofulous complaint; and I trust his light afflictions have not only worked for his good, but have been and will be a blessing to the rest of the family. Friends are building a new meeting-house, and the carpenters were willingly disposed to fit it up for the accommodation of a meeting; and some of them, I have heard, said, all they desired was to be able to get in and occupy one of the seats they had made for the purpose. The corpse was put into the ground first, and afterwards such an eagerness to get into the house I have not often seen; and it was a large, crowded and good meeting. The mayor of the town, whom I met with afterwards on the sea shore, expressed his satisfaction, and said he hoped it would be profitable, especially to the young people, for they were raw and uncultivated, &c. There were also several goodly soldiers at meeting. Yesterday was their monthly meeting at Folkstone—some few of the neighbours attended, and two soldiers; the latter came to the Friend's house where we dined, and a memorable opportunity we had with them on parting. O the sweetness, meekness, and love that was to be felt in their minds, though to outward appearance mighty men. Great have been the sympathy and love I have felt for this class of people, and I should not wonder if they are numbered amongst the first fruits of a precious visitation approaching toward this favoured island. The Lord in his infinite love hasten it.

"I am now at my dear friend Richard Baker's, who with his wife are like a father and mother, and their dear girls as sisters or daughters to me. Here I stopt, and turning to R. Baker's two daughters, told them I was writing to Rebecca Jones. The girls answered, 'Do give our dear love, and mother, if here would send hers also. Richard says, 'I have just been thinking of her since dinner, and I will give thee something to insert;' and here I copy it from his memorandum handed me. 'Richard Baker desires his very dear love to be remembered to Rebecca Jones, and who frequently has revived in his remem-

brance profitably, and wishes her to be informed for her encouragement, to attend to impressions that may sometimes appear small; that the single sentence she delivered to him without any comment thereon, on meeting him in a street, has been made more profitable to him than some whole volumes he has read, which was this: Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' Pray for me my dear friend, that my head may be kept above water, and that I may answer the Lord's requirings in this land, whether in further suffering, or whatever labour may be pointed out! O this is the breathing desire of thy deeply conflicting friend, who loves thee.

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

"14th, fifth-day.—To the week-day meeting at Dover; towards the close stood up in testimony, and endeavoured to encourage those present. I appointed a meeting to be held at six o'clock, which was crowded, and a quiet, solemn time.

"15th.—Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am baptized? They hardly knew whereof they spoke, when they said, 'We are able.' O the feelings of this hour with my wading soul. Lord God Almighty, thou, and thou alone canst enable me to drink the cup with becoming submission and resignation. Send forth help from thy holy sanctuary, and strengthen me out of Zion. Open the way and go before thy servant, and favour me to accomplish the day's work with the day. How unsearchable is thy wisdom; and thy judgments and ways are past finding out.

"16th.—Paid a sweet visit to the boarding school kept by E. Kelly; and both mistress and children were much tendered. After dinner took R. Baker with me and paid a visit to — King, a play actor, who received me kindly. E. Kelly's husband told me he lay in the barracks near my house in the year 1772."

On the 17th he attended a funeral at Canterbury; and on the 18th went to Rochester and consulted Friends about a meeting at Sheerness.

"19th.—It seems almost as if the two meetings in view were as the last handful of meal in the barrel, and all the little oil left in the cruse. . . . Called in and sat with a Friend whom we found very poorly, and had a baptizing opportunity in her chamber, and then accompanied by Dr. C. and R. Baker, went to Sheerness. We were kindly noticed by several inhabitants, and the meeting was held in a large and commodious Methodist meeting-house and proved a favour-

ed time; the people were open and kind after it—some stopped me and expressed their satisfaction. I do not learn that there ever was a meeting held here by a Friend before.

"20th.—Got to Rochester to dinner, and requested Friends to collect the people of the place at half past six o'clock in the evening; which proved a laborious time, but towards the close more comfort and enlargement were experienced.

"21st.—The week-day meeting was a comfortable time, and soon after dinner set off in a post chaise for London.

"22nd.—Went to Tottenham meeting in a very low state, where was a marriage, and I went and dined with the company. After tea the guests were collected into one room, and we had a solemn time, in which I found some relief by pouring out my soul in supplication; and afterwards had a remarkable tendering season whilst addressing the children. It is marvellous to me that it should be so, and that the water of weakness and great discouragement should for a moment be turned into the wine of refreshment.

"23rd.—How blind and stripped I am, and I trust disposed to say, Thy will, O Lord, and not mine be done. O the mystery of this work, in being thus abased from day to day.

"Third month 14th, fifth-day.—Feel a secret hope reviving, that it is right to go to Suffolk quarterly meeting. After meeting went home with W. Dillwyn, and having received a note from dear J. Bevans, desiring I would come to London this afternoon, S. D. and children went with me. After conferring with him respecting accompanying me, if I must go further north, we went into the room to S. Talbot and companion, G. Stacey, and others, &c., and had a sitting, in which Sarah Shackleton spoke concerning the enemy tempting our Lord to command that the stones might be made bread to satisfy his hunger; after which I kneeled down and prayed, and felt some relief. A prospect was renewed on my mind to have a public meeting at Chelmsford, of which I desired G. Stacey to write to a Friend there.

"15th.—Set off accompanied by my kind friends William Forster and M. Philips, and arrived at Chelmsford about five o'clock; not without a weight of sorrow and exercise, especially on entering the place once more; however, I endeavoured to bear up and anoint and wash. Went to the meeting at six o'clock, in a very low state, in which I had to stand up and labour. Many soldiers came in: I hope it was a time of some profit.

"16th.—After two family opportunities, set off for Kelvedon.

"17th, first-day.—To meeting at Kelvedon, which was small, and most of the time I felt poor. Tears of exercise were my food—towards the close, I felt a little opening to labour. I told them amongst other things, that dear Stephen Crisp, who lived and died here, had come freshly into remembrance, and that as a part of his prospects respecting this land had already been fulfilled, I believed more would be. I was most easy to appoint a meeting for the inhabitants, to be held at six o'clock, though in great weakness, and so I attended it. For nearly an hour after sitting down in this very crowded gathering, I thought myself never more stript, but at length in great weakness I stood up, and it broke up solidly, and the people behaved well.

"18th.—I move under great strippedness and poverty, with a great burthen of exercise still to carry. Nothing short of the omnipotent Arm will bring me safely through and over all, to the end of my days. Remember thy tried servant, O Lord, in mercy, this day, and let thy will be done in and by me. Concluded to stay monthly meeting in this place. It was solid, and the business was conducted with sweetness and harmony, and I ventured to bend in supplication. Soon after dinner I set off to Dykes Alexander's at Needham. Here I met with a number of dear friends, and a kind reception from the family. Went to select meeting and then to see Sarah Harrison, and had I hope a baptising time in her sick room, with which she appeared strengthened and comforted.

"19th.—To quarterly meeting; W. C. appeared early in supplication and afterwards I stood up in testimony; after dinner had a memorable opportunity with a few friends.

"20th.—Had a time of weeping and conflict on my bed this morning, but was favoured to resign myself to divine disposal, and feel a willingness to go forth as Abraham did, not knowing whither, endeavouring to leave that to the Lord, to lead and guide me in the midst of the path of judgment. I trust the upright language of my soul is; 'If thou goest not with me in this journey, take me not hence;' and on the contrary, if thou wilt condescend to the low estate of thy servant, and vouchsafe thy good presence, be it unto me according to thy word.

"21st.—To Needham week-day meeting, where I found S. Harrison, and was concerned to pray for the preservation of myself and fellow servants—dined at William Alexander's. Went to Bury, eighteen miles.

"22nd.—In the evening as we entered Godmanchester, my mare being tied behind our chaise, took fright and turned us over,

and we had a narrow escape with our lives. I was deeply sensible of it in the time of extremity, when the breathing cry arose, 'Lord save us;' and was favoured to get but little hurt: when I got into Samuel Blakely's I found my dear friend and companion, John Bevans, and also met a kind reception from friends.

"20th.—Went to Leeds, and on the 27th attended York quarterly meeting, which was a comfortable time.

"28th.—Was at two sittings of the quarterly meeting, a meeting for worship, and also a meeting for ministers and elders; which ended satisfactorily, and I trust I have been in my place.

"29th.—After a favoured opportunity with a number of Friends set off for York, and got to L. Murray's to a late dinner; here I found Ann Crowley; had a comfortable, religious time, and afterwards visited the Retreat and boarding school; returned to L. Murray's and lodged.

"30th.—Got to Edward Pease's at Darlington about dusk, and met a kind reception.

"31st, first-day.—Went to meeting and was exercised with the unsettlement of many. I laboured honestly among them, and had also a word of consolation for the burden bearers and mourners. Appointed a meeting to be held at six o'clock, which was very large, open and satisfactory.

"Fourth month 1st.—Went to Sunderland, to our friend Solomon Chapman's; and at six o'clock went to the meeting for ministers and elders. In the fore part of it I was concerned in prayer, and afterwards was drawn forth in close testimony.

"2nd.—Attended the quarterly meeting, in which I had much labour in an encouraging line to the youth. The first of this month we drove through snow drifts up to the hub of the wheels of the post chaise.

"4th.—Felt openness in supplication at the week-day meeting, and after it a pointing towards a public meeting, which was held at six o'clock. It was large and solid.

"6th.—Got to our friends H. and M. Bragg's before night, at Newcastle.

"7th, first-day.—To meeting, and sat in a very stript condition, but after a time stood up, and had to bear a singular testimony. Some gay Friends, beside many strangers were present, and I felt openness toward them. Was not easy without appointing a meeting to be held in the evening at six o'clock. I went to it in great feebleness, and stood up and laboured for some time, and to my admiration it was a season of divine favour toward the close, and great solemn-

nity prevailed after I sat down, and it concluded so.

"8th.—O my soul, sanctify the name of the Lord, and let him be thy fear and dread; and also seek him for thy comfort and consolation. How shall I go into Scotland amongst a wise people in this poor state, has often been the language of my mind. Lord, if thou goest with me it will be enough—then out of weakness thy strength will be made known.

"Rode to Shields monthly meeting, eight miles, with M. Bragg and my companion; and had a time of enlargement in speaking. After dinner had a solid religious opportunity.

"9th.—Took a walk after breakfast along the sea coast to Teignmouth castle. Here are the remains of an old abbey; some of the lofty walls are still standing, and at the end next the sea is a small room very much decorated with carved work. It seemed as though the images of the apostles were cut out of stone in the ceiling.

"At seven in the evening attended a meeting held in the Methodist house, which was a remarkably solid time, and ended so. It is marvellous to me, and cause of deep thankfulness and encouragement also, that after feeling so poor this day, and going to meeting so, fresh strength should be vouchsafed. The Lord be praised for his goodness.

"10th.—To the week-day meeting, which was small, and I felt some encouragement respecting myself. Bent in supplication, and afterwards endeavoured to encourage a few youthful minds, and to warn others, lest by slighting the day of visitation their crowns should be taken away and be put on the heads of others. In the afternoon came to Newcastle. To a large meeting at seven o'clock, in a new Methodist meeting-house; having had an open, kind invitation to hold it there from three men of that body. It was solid and quiet, and separated so.

"11th.—At the week-day meeting I sat nearly or quite two hours in silence, a part thereof with tears, in viewing my own state; and yet toward the close a little encouragement was handed forth to this small company.

"12th.—There appears no opening to move from this place.

"13th, seventh-day.—In the evening Joseph Clark, who is a preacher among the Methodists, and in whose house we had a meeting, came in with one of his friends; they staid and supped, and afterwards we dropped into silence, and I was engaged in prayer; they appeared to be solid men.

"14th, first-day.—Received an affectionate letter from Joseph Clark, enclosing one for Richard Annett, who lives about thirty miles

on the way to Scotland. Went to meeting; many strangers came in, and it proved a tendering time. The meeting at six o'clock was a full one, and much labour fell upon me, and it ended in a solid, comfortable manner.

"15th.—A solid parting time with this family and servants. Rode thirty-four miles to Alnwick: on the way a desire was felt that mercy and forbearing kindness may accompany, and enable me to offer up body and soul into the care of him, who hath helped and supported hitherto in great straits and trials.

"16th.—Breakfasted with R. Annett and wife, and had a solid religious opportunity. Dined at Belford, sixteen miles, and got into Berwick before night.

"17th.—Got into Haddington, where we lodged. Soon after we put up a man came, who sent the waiter to call me out, and said he wanted some conversation with the Quaker gentleman, and if agreeable would go and bring a brother with him. Some time after he returned with a young man, and they proposed several questions to us, which we endeavoured to answer, and were surprised to find them such conscientious men, from whose outward appearance little or nothing of the kind could be expected.

"18th.—Arose early and got to our friend George Miller's at Edinburgh, to breakfast. Went to meeting at ten o'clock, and sat in silence until near the close. Took a walk through the town, where we were much stared at. I fear there is too much want of humility in this city, the metropolis of Scotland. I felt like a blank this morning in the meeting; and yet apprehended I saw, and told them so, that there is a precious seed sown in this place that will not be rooted out.

"21st, first-day.—A number of strangers came into the meeting this morning. Dear Elizabeth Wigham uttered a few lively expressions, and said, perhaps it was necessary for some to experience a further baptism and refinement to fit for further service. I was engaged in prayer the latter part of the meeting, and interceded for myself and those left behind—for the little remnant planted as a seed in this highly professing city, and for the inhabitants thereof. To meeting again at half-past two o'clock, where dear John Wigham had an instructive time, but all closed up with me.

"25th.—Attended their monthly meeting, where only about twelve friends were present; the business was conducted with a good degree of weight.

"27th, seventh-day.—Attended the select half year's meeting, at which were six members.

"28th, first-day.—I thought it was a low time at meeting this morning, but I expressed a few sentences, tending to stir up Friends against they came again. In the afternoon meeting I was exercised in supplication, and afterwards appointed a meeting at six o'clock, which was pretty full and crowded—though there were lightness and talking in the beginning, yet afterwards it was quiet, and I had a comfortable relieving time, and we parted in a solid manner to my joy.

"29th.—Trust in the Lord, O my soul, and forget not his benefits bestowed in past seasons. Trust in the Lord and wait on him, to enable thee to do good in thy station. A number of strangers came to the meeting, mostly of the poorer sort, to whom I felt much love and enlargement. Friends concluded to adjourn to meet at three o'clock, when the business was conducted comfortably. Dear J. Wigham expressed his unity with our visit in a very feeling manner, especially with the silent part of meetings in this place; and when my certificates were read, my heart was humbled on remembering the date of them and how long I have been in this land. Had an opportunity with the son of A. L. and others in the evening—another with several convinced people not yet joined in membership; and on the whole it has been a day of lifting up my head a little in hope.

"30th.—The half year's meeting having concluded, I am waiting to see what further is required. O Lord, remember me according to thy good hand upon me."

While here he received a letter from his beloved friend Mary Dudley, from which the following is taken, viz;

"Bristol, Fourth month 25th, 1799.

"My very dear friend,

"Though thy last truly valued communications have long laid unacknowledged, they have been to me not only as a precious memorial of thy regard and confidence, as it respects a friendship which I covet to be so preserved as not to forfeit, but truly may I say, that, if ever enabled to enter into that sympathy, where "deep uttereth unto deep, because of the noise of water spouts," my soul therein could, proportionably to its capacity, comprehend thy unutterable exercise. But never, in the midst of all, when beholding thee enclosed as in the prison house, have I been divested of sustaining and consoling hope, that He, who only can availingly preach deliverance, would bring thee forth to His own praise, and the increasing help of His church and people: for surely such as are resigned to go down to the sea, and occupy their business in great waters,

will see the goodness of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep; and then, in renewed deliverance, are qualified to tell of his love to the inhabitants of His earth. I was prepared to hear of thy enlargement; and though the spirit continueth to testify, that "bonds and afflictions still await," let a poor little sister, in a measure of these, say to thee, my beloved brother, lift up thy head in hope, yea, thank God and take courage, knowing assuredly, there is none like the God of Jeshurun, who yet maketh, and will make the clouds of deep heart-humblng baptism his chariot, and rideth upon the wings of the winds; and this, that His angels may be spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire. I wish this to meet thee in Edinburgh, therefore forbear entering into some subjects, whereon I could freely converse with thee, through this, or a more desirable medium, that of personal intercourse, which I once had a hope I might be again indulged with, perhaps if able to get to the approaching yearly meeting; but my very debilitated frame is not likely to be equal to such an exertion, nor do I yet know, that it would be in the line of duty. As thy feet are once more loosened from the stocks, I hardly expect thy return to it, when such a field as that where thou now art, is open to thy view. As I have a particular desire to know whether a procedure therein is likely to be thy lot, or the annual solemnity more weightily attractive; I should be gratified, if by thy own acceptable pen (if at liberty to use it,) thou wouldst inform me what thy prospect is, and however or wherever it unfolds, mayest thou, my dear friend, resignedly say, 'Thy will be done.' This is a language, which, though my mind at seasons longs to feel its own, I may acknowledge to thee is a state not attained to; and so great is my weakness, that even respecting the discoveries of light, without the present requisition to follow it, I sometimes fear a turning away or a disposition opposed thereto. Thus am I often halting, yet here I have been, and am still in bonds, and in the midst of bodily and mental weakness, sometimes seeking their being loosened by feeble endeavours to do the little pointed out. My friends at home have left me at full liberty for extensive movements, but I apprehend they will be much circumscribed; perhaps only a little further into the adjacent counties, then if strength should be vouchsafed, I have looked westward, I mean to the western counties, such as Devon, &c.; but should my health continue as feeble as it now is, rather expect a release, and liberty to return home, and perhaps obtain ere long a final dismission from further exercise: what an abundant mercy, if it prove a peaceful retreat.

"I think I heard dear John Bevans was thy present helper, to whom I wish to be cordially remembered; we have known each other long, and have each much to commemorate of abundant mercy, which having found us in the wilderness, in the land of great drought, hath yet preserved; and thereby hope is revived, that the morning light will be the evening song. And now my beloved brother, farewell; which I have no doubt thou wilt, in heights and depths, in life and death, yea, that nothing shall separate from the continuance of divine love and life. I am thy poor little sister, but sympathizing friend, in gospel and affectionate love,

"MARY DUDLEY."

"Fifth month 2nd, fifth-day.—Went to the week-day meeting, and in consequence of the half year's meeting having formerly been held at this time, many people were present. Several young women were laughing and talking together, with which my mind was grieved, and after a time I stood up and reproved them, and told them that my employment in such meetings often was in sorrow and tears; also mentioned the distress I had been witness to, when the pestilence that walketh in darkness was going through the city where I dwelt; and how different it would be in this place, if the Lord should see meet to visit them in the same way, then they might have to mourn a father or mother, a brother or sister, &c., and say, Alas! for me. After I sat down, dear John Wigham had an acceptable time, and Friends afterwards remarked, that the meeting at this time never broke up so solidly before. In the evening I was brought very low, and retired to my chamber and offered up my prayers and tears, with strong cries in secret.

"3rd.—The accuser of the brethren is permitted to come up against me, and I see no opening to return, and greatly fear going forward unsent. Thy sovereign will, O Lord, be done, only be pleased to keep the head of thy servant above the waters. Felt more contented and resigned this afternoon and evening. This is a favour, even to sink down into nothingness, emptiness and poverty, and bear it in a becoming manner.

"4th.—I felt a little openness to give liberty to invite the neighbours to meeting to-morrow.

"5th, first-day.—Very stript and poor indeed. I hope my soul longs in all things to be resigned and content; and were it not for such prevalent thoughts so continually coming up against me, (like this,) 'Thou art deluded, thou art deceived, or it would not be so with thee,' I am ready to think I could sink down and

bear all things patiently. Indeed, it seems as if there was no other way for me, than to bear this unutterable conflict with patience, and willingness also. O Lord, thou knowest all things,—thou knowest that my soul desires to love thee, and do and submit to thy will. Went to meeting, and after a time felt an openness in my heart toward the people, a number of whom came; and although there appeared much lightness at first, we had a solid meeting, and it concluded so. I ventured to invite them to come again at six o'clock; which was a full meeting, and to my humble admiration I was favoured to hold forth the truths of the gospel. Tenderness and solidity were prevalent; the meeting closed well, and my soul was measurably filled with thankfulness. My dear companion on lying down, appeared much broken and tendered, under the sense that Truth had eminently prevailed in this last meeting.

"6th.—Comfortable and quiet in mind; but yet under exercise. Sat down with the family and several Friends, and felt my mind drawn to supplicate the Almighty Helper to go with us, and to bless this family; my companion's and my own also were fervently remembered. Took leave and rode to Queen's ferry, nine miles, and two miles over, and may record with thankfulness that it has been a sweet ride, in the fulfilment of that saying; 'For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace.' Thanks for this morning's portion—dined at the ferry house, and put up for the night at Kinross, fifteen miles. We have George Miller for our guide and companion.

"7th, third-day.—Rode in the rain to Perth. To a meeting held at James Fitchey's, where there were about fourteen persons, and a pretty open time. A young man who, I was afterwards informed, had drawn back from his profession, told me after meeting, that he had desires before we met to converse with me, but his doubts and difficulties had been spoken to, and he was measurably relieved.

"8th.—A pleasant ride to Dundee, twenty-two miles, and had a satisfactory meeting with the little company who meet in this place.

"9th, fifth-day.—Breakfasted with Lewis Evans, where we had a dispute with James Scott, a preacher among the Glassites, and after he was gone, a satisfactory opportunity with the man and wife. It appears he was reached by William Savery. I went afterwards and had an opportunity with William Smith and wife to satisfaction. There are four or five men not yet joined in membership, who hold meetings in this town in the way of Friends. Got

to Montrose, and the ride to-day has been pleasant : at times we came near the sea, and before we got into the town we passed over a small river, and then over an island. Soon after putting up our horses, we took a walk to Mary Mills's and drank tea ; she and her daughter are the only two Friends in town. Had a religious opportunity, in which I had a singular communication from that passage concerning the shepherd's taking two legs and a piece of an ear out of the mouth of the lion, &c. The situation of Lot in Sodom was also mentioned : in the evening afterwards, G. M. told me it was strikingly appropriate. This ancient widow in younger life was zealous, and frequently walked twelve or fourteen miles to meeting. She afterwards married unsuitably ; her husband failed and brought her into difficulties ; and yet, through it she has been measurably preserved. I thought there appeared something of the right stamp about her.

"10th, sixth-day.—Rode to Inverbervey to breakfast. Dined at Stonehaven and got to Aberdeen, where we put up at an inn.

"11th.—Rode in the rain fourteen miles to Kinnmuck, and met a hearty reception at John Crook's, and I soon forgot my troubles in this lowly habitation.

"12th, first-day.—To meeting, which was filled up pretty soon with well behaved neighbours and Friends, and my mind was soon sweetened with a sense of the love of God ; and under it I kneeled down in supplication, and afterwards had an open time in testimony. I desired Friends to stop when others withdrew, and had a sweet, tendering time with them. In the beginning of this meeting my mind and prospects were enlarged, and I felt earnest to move on toward the Orkneys. My friends and family at home came into view, and with silent tears I put up my prayers for them, and for my own preservation ; that the Lord Almighty might be pleased to renew the visitations of his love and mercy to my remaining children, and I was favoured to believe it would be so Thus the bonds of sorrow, mourning and death were removed, and my soul given up to do the Lord's blessed will. O Lord God, thou hast supported in the deep, and I can say with Jacob, thou wast in the place where darkness surrounded, when the stone was my pillow, when I had hardly faith to believe in thy Providence—sanctified and glorified be thy name. I spent a pleasant afternoon and evening—many Friends called in to see us ; and lay down and rested sweetly in our little berth, which reminded me of a ship's cabin.

"13th.—Breakfasted at John Morris's, and called in to see several Friends in their little

cabins. I was particularly interested in an old woman, not a Friend, whom I observed when she came into the meeting with a Scotch plaid over her head and shoulders ; she lives in a poor little smoky cabin, without any window in it, and entirely alone, yet appeared to be happy in her situation. O, me thought, when a day of searching and trial comes on the land, when the time arrives which that faithful servant of the Lord, Stephen Crisp speaks of, when 'they shall go through hard bestead ; they shall seek death rather than life, and not be able to find it ;' or in the words of the prophet, when 'they shall pine away in their iniquities, and mourn one towards another :' how many would be glad to be as comfortable as this poor cottager. It is evident there is such a thing as having the mind brought into contentment with a very little. O Lord, in thy just anger against pride and high-mindedness, and the many loudly crying sins which prevail, be pleased to remember mercy. Rode to Old Meldrum and attended meeting, which was made up of the poorer sort, and was a laborious time, yet hope to some profit. In the evening I was closely exercised with desires to be right, to think right, and act so. I desire to be favoured simply and singly to attend to opening prospects.

"14th.—We are told that the snow has not laid on the mountains so much at this time of the year for seventeen years. The people at Huntley, where we dined, looked clean and so do those of this town, (Keith,) where we are to put up for the night.

"15th.—Took a walk out of town soon after I arose from my bed and looked over this little place, I trust in the love of God ; and although I felt no opening to have a meeting, yet there is a pleasant feeling. I said in my heart this morning, when will a living army of serious Christians arise and march through the length and breadth of the land, from this north country. I hope there will a precious seed spring up in Scotland. My mind seems pressed to hasten forward for several days past, since the way opened to the Orkneys. To Fochabers near the river Spey. This has been a nine miles ride of pleasing rural prospects. We noticed a large hill or mountain, which is the shape of a whale, with snow on the top and sides ; and in the distance mountains of snow were observed. It has been a very cold ride : we saw a number of hearty looking children, the little boys dressed in the highland fashion. The duke of Gordon's seat is near this village, and on the opposite side of the river are beautiful red rocks. We got tea and fed our horses at Elgan, which appears to be an ancient place by the remains of an old cathedral and a dis-

mal looking prison nearly opposite the window where I write, and a guard before the door.

"16th.—Started at six o'clock, and had a very cold ride to Nairn along the bay coast. Before we got into this little town, and just upon coming to a river, we met a good looking man, who told us the bridge was not passable with horses; and after going to the ford with us, said if we would go to James Brander's inn we would meet with kind attention; he lived there, and would go over the bridge and meet us, which he did, and we found he was the landlord. Whilst at breakfast, inquiring of him concerning the road, he said he had a good post chaise and two good horses, and a careful driver acquainted with roads and ferrys part of the way. We accordingly hired the chaise until our return, and sent our horses back with J. Cruikshank. Proceeded to Fort George, eleven miles, and the wind being ahead, it was very tedious crossing at this ferry. Rode on ten miles to Invergardon, where there is another ferry nearly two miles over. It was between nine and ten o'clock before we left this place, there appearing no probability of our being accommodated with lodging, and rode to Tain, to which we got by twelve o'clock. The inn-keeper and wife and servants got up and met us with pleasant countenances, apologizing for being in bed. We got to bed before two o'clock and slept soundly. This has been a day to be remembered—what but a sense of duty to the Preserver of my life, and love to the precious seed in the hearts of my fellow creatures, could induce me to travel in this manner? Lord, thy encompassing power and providence is every where, grant me strength to say, Thy will be done.

"17th.—Set off about eleven o'clock, and rode to the ferry, five miles, but could not get over, and were obliged to return back to our inn. I felt fatigued and poorly; about seven o'clock went down to the ferry again, and waited some time before we got over—rode five miles along the coast to Dornoch, where we got some supper and to bed near twelve o'clock.

"18th, seventh-day.—This place is pleasantly situated near the sea, but the houses appear to be fast going to decay. There are here ruins of an old abbey and steeple house, the grave yard of which is open and waste, and it is probable that it was once the seat of a bishop. About seven and a half miles distant we came to a ferry, where we had to wait some time for the boat, and encountered a soaking rain from the neighbouring mountains. When we got over I stepped into a house filled with smoke, the fire being in the middle

and a hole through the roof for a ventilator. The pot was over the fire and the poor mother and children around it. She told me she was a widow and had seven children. We dined at a public house at Golspie—set off about two o'clock, and still coasted for about eight miles along the sea, and stopt at another public house and got tea. This as well as the last stands open to the sea. In this ride we passed over a very poor country—the hills are mostly very barren; and in the valleys where we rode are many huts built entirely of sods. Some of them are mean enough, but others are in some style in their way, having a porch or entry with an arch over it. I counted near fifty of these huts not far distant from each other, and was at a loss to know how the people live. I felt for them, and have thought it probable that in a day to come some young ministers may be raised up and sent into this poor highland country. Lord prosper the work, and bring many to the knowledge of thy ways, that so the increase of pure obedience from simple upright hearts may be offered to thy name, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same; and appoint the share of work to thy servant in this land, according to thy blessed will, who knoweth best what is best for me. The remembrance of precious J. Pemberton, whose track we are now in, is sweet. How different are my feelings here in this land of poverty, and partaking of barley bread, to what they were in London, where good living abounds. I look towards thee, O London, with a trembling heart. At eight o'clock we arrived at our inn, but the room being occupied by fishermen, we took a walk out on the shore. My mind is calm and resigned, believing I am in my place, although like a pilgrim and stranger on the earth.

"19th, first-day.—Arose about six o'clock, and got away about half past seven. At Burydale, about eight miles, we put up to feed and got our breakfast, which consisted of a cup of tea, barley and oat bread with eggs. My companion rather fails this morning, not being able to relish the provisions: my mind and body seem marvellously supported. We had to walk most of the way to this place, the road was so very steep and stony. Just as we got to the inn we saw many people collected, some appeared to have come a long way, to hear a sermon in the Erse language, and one after in English. I felt my mind turned toward them, and after we got in, G. M. asked me about a meeting, and I encouraged him to go and speak to the minister, and he consented to our having the house at three o'clock; at which time we met with a number of the people to some satisfaction, but when

we got back to our inn, intending to have a cup of tea, found our room filled up with people, and nothing could be done but set off another stage; which was a trying one, having to walk again in the rain, wet and slush: descended a very steep hill to the river, and found the bridge gone and the water up. The landlord called from the other side, and told us we could not get over, but must go back from whence we came. It was trying indeed to think of encountering such difficulties, faint and tired as we were, at least my companion was so, from loss of sleep, &c. However, a kind man came to us and told us we might get over, so we went into the chaise and sat in it until the shower was over, then our coachman and the kind man who came almost all this day's journey on foot, took our horses over a large hill, and found a fording for them, and our guide took us along the side of a very steep and slippery hill, to a place in the river, where he could take us one by one on his back, which he kindly did, leaving our chaise behind. We were content, and I may say I was glad to get into a house and find I could have a bed to lie upon. We spent a pleasant evening, and lay down so.

"20th, second-day.—Arose fresh and well this morning, with a mind resigned, I trust, to the will of my heavenly Father—what a favour to sleep so sweetly. In a mile or two we came to another river, where the bridge had been carried away last winter; the water was low and my companions had passed it, but I waited to see the carriage over, and seeing a man coming down the hill with the driver, I thought it was another poor man who came to assist us; but when he came up to me, found him to be, by his dress, above the common level in this country. He was kind in directing to the best ford, and after the chaise was safely over, he helped me over the rocks in the water, and desired when we came back that I would call on him, saying he lived in that house on the hill, pointing to it, which we had noticed before, as a pretty capital building. I asked him if he remembered John Pemberton, and found he did, and when I told him of his death, he appeared affected. We rode about eight miles through a dreary land, and at length we came to Clitha, a more fertile neighbourhood, and upon enquiring for an inn to put up at, were directed to a large house near the sea. When we rode up to the door, a well dressed man came out and told us it was no inn, neither was there any in the place; but as we were strangers he desired us to get out of our carriage and come in, which we did, and he gave us a good dinner. We had the lovely children called in afterwards, and the servants also; with whom we had a

comfortable opportunity: on parting we received a kind invitation to call upon our return and lodge, and have a meeting. Left this place about four o'clock and rode twelve miles to Wick, through a barren country indeed; here we found a town consisting of about one thousand inhabitants.

"21st, third-day.—Felt poorly, and did not rest so well as usual: however, my mind was supported and borne up, and disposed to follow on still, in the will of God, toward the islands. We were detained until about eleven o'clock, and were on the road until seven; there was no house to stop at by the way, and a dreary wilderness to pass over, in which we lost our way. Put up in the town of Stromness, and were much tried in getting to this place, the street being so narrow and difficult, that it was a mercy we did not overset our chaise. We crossed a tide river at the entrance of this place, and also one last evening; the tide being down we got over well; and now my mind is exercised to know how to move and act according to the divine will; having arrived at the land's end.

"22nd.—Yearly meeting at London, and my mind has been with my friends there. How differently circumstanced are they—here I am alone at an inn in the northernmost part of the land. My companion is gone to see about a place for holding a meeting this evening. Having caught a cold, I feel poorly and fatigued, and am sunk very low; however, I believe it was a necessary baptism to prepare for the meeting, which was crowded, and though very laborious to me, was solid and tender, and ended comfortably; and we were treated with respect. We sent for a number of the inhabitants, when we proposed this meeting, and read my certificates to them, which appeared satisfactory.

"23rd.—A poorly night—my companions discouraged my going across the water to-day, and so concluded to wait. Took a walk to the water side, and saw women unloading a vessel. They carry an hundred weight of salt at a time up the shore among the stones bare foot.

"24th.—Arose and breakfasted sooner than usual. Our kind landlord accompanied us to the ferry, sometimes walking, and at others riding behind our carriage. We had to wait until high water; the wind was north-west, and our course was nearly north, the distance about twenty miles across. The boat was about twenty feet long and six or seven wide, with a little square sail and four men, who rowed us out of the harbour's mouth, over the breakers, which I believe was trying to all of us; afterwards they put up the sail and laid our course until we came near the north

point of Ronaldsha; the men then rowed us across to a small island, after which we lay our course to Kirkwall. We were tossing on the water from a quarter past one until near ten o'clock. One of the ferry men carried us on shore, and we were conducted to James Scarth's inn. When we got into the house we found they were about moving, and had given up the business, but the woman desired us to wait, and finding her husband, asked him whether we could not be kept this night; that although they had sold their beds, they had not been taken away, nor the bedsteads taken down. They provided for us comfortably, and the woman afterwards said that she was struck with our appearance soon after she saw us, and thought we were some of Mr. Pemberton's friends, and she was not easy to let us go away. This has been a day of trial to my faith. O how poor I felt after leaving the shore; and when tossing in the little open boat on the mighty waters, was ready to question what I was there for; though before we set off I felt like a simple child, and no anxiety about the voyage, believing it right to make a beginning in the place we now are. It was trying to lie and lean in a cramped posture in the bottom of the little boat, during so many hours, but it being a fine day and cool, it was more tolerable: my companions were both sick—J. B. much so, almost all the passage. I got over my unpleasant feelings soon, and then was favoured with a cheerful, easy mind.

"25th, seventh-day.—We did not get to bed last night until nearly one o'clock, and having a cold before, I awoke very stiff and poorly; however, after breakfast we took a walk through the town, and were stopped and treated respectfully by several. The boys as well as some others gathered round to gaze upon us, as they have done in some other places we have lately passed through. After dinner I got some sleep whilst my companions went out to see about a meeting for tomorrow morning. They were told by one of the magistrates that we could not have the town-house until evening, which is discouraging.

"26th, first-day.—A pretty comfortable night, but felt very low and discouraged this morning; nothing opens. O Lord, I desire to submit my all to thee; I am distressed, undertake thou for me. Before dinner William Mansen called to see us, and sat with us some time. I feel a little opening towards a meeting in the town-house this evening, and notice is to be given, my companions encouraging it, and our landlord is friendly and assisting. Drank tea at William Mansen's, and at six o'clock, my two friends said they would go

and open the doors of the house for the people, but soon returned and told me there was such a crowd in the street that they feared the house would not contain them by many; and that they had met with several who proposed our going into the great kirk house. Our friend W. M. went with them and got liberty, and a great gathering we had. It was very laborious for me to speak, my cold so pressed upon me; however, it was a satisfactory time: we returned and supped with our friend W. M., and the young man who had preached twice in the same house this day was with us; he appears a modest well behaved person. Returned to our inn and lodged: the dear old mother provided me with some drink for my cold, and the son and daughter are affectionately kind.

"27th, second-day.—I continue hoarse, and nothing as yet opens, but am labouring to be content in the will of God, believing I am in my place. We removed our lodgings from our inn to William Mansen's.

"28th.—A poorly night, and very much stript and divested of any religious prospect this day.

"29th.—Poor and blind this morning, and I cannot go forth into work and service unless I feel the Lord putting me forth—great discouragements come up against me, and I feel like one broken up. O Lord, enable thy poor servant to say, 'Thy will, and not mine, be done, however trying my situation may be. Took up the blessed book and opened on the forty-ninth of Isaiah. O when shall my soul experience more of the sweet consolations of the gospel! May I suffer rightly for the seed's sake. Favour me, gracious God, to do thy blessed will on these islands, whether it be little or more—accept the free will offering of my lips in a greater or smaller congregation, and if mortification, stripping and further abasement in poverty is good for me, grant that my little stock of patience and hope fail not.

"30th.—Lay down and slept through the night, and felt pretty well upon awaking; but yet am as a book sealed. This is indeed a mystery: never did my soul experience such plunges, such descendings as into the deeps when on religious journeys in America, and why is it so now! Hold fast, O my soul, hold fast. Thou oft rememberest thy humble Lord and Saviour, who suffered for thy sake, and for poor, lost rebellious man's sake. May I be accounted worthy to suffer in my small measure for his sake—rather let my hand forget its cunning, 'and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,' than that I should not be willing to do and suffer the will of my God. O thou all-powerful One, help thy servant through; let me not fall in the day of trial,

and so reproach thy name and truth. I desire to love and honour thee: enable me to turn away from, and to forget things past, put them out of remembrance; and reanimate my soul, if any labour is allotted me on this island. I believe that thou art able to heal and raise up both soul and body; but if it is thy will that I should yet suffer in both, even though thou hide the cause, may my soul sink down and say sincerely before thee, Not my will, but thine be done, O God.

“31st.—It is a great trial thus to lie still in the house of a stranger. After breakfast my companions and I took a walk on the hill, and as I inclined to go by myself they left me. I walked to the shore, where we landed: I looked over the wide waters we had crossed this day a week ago with a degree of awe on my mind, remembering the preservation we experienced in the boat. I poured out my tears with strong cries unto the God of my life. O Lord, for thy great mercy’s sake, send forth thy light—send forth thy truth, and so satisfy my soul, that it may be reanimated and take fresh courage, to finish thy work in this land, so as to feel quietness and peace in returning home. Thou who knowest all things, knowest what lodges in me; purify my soul and let thy will be done.

“Sixth month 1st, seventh-day.—Wait in patience, O my tribulated soul, and look up unto thy Saviour, whose life was a life of sorrow; ‘A man of sorrow and acquainted with grief,’ from whom the sons of men turn away their faces. O the infidelity and unbelief in the land, and the just punishment due for it. The wretched state of those that forget God, and how little considered by many.

“The master of the public grammar school came and breakfasted with us, and between ten and eleven o’clock we paid a visit to the school; the boys behaved well, and I have a hope the opportunity will not be forgotten by some at least. O saith my soul, that I might be favoured, through the Lord’s assistance, to sow a little seed on this island, either in the minds of children, or such who are further advanced in years. We made an attempt to visit another smaller school of boys, whose parents are in greater affluence, but the master being a deputy preacher, was afraid to give liberty. All our religious acts or duties must be performed in the name of Jesus, in his power and strength. If this was waited for by active man, less would be done to appearance, but what was done would be done to more effect; the Lord will bless his own work. Not thousands of rams, nor ten thousands of rivers of oil, are what is wanted, &c., not a great appearance of doing, and saying ‘Lord, Lord;’ but doing and suffering the will of God. This myste-

rious work is confounding to man’s wisdom and activity! Lord, keep my feet from sliding in slippery places—grant thy power, mercy and love to go with me, that I may move with it, and stay with it. Is thy seed under suffering—is religion low amongst men? Grant ability to say in sincerity, Where thou art, there let thy servant be, even if it is in suffering and death. In the afternoon felt more ease and composure of mind: we walked a little out of town to a place where poor children are taught, but the school was broken up. Went to J. Scarth’s and drank tea, our friend William Mansen also accompanying us, and afterwards we had a religious opportunity; and way opened to look toward a meeting to-morrow morning, and we have accepted this kind man’s house for the purpose.

“2nd, first-day.—Feel more light and easy this morning, which is a mercy and favour. To the little meeting appointed at J. Scarth’s there came about twenty, and we thought it a solid, comfortable time: after it was over my mind was again turned towards the people at large, and mentioned my thoughts of having an opportunity at seven o’clock in the large house. William Mansen sent a note to the parson of the parish to get liberty, and also desired him to use some means to quiet the boys if they attended. After dinner, on the opening of the book of prophecy, some pleasant prospects presented like a mitigation of my deep afflictions, in due time. Thus the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy, thanks therefor; when I came down stairs, William Mansen showed me a note he received from the priest, refusing us the place, or his sympathy or assistance. I felt calm and easy, and all concern was taken away about a meeting, and thought it was likely the burden might be transferred to him, and he would more or less feel it, and that good would spring up out of this opposition. I told my friends I was easy, I thought, without a meeting. My two companions went out about half past six o’clock, and found many people gathered in the street, who by some means had heard there was to be another opportunity in the kirk, and when they were told it was refused us, they expressed their uneasiness; they were told that I should be consulted, and they might wait. I was walking the garden with William Mansen when they returned and told me, and after a time felt a liberty to go into the street, and as we passed along encouraged the people to follow. They appeared much pleased, especially one elderly woman, who in pretty full terms expressed her satisfaction. I went upon the steps of the kirk, and the people gathered around, and after a time had an open opportunity, and then kneeled down and prayed for them.

This last exercise, my companions said, produced much awe over the people, even the children: I heard afterward that the people in their houses on the opposite side of the way heard and were affected. The company dispersed in a solid manner, and I returned to my lodgings and spent a comfortable evening.

“3rd.—Appointed a meeting to be held at seven o’clock in the town-house for the children of the town, which was held to satisfaction; a good many others came also—the house notwithstanding, was not full, in consequence, it was supposed, of a meeting for catechising children at the Seceders’ meeting at six o’clock. We drank tea at Wm. and Barbara Patterson’s, brother and sister of Wm. Mansen’s, with whom, and the mother and sister, we had a sweet, tendering opportunity.

“4th, third-day.—Applied for the new meeting-house to hold a meeting in, but it was denied. In the afternoon visited the family of Hester Richan, wife of William, who is in the navy; she had her children called, and also servants, and it was a memorable time; tenderness appeared in the mistress, children and servants—one of the last description, a young woman, was much affected. Drank tea with a widow and her two daughters, one of whom is a teacher of girls in this place, whose school we visited the other day to satisfaction. Called by the way upon George Boocha and wife; she hearing of our disappointment of a meeting place, said we should have their house. On returning home found Mary Mansen, a maiden sister of our friend’s, and in a little time my mind became exercised to speak to her in a particular manner, and also to the whole of the relations present; and after supper we had a memorable time with the master of this family, wife, mother and sister, and after the friends were gone to bed, another with him alone; he acknowledged that we were sent for his sake—he was much broken and tendered, and after it I lay down with sweet ease and peace of mind. O the adorable mercy of God, through Christ his Son.

“5th.—Awoke and rose pleasant and easy in mind this morning; though nothing clearly opens, yet I see no way to move from this town. We meet with disappointments, but trust it will turn to profit in the end. A young clergyman, who lives about five miles off, came and dined with us; at half past six o’clock went to meeting in the town-house, which was filled up with people. They were long in coming—the poorer came first, and did not behave so soberly as could be wished, and I had to stand up under great disadvantage, like working through a cloud of darkness, lightness and chaffiness; but thanks be to the

Lord, who gave strength, and it proved a marvellous time. I think in all the testimonies I have been strengthened to bear in public, the state of priests and false teachers never was more clearly opened to my view, and strength was given me to declare it, and I find since that the nail was hit on the head. My mind was calm and easy after it.

“6th, fifth-day.—Quiet and easy in mind, though with aches and pains of body; for before the meeting yesterday, my body suffered in measure like one going to be laid on a bed of sickness. Lord, favour with strength in the time of need, the time of deep trial, whether this day or in a day to come; whether inwardly or outwardly, or both united. Favour me in the season when the adversary may be permitted to come in like a flood with discouragements, bringing a cloud of death and darkness with him. O Lord, thou hast favoured me hitherto—shelter and protect still; and thy will be done. My companions having heard that the Antiburgher preacher had spoken against me and the doctrine I was concerned to hold forth, and had given us a challenge to meet and dispute with him before the people, and afterward sent a note, desiring a conference with me or all of us; I requested my friends to go and tell him, I was willing to meet him in their large meeting-house and invite all the inhabitants of the place; but this has been declined by him. At six o’clock we had another large meeting in the town-house, to satisfaction, and in the close I took the liberty to mention what had passed between the above mentioned preacher and us, who are strangers; and that we were not afraid or ashamed to meet him and the people at large, and give an account of the hope that is in us. We drank tea with Casper Thrails, the old justice, and had a little religious opportunity; his wife appears to be a solid woman, and some of the children and grand-children are hopeful.

“7th, sixth-day.—I know not but I am fully clear of this place; having laboured fervently among them. May the Lord bless it and raise up a seed to the praise of his name, in this town of Kirkwall, which shall branch forth and spread to other islands hereaway, saith my soul. We were busily employed until about one o’clock in preparing for a move, and sat down with William Mansen’s family and had a comfortable parting time. I felt an opening to kneel down and pray for this family and the inhabitants universally. The dear old woman, our hostess, and her sister, and I think the servants, also followed the example, and went down on their knees, and after it we parted sweetly. We had a message from Hester Richan, desiring we would call and see her on the way out of

town. She had a table spread with coffee, &c., to refresh us, which with the kindness of divers in the streets, who seemed disposed to send a blessing after us, was grateful. S. Mansen and her niece, with most of Hester Richan's children, accompanied us some distance out of town. We walked about three miles to William Lindsay's, an ancient man, who kindly noticed dear John Pemberton: here we refreshed ourselves with provisions which William Mansen's wife had put up, and proceeded toward Stromness, about twelve miles further. We had hired a man and a horse with a little cart, and expected he would take one of us in it, beside our luggage, but our kind friend Hester Richan had provided a little Shetland poney, which I rode most of the way. W. Lindsay provided one horse, and we hired another: it proved a rainy afternoon, but before night we got into pretty comfortable quarters.

"8th.—Walked up the hill with our landlord after breakfast, and saw the large mountain of Hoy, the Western ocean and the mouth of the harbour. The harbour is a very fine one indeed, which is amongst the numerous blessings of Providence to seafaring men in this northern clime. A person named Geddes came and dined with us, who is a brother to captain Geddes of Philadelphia: he has procured a meeting place for us, and while my companions are gone to see the parson, I have sallied out along the coast, and am now sitting on a rock opposite to the great mountain over the Firth, and open to the bay and Western ocean. Dear Philadelphia comes up into view, and the prospect of embarking looks pleasant. O Father of mercies, who hast led me about for years in this land, wilt thou indeed waft me safely over the deeps? Wilt thou be my protector and preserver? My soul craves ability to believe and trust in the sufficiency of thy power and love. How warming and comfortable is the outward sun, now shining on my feeble body,—how pleasant also the gentle breeze from the sea. O for the shining forth of the Sun of Righteousness—O for the quickening virtue that proceeds from thee, thou everlasting Fountain of all good. In walking along the shore, I saw men gathering weed to make kelp, the lads catching fish, and women collecting shell-fish from the rocks, and I said, how good is the Lord to the inhabitants of this island, in so bountifully providing for their wants. I have viewed the rapid tide and great swelling of the sea meeting it, and have said in my heart; How wonderful and manifold are thy works, O God; in wisdom hast thou made them all. I am comfortable in thy presence: thanks, thanks be unto thee.

"Attended a meeting held in a ware-house: it was pretty large, and although most of the people had to stand, it was solid for the most part, and ended well.

"9th, first-day.—Felt fatigued and propose resting until evening, when there is another meeting appointed. Found no opening to any meeting this morning, and spent it quietly at the inn. After dinner took a walk along the coast to the ruins of an old kirk and burial ground, where they now inter the dead. I was instructed, and feel a sweet and quiet mind. Drank tea at David Geddes', and at half past six o'clock went to meeting in the ware-house. It was very large and proved an open, tendering, and I trust instructive time; had a pretty full opportunity with W. M., and did not get to bed until near twelve o'clock.

"10th, second-day.—About seven o'clock set off in a small boat with four men; it being a fine day, came around the Hoy, which is in the Western ocean,—saw a rock called the Man of Hoy; in one position it looked much like a large and high chimney; and in another it appeared like a giant, standing in an erect posture, and we could discern some resemblance to a head and features. We were until half past two o'clock in crossing, and it was called by the boatmen an easy passage. My companion was very sick: I feel thankful for the preservation back to Caithness and for an easy mind, and I trust nothing has been left undone which was commanded me to do. Went to meeting at seven o'clock, which was not so large as the former one, and there was much unsettlement for a time; but on the whole it afforded peace to my mind. When will the day arrive, in which the people will be livingly convinced and settled on the ancient foundation? Many are tender and loving, and some appear satisfied, and yet in some places take but little notice of us afterward, so we are necessitated to leave them and trust to the Lord.

"11th.—Set off between nine and ten o'clock. P. Swannis came and breakfasted with us, to whom we endeavoured to explain our principles and views respecting the Lord's supper: he appears a good man. Our kind host accompanied us over the river on our way. We had a pleasant ride to Wisk, twenty miles, and found a great alteration in the roads; yet vegetation appears backward, the grain just coming up, very little grass for cattle, and snow on the mountains yet visible; and I noticed at Kirkwall, that the currants were just forming on the bushes. In consequence of fatigue I was sick on the way this morning, but enjoy an easy mind: dined at Wisk—wrote to E. Elmsley to send our

horses to Clythe, and were kindly taken in by our friend Benjamin Henderson. I was much overdone, having had very little appetite for days past.

"12th.—Collected the neighbours together about ten o'clock, and had a satisfactory meeting in B. Henderson's malt house, and afterwards rode about six miles to John Reid's, the friendly man who so kindly invited me to call and see him on our way back. Here we met a kind reception from his wife and her sister, and spent the evening with them agreeably.

"13th.—Had a sitting with this family and parted with affection. Rode on to Berydeal, a place where we had a meeting, and found when we came to our inn, that the landlord lay a corpse. There was very little water to interrupt our crossing Dunbeath, for we walked over it. We rode and walked across the Ord of Caithness mountain; when we got to the ford, about one mile from Helmsdale, found the tide up, and left our man and carriage to wait and come after us when the tide was down. We walked on, and our landlord took us in kindly, but had no great variety of provisions for us; but with the help of some butter we brought from Thursa, we made out, and I feel much better after my fatiguing walk to-day.

"14th.—Started pretty early and breakfasted on the way,—crossed two ferries and arrived at Tain between nine and ten o'clock. This has been a fatiguing day, and trying to our spirits; weariness of body seems to affect the mind also, but my soul craves ability to hold fast through all that is to be met with.

"15th.—Arose early in order to go one stage further this day. I see nothing, and feel nothing for several days past with respect to holding meetings for the people; and am content. There is much snow yet on the mountains at a distance, but the fruit trees are in blossom in the gardens. The grass is about six inches long, and one field of wheat about six or eight inches up. After crossing Cromaties' ferry, and Fort George ferry, we reached Nairn about eleven o'clock, and put up with the person from whom we hired the carriage, who received us kindly.

"16th, first-day.—Feel much recruited with a night's rest, and thankful for favours received. The last has truly been a week of toil and fatigue to body and mind. O for the continuation of the waters of purification and cleansing for us all; that as a little band we may be favoured to say, It is good we gave up to this piece of religious duty. A quiet pause this morning after breakfast, whilst my companions were writing, wherein my faith and confidence in the divine Arm were renewed, for which I feel thankful, and for all the

mercies received of the Lord. My mind is still turned towards England and home, but in the Lord's time, not mine. We took our chaise and driver on to Elgin, and had comfortable lodgings.

"17th.—Went with the chaise to the ferry opposite to Fochabers, and there left it: passed over the river and walked near a mile, the driver carrying our luggage. Here we settled with him and hired a chaise to go forward to Keith, where we dined; and there being no likelihood of our getting beds, we went on to Huntley, and were kindly taken in.

"18th, third-day.—I took a lonely walk to an old castle, and spent about an hour, in which a good degree of sweetness covered my mind. Philadelphia came freshly into view, and my prayers were put up for her. I thought how many innocent persons had been cut off in her borders within these seven years of distress; and a secret craving arose in my soul, that it might please the Lord for the present to accept their lives, in some degree, as a sacrifice for others, and try the inhabitants a little longer with the enjoyment of health and the blessings attending it, as in years past. I thought also of the state of the nations of Europe, and how the dragon's chain is loosened; what wars and desolations prevail, and what a torrent of blood has been spilt. O poor England, is thy day yet to come! thou who' hast contributed so much fuel to this fire. Through all this, my soul has beheld, this day, that the glory of the Lord shall be seen to shine through and over all these shakings. I have seen that the Lamb's war will go forward in the earth, after the dragon and his cruel war—the one being for the destruction of men's lives, the other not only for the saving of the precious soul, but also for the body. Lord, hasten the coming of this glorious, peaceful day and dispensation, if it be thy blessed will. As our horses had not come, we got dinner at this comfortable inn, and parted from the goodly women who kept it: took tea at Old Meldrum and arrived at J. Cruikshank's before night, and met a kind reception.

"19th.—To the week-day meeting, which, towards the close, was a tendering season. After dining at our kind old friend John Cruikshank's, at Kinmuck, we had a religious opportunity in the family, and called by the way at Amos Wigham's, and here we also had a sitting with the family.

"20th.—To Old Meldrum to monthly meeting, where my heart was humbled, and I was brought on my knees in supplication, and afterwards engaged in testimony: got to Aberdeen, seventeen miles, about dusk, and put up at an inn.

"21st.—Rode thirty-seven miles to Mont-rose: took breakfast at Stonehaven, near which is Ury, the seat of Robert Barclay. We saw his house and the family burial ground from a hill, soon after leaving this place. Weary on getting in this evening, but find the people kind.

"22nd, seventh-day.—Proceeded to Dundee, twenty-nine miles; and after getting in, Lewis Evans and William Smith called to see us, and we appointed a meeting to be held in the morning at the Tradesman Hall.

"23rd, first-day.—Went to the meeting, which was held opposite our inn, in Tradesman Hall, and trust it was to some profit. Saw no opening to any other in the evening, though some expected and desired it. Left the place about three o'clock, and rode to Perth, twenty miles. L. E. and W. S. accompanied us, and after supper had them and ——— together, and hope that a long subsisting difference was in good degree healed.

"24th.—Started about eight o'clock, and rode fifteen miles to an inn and dined: I feel easy in thus moving on, which is a favour. We had a long ride of forty miles to-day; crossed Queen's ferry, and I walked up the hill, and felt so little tired I thought I could have walked the last stage of ten miles. On getting to George Miller's at Edinburgh, I received several letters from my friends, but none from America—it seems that some have gone to the Orkneys for me.

"25th, third-day.—An exercising day, and could see no opening to any religious service in this city.

"26th.—Set off after dinner, having Andrew Reid for a guide, and Joseph and Margaret Flintoff of Manchester, in company: stopt at Haddington and took tea, and lodged at Dunbar, where it was with some difficulty we got accommodated.

"27th.—Got to Berwick and lodged; sighing and tears were my portion this day, and I left my companions after dinner, and walked several miles in great thoughtfulness.

"28th.—A refreshing night's sleep, and awoke with a degree of sweetness in remembering God. Went on fifteen miles towards Belford: I lagged behind my company and felt very pensive—going home came up with weight—also my wife, connexions and friends in America. My cry to the God of my life was for right direction and resignation. I looked at the labours of dear Sarah Lynes as we left the place this morning, and at Holy Isle, where she went, and other places also, but all was closed up to me; yet I endeavoured to stand open and resigned to religious duty, when it may present: O my soul, trust in God.

"29th.—We lodged at Alnwick, and were comfortably entertained. This morning's ride of nine miles has been with weeping and tears. We arrived at H. Bragg's at Newcastle, before night, and met a kind reception.

"30th.—After dinner I received letters which had gone to Kirkenwall, two of which were from my son. Attended the afternoon meeting, under great pressure of soul, and prostrated myself in prayer, and afterwards had some communication, particularly to the youth. Laboured to bear up in the midst of company who drank tea with us, and felt more relieved and easy on lying down; my faith being renewed in God.

"Seventh month 1st, second-day.—A comfortable degree of faith and confidence vouchsafed, which calmed my mind on arising. I crave this blessing at the hand of my God, to be favoured to centre and resign my will to his will: it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good. If he hath pleasure in me, I shall yet see the ark of his strength and his holy habitation. Had a pleasant ride to Durham: put up at an inn not far from meeting, and at six o'clock attended the quarterly meeting for ministers and elders, which was open and baptizing beyond my expectation, and my soul was humbled.

"2nd, third-day.—The quarterly meeting was a remarkably open time, both in that for worship and also for discipline: dined at the inn with many Friends, and had a tendering time afterward. Parted with my dear friends H. and M. Bragg, with much affection, and accompanied by B. Pease and others rode to Darlington, eighteen miles, and felt fatigued with this day's exercise.

"3rd.—Made several visits to Friends, and had two religious opportunities.

"4th.—To a pretty large meeting held in an assembly room: it was open and comfortable, after which we proceeded about twenty-three miles on the way to Ackworth.

"5th, sixth-day.—Proceeded on our journey, and the weather being warm, I was fatigued, but feel, I hope in the line of duty, in moving on towards Ackworth, where we arrived, and had an opportunity with the boys after supper.

"7th, first-day.—An open time at meeting this morning, and after dinner went to Leeds, to an appointed meeting at six o'clock, which was very large and an open time. Lodged at Joseph Jewitt's, and was very kindly noticed and cared for. Returned to Ackworth, and on sixth-day evening one of the lads read a portion in Sewel's History, and closed with that memorable epistle of Francis Howgill to his friends, in which he opened his prospects re-

specting the people he had made profession among. I had a little to communicate after it, and proposed to the boys that the next evening this excellent epistle should be read again; and on seventh-day evening we began with reading it. Jonathan Binns, the oldest son of the superintendent, read it in a feeling manner, and it was a memorable time: we went also among the girls, and one of the mistresses read the same, but was obliged to stop for tenderness of mind,—this was also a favoured opportunity.

“8th.—Rode to Settle, forty-two miles, which we reached about dusk, and were kindly taken in by John and Mary Birkbeck.

“9th.—Proceeded and got to Lancaster, time enough to attend the select meeting at five o'clock; here I met with Martha Routh, D. Braithwaite and sister Sarah. It was a searching meeting.

“10th.—To the quarterly meeting, in which I was largely engaged, I hope to some profit. The meeting adjourned to afternoon, and ended solidly.

“11th.—Staid the week-day meeting, and was again largely exercised in testimony, and appointed a meeting at six o'clock in the evening: dined at W. Jessop's, and had a singular time after dinner with a number of youth. A tender young man came also to pour his afflictions into my bosom. The meeting was a very trying one; it seemed to me, much of the time, like fighting with beasts at Ephesus, of which Paul speaks. I was much distressed: one tender woman, however, came to me after the meeting broke up, which was some consolation.

“12th.—Arose this morning with desires to push on, trusting in the arm of all-sufficient strength to support in further trials. We had Samuel Fielding for a guide, the young man who kindly accompanied me before when I set out from this place for Sheffield. We got to Preston about five o'clock, and notice was given of a meeting at seven, which was pretty large and satisfactory. I stopt the little company of Friends after it, and had another tendering time.

“13th.—Rode thirty-two miles to Liverpool, and got into Robert Benson's in good time: here we found S. Harrison, C. Hustler and daughter, &c. Met with a very kind reception from my dear friends R. and S. Benson.

“14th, first-day.—To meeting, and for the first time, had my mouth opened in public in this place. It was a pretty relieving time, and at the close I appointed a meeting at six o'clock, which was well attended, and I was largely exercised in testimony, on the necessity of being prepared for death.

“16th.—Attended the monthly meeting, where a share of labour fell to my lot. After dinner went with S. Harrison and John Hall to the vessel in which they think of embarking, and with M. Routh, C. Hustler, my companion, and divers others, we had a solid time. I knelt in prayer for them, that the good hand might go with them, who were set at liberty, and preserve my life in this land, if a portion of the bitter cup is yet to be drank. Dear M. Routh spoke encouragingly to me respecting my bonds being broken.

“18th.—To meeting, where divers testimonies were borne, but I was shut up in silent exercise and conflict.”

The following is taken from a letter received from his friend Ann Crowley, dated :

“Shillingford, Seventh month 18th, 1799.

“My mind has been so much with my beloved friend's exercised spirit of late, that it seems as if I could scarcely forbear, in sisterly freedom, testifying the same, with the heartfelt expression of continued love and sympathy. From the information received a day or two back, it appears uncertain whether any communication of this sort may reach thy hands this side the Atlantic; but as I am well aware, travellers are often detained longer than they may at first expect, shall venture to send one more letter, acknowledging the receipt of thy kind testimonials of continued affectionate remembrance; both which came safe to hand, and met a welcome reception. I renewedly thought the comparison of the wise man was indeed just; ‘Words fitly spoken, are like apples of gold in pictures of silver,’ so valuable and precious. May the God and Father of all our mercies, favour with an increase of living, saving faith, to believe the encouraging language administered in the needful time; for verily, my beloved friend, I can assure thee, thy expressions were so well adapted to the state of my mind, that I could say of a truth, Deep uttereth unto deep. Oh! the blessed privileges true gospel ministers possess; my mind is bowed at this very season, under a fresh sense thereof—these are made present in spirit, though absent in body; can feel the suffering state of exercised mourners in Zion, and dip into sympathy with such, under their probations, and thereby are often enabled, in the wisdom of Truth, to hand forth words in due season, which so effectually reach the witness, as to raise this acknowledgment, ‘It is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in mine eyes.’ I have had frequent cause to adopt this language, and admire the mercy and goodness of a kind Benefactor, who hath liberally conveyed counsel and encouragement, through

the medium of his chosen servants, when they have known nothing of my mournful state, but by the revelation of divine light. These are favours that loudly call for perfect dedication of heart to the noblest of causes, even that which is dignified with immortality and crowned with eternal life. I feel renewed desires raised in my soul, that a fresh supply of those heavenly gifts, which only can qualify for the Lord's work, may be mercifully granted, that the remainder of my days may be employed to his honour; who is worthy of all praise and adoration, forever and ever. Amen. I heard, a few days back, my endeared friend has a prospect of a speedy release from further service in this land: the thought of thy departure, without the privilege of another personal interview, feels trying; nevertheless, if thy great and good Master is pleased to liberate thy deeply exercised spirit, from the conflicts and trials which have fallen to thy lot in this land, and set thee at liberty to return once more to beloved relatives, my heart can feelingly say, 'Loose him and let him go;' and may the God of all grace and consolation go with thee; crowning thy labour of love with that peace and joy, which man by nature knoweth not of. Thy exemplary patience and resignation under the proving, trying dispensations allotted by unerring wisdom, for wise purposes, hid from the natural understanding, have been, and will I trust, remain to be, lessons of deep instruction to my frequently discouraged mind; and I am bold to say, from what I feel, that many have abundant cause to acknowledge with myself, that it hath indeed been good for us, that we were mercifully favoured with thy instructive, edifying company,—it hath often preached the loudest language words can set forth. It is likely my beloved friend will have heard before this reaches his hands, that I have parted with my credentials, and am for the present set a little at liberty from the arduous engagement of visiting the churches. It was no small exercise to my mind before a final conclusion took place; many fears presented lest I should be unwisely, in the will of the creature, drawing my shoulders from the burden, and my hand from the work assigned; but with deep humility and thankfulness of heart I can say, peace has been the clothing of my mind since the determination; and this language sweetly arose in my heart on reaching my home, 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.' The last account I received from my late beloved companion P. S., her health was somewhat improved; a Friend from York monthly meeting has obtained a certificate to unite in further service,—I trust it will prove satisfac-

tory and relieving to them both; and that my dear friend, and late fellow traveller, will be enabled to complete her visit of love to Friends of this nation, to her own solid comfort and peace, and to the edification of the churches where her lot may be cast. I am comforted in believing she is provided with a friend more capable of assisting her many ways, than I had ability for; but I trust I endeavoured to do my best, though conscious of having lacked, through the prevalency of much weakness, both of body and mind. Though my body is now exempt from the constant fatigue of travelling, my mind continues in daily exercise, and perhaps never more deeply dipped into a secret engagement of heart for poor Zion; being sensible her ways mourn, because so few come up with holy dignity to her solemn feasts. Please to accept of as much love and sympathy as thou canst, from one who sincerely covets thy preservation, comfort and peace, both in time and eternity; thy friend and exercised, poor sister, saith farewell in the Lord; so be it saith my soul, A. CROWLEY."

"21st, first-day.—I had considerable labour in meeting to-day, to stir Friends up to a sense of duty, especially that of diligently attending week-day meetings. Put off the afternoon meeting until six o'clock; which was largely attended, and a very laborious time to me. I had to remind them of the grave, and to declare against atheism and deism; returned home heavy, not having obtained that relief which my soul longs for.

"22nd, second-day.—After an opportunity with this large family and other Friends, I took leave, and got to our friend John Bludwick's a little after five o'clock, and at six went to a public meeting. It was laborious to me, feeling unwell and fatigued in body, and low and tried in mind.

"23rd.—To meeting at ten o'clock, and was soon broken into tears of contrition, in contemplating the Lord's dealings with me. I wept, and said in my heart, I desire to trust thee still, my Lord and Master; and afterwards stood up with a tendering testimony, which I hope was to profit, feeling nearly united to a tender remnant; some of whom, I trust, are among the beloved youth. When will my bonds be broken, and my captive soul set at liberty; wait thou on thy God, who is all-seeing and merciful. Rode to Manchester after dinner, accompanied by Samuel Forster, and put up at R. Routh's. John Thorp came and spent the evening pleasantly with us, and I felt cheerful.

"24th.—Went to meeting and sat two hours in silent poverty, and after it had a pretty tendering time.

"25th.—After a wet ride of twenty-five miles we got into Huddersfield.

"26th.—Rode about three miles with my kind companion J. Bevans, and then we parted, urgent business calling him home.

"28th, first-day.—Attended morning and afternoon meetings at Ackworth, which were comfortable times, I hope to most or all; and in the course of the evening, after a portion of scripture was read to the boys and girls, I had a time in testimony and supplication."

From the 28th of the seventh month to the 4th of the ninth month he remained at Ackworth school, seeing no clear opening into any other service. From his daily notes during that period, he appears to have been very constantly occupied in attending upon the scholars, with whom he had many tendering religious opportunities. His labours of love, and kind advice and sympathy, with those who had charge of that institution, were strengthening and acceptable to them. Under date of eighth month 21st, he wrote as follows; which appears to be a summary of his labours there, both before and after that date.

"Eighth month 21st, fourth-day.—It is now more than five years and three months since I have seen my place of abode in Philadelphia, or my parent, wife and children. Many painful days and wearisome nights have I passed through in this land. I awoke this morning with greater quietness and sweetness of mind than frequently has been the case, and in this humble, quiet frame, my will was resigned up to the divine will. I have spent some weeks in this place, and do not know that there has been so much health of body experienced, for the same length of time, in this land. I have visited the schools almost daily, and have taken delight (at least as much so as my exercised state of mind would bear) in instructing some of the children in reading and writing—have played with them a little at times—mixed with the boys and girls in their walks in the yard, in pleasant conversation, and also been favoured with tendering religious opportunities, not only in meetings, but in the collecting rooms. When I view my situation, when I consider the distance I am from home, how long I have been absent, the afflictions I have passed through, and also those of my family, especially this time twelve months ago, with the pestilence invading their dwellings and taking off my precious daughter—my companion in life reduced to a low state, by complicated trials in this long absence—a dear mother nearly eighty years old, and in a childish state;—my heart has been sometimes almost overwhelmed. I hastened from Scotland to be ready, if any opening presented, to go home; but here I

am yet, as a prisoner in bonds, and I humbly hope, resigned to my allotment. Often have I been in distress unutterable; and I thank my God, my helper and preserver, for support hitherto, and for so much ease and quiet of mind in the present moment. And now seeing no way opens with clearness to leave this land, what can such a poor, abased servant do, but with humility acknowledge, that great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are all thy ways, thou King of saints; shall I not then fear before thee and glorify thy name? O yes,—grant it may yet be permitted, even if it is thy will to try my faith and allegiance still further in this land,—even if I must yet appear vile in my own eyes, and the eyes of others: Lord, grant that thy servant may take courage, and set out again under this resolution, whenever thou mayest be pleased to open the way; and my soul craves that I may be able to leave my toil about my absent family, and commend them to thy Providential care and regard, whether in life or in death. Grant this for thy name and mercy sake, through my suffering Lord and Saviour; Amen."

On the 9th of eighth month, he addressed a letter to a Friend, about entering on a religious visit, from which the following is extracted, viz:

"Ackworth school, 9th of Eighth month, 1799.

"This morning, in my lonely, exercised state, thou, my beloved friend, came fresh into view, and thy prospect, as contained in thy last, of setting off soon on another visit to the churches, if approved by thy monthly meeting, has frequently, since thou wrote me, exercised my mind with thoughtfulness and solicitude on thy account. I am sensible that it is a weighty and necessary thing to experience a right putting forth; and when out on visits of this kind, to know where, and what, and when, to offer our gifts; as well as to be favoured to steer a steady course through all the ups and downs which are to be met with; to bear with becoming patience those dispensations that tend deeply to humble and abase the creature; and also to view with an eye kept single, some of the pleasing prospects that may at times await. Many are pleased when the servants have a song, and they can be delighted with and in some degree joy in it; they see a beauty and comeliness, and gather near, and are ready to say, Well done. And a few there are that can go, and are willing to set down by the waters of Babylon, and sympathize with those whose harps are hung on the willows. If thou art set at liber-

ty by thy friends to proceed on this journey, my soul craves ability to say, Go in this thy might, and the Lord accompany thee by his goodness, and preserve thee on the right hand and on the left, through all thou mayest have to meet with, and bring thee back again to thy father's house with peace in thy bosom.

"As to myself, here I am, left by all my friends, and yet through favour my mind has been supported so far, and borne up with a comfortable degree of cheerfulness; perhaps my being so much among the dear children has helped: we have experienced many tendering opportunities, both when separate in their own apartments, and also together in meetings. — came here from Leeds on third-day evening, and requested a meeting next day, which was held, and after dinner, he, with his companion took post chaise for Doncaster. It was some comfort to my tried and shut up mind to hear — say, that I was in my place by staying at this institution; feeling at the same time a little secret evidence also in myself, has had a tendency to settle and balance me.

"I see no opening to move: is not such a dispensation proving? Who, just placed in my circumstance, for more than two years past, to say nothing of what I passed through before, even a stronger bodied, and stronger spirited man than myself, but what would acknowledge his measure was nearly full? But stop,—does not this border on murmuring and repining at the dispensations of Providence? Forbid it, O my soul! sink down to thy Rock, thy Creator, and crave ability to say, Not my will, but thine, O God, be done. I have lately written both S. H. and J. H. a farewell salutation, but know not whether they have yet sailed. And am thankful I feel so quiet and easy with respect to their leaving me."

"Ninth month 4th.—Went to High Flats with James Buck and Jonathan Binns, and on the 5th attended the select meeting, which was a poor time indeed. To the monthly meeting, and sat the fore part through in distress and sorrow, but when the meeting was emptied of strangers, I had a relieving time; for my mind was exercised with a sense that love and unity were wanting: considerable tenderness appeared. After dinner met two old Friends who were at variance, accompanied by several others, and got them so near again before we parted, as to take each other by the hand.

"6th.—Rode to Sheffield, and on the 8th, first-day, attended the morning and afternoon meetings, which were large, and open times in testimony, to my admiration, after having

lately felt so poor and stripped. Dear Thomas Colley is a beloved brother, and much in sympathy with me. I ventured to appoint a meeting to be held to-morrow evening at six o'clock.

"9th.—Cast down, but I hope not forsaken. Lord, help through this one day more. Attended a large meeting in the assembly room at six o'clock, where I had much labour; it was quiet and solid, but I felt very poor after it.

"10th.—O for strength and courage to hold fast a little longer, and say, Thy sovereign will be done in all things.

"12th.—Awoke in deep thought, and prostrated myself in prayer. The secret cry still is, 'How long, O Lord, how long?' and yet in the midst of all, and through all, there is an invisible sustaining hope—thanks be to the God of my life, or else I should have fainted ere this time. Went to the week-day meeting, and was comforted under the ministry of E. Hoyland, and afterwards appeared in the same line.

"15th, first-day.—In the morning meeting had much labour,—in the afternoon silent as to testimony. It was very large.

"19th.—To meeting, and had a laborious time among Friends. In much weakness appointed a meeting to be held at six o'clock, for apprentice lads, both Friends and others. The house was filled up, and there were some in the adjoining room. It proved a quiet time, and ended so, considering how many raw boys of different descriptions were together; and I felt relieved. At the close I appointed one to be held to-morrow evening, for females only.

"20th, sixth-day.—I feel easy and resigned, which is a mercy. The evening meeting was pretty full, and although many, and perhaps most of them, were raw, and very likely, much unacquainted with our manner, yet it proved a solid, and I trust, edifying time. I obtained much relief, and did not know but it might be the last meeting. It so hapened that there was a meeting appointed at the same time in the adjoining room, called the card room, for some card players; and Friends appeared uneasy about it, but I felt otherwise, and matters worked round pleasantly—they gave way, and some of them stood at the door most of the time of our meeting, and conducted themselves civilly.

"22nd, first-day.—The meeting was large and a precious solid time, for which I know I ought to be thankful. After dinner went to Ackworth in a post chaise, and got a boy to ride my beast. My dear friends are very kind, and I feel a grateful heart for such favours: we got in before reading time, and

had a tendering season with the children and family collected, and afterwards another opportunity with part of the family.

"23rd.—Stiff and sore this morning, but easy and quiet in mind. In the evening we had a sitting with the family and servants, which was a singular time, and hope it will be to profit. I went to the girls' reading, but could say but little and could not bid them farewell, not knowing but I must come again; such has been my exercise this afternoon.

"24th, third-day.—Arose early and packed up my things, and got to Lindley Murray's, near York, and lodged.

"25th.—To quarterly meeting, and had a very close time in the first meeting. Dined at H. Tuke's, and had a singular testimony in a sitting afterwards. To the adjournment at five o'clock, which was a very trying sitting, and a time of conflict to me.

"26th.—To a parting meeting: I had nothing to communicate, and sunk very low after it. I went to the girls' school and dined with W. Tuke, and felt a concern to go to the Retreat, a place where about thirty of our Society are taken in, being disordered in mind. We got most of them together, and after we had sat a little in quiet, and I had vented a few tears, I was engaged in supplication. Returned back to the school and drank tea, and after night to Lindley Murray's.

"28th.—Got to my kind friends J. and G. Jowitt's, at Leeds, where I met with my dear friends J. and R. Smith, very unexpectedly.

"29th, first-day.—Yesterday on the road my thoughts were turned toward the little meeting at Wakefield, about ten miles from this place, and it came up again this morning, but with much weakness, and on my bed I had doubts and fears lest I was wrong in turning about to this place. This followed me on the road to Wakefield, to which I went; fears and discouragements surrounded me as I sat among the little company, so that I was almost overwhelmed, and yet at the bottom of all there was a disposition to trust my God with my all; and I ventured to stand up with a little encouragement to a small number. We went to John Robinson's and dined: I still felt low and distressed, and also very feeble in body. Some time after dinner, a Friend who lives next door, an entire stranger, came in: I noticed at different times, the tears running from her eyes, and after a time in some little conversation, she took courage and told me what sympathy she had felt with me, saying, she had wished to see me at this place, but being informed after York quarterly meeting that there was little or no probability of it, had pretty much given it up. I was baptized into tears, and truly it was a time of

mutual fellowship, I thought, in the bonds of the gospel. We were all much tendered, and I parted very sweetly from them, and derived encouragement. We got back to Leeds and attended a meeting appointed at six o'clock, in which I was greatly enlarged on these expressions; 'I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith,' &c. I was astonished to find such a change: thanks be to God for his unspeakable mercy in thus breaking my bonds for the present. Phebe Blakes concluded the meeting in prayer, such an one as I have not often heard; she prayed for me, and that the testimony of Truth might be blessed with success. It was a sweet meeting throughout, and I spent the evening pleasantly after it, in company with many Friends, and had a religious time with divers youth.

"30th, second-day.—Arose with a degree of courage and cheerfulness, and after breakfast had a singularly open time of stirring up, with encouragement, in the family of P. N.; also a tendering opportunity at Benjamin Jowitt's, and one at our lodgings. In the afternoon P. N. accompanied me to C. Hustler's, where we had the company of several Friends. We dropt into silence after supper, and my mind was covered with unusual weight, and under it I kneeled down in supplication.

"Tenth month 1st.—Went to Manchester and attended a meeting of ministers and elders at five o'clock, where I met with D. Darby and R. Young, also M. Hoyland, from Ireland: it was a low time to me, my exercise being great, but I endeavoured to bear up.

"2nd, fourth-day.—A very memorable day. Martha Routh opened the meeting in prayer, and afterwards I was favoured with an enlarged testimony. D. Darby followed, and owned me as a brother and fellow labourer, with sympathetic expressions; and the closing part fell on me, in supplication. The two sittings of men Friends were solid and precious uniting: in the last, S. H. came in, accompanied by Martha Routh, and requested a meeting, which was appointed at six o'clock in the evening. In this meeting I was soon brought on my knees in supplication: dear S. had an open, good time, and several young ones also appeared. A little fell to my lot near the close, and R. Young concluded the meeting in supplication, and we returned, I hope, pretty universally rejoicing.

"3rd.—Accompanied by J. Taylor and Samuel Watkins, went to Stockport, and had a large and satisfactory meeting at six o'clock, in a cotton room, where I met with M. Hoyland, who closed the meeting in prayer: lodged at George Jones'.

"4th.—After breakfast returned to Manchester and attended an appointed meeting,

at seven o'clock, in Friends' meeting-house, which was large and solid.

"5th.—Dined at R. and H. Barnard's with D. Darby and R. Young, and afterwards had a solid sitting, wherein dear Deborah was sweetly drawn forth in testimony. I felt her sympathy, and ventured to conclude the opportunity in prayer.

"6th, first-day.—To meeting at ten o'clock, which was pretty much filled up, although a rainy time, and I felt considerable openness to the people. The meeting at six o'clock was full, both houses being open, and a very solid opportunity it was, and much to the relief of my mind. John Thorp appeared in prayer, and John Taylor in testimony; and both of these Friends came afterwards and spent the remainder of the evening with me.

"7th.—Comfortable and easy this morning; feel relieved in good degree, and desire to stand open to further presentations of religious duty. A rainy day, and spent it mostly within doors: no opening to appoint another meeting, and feel content, I humbly hope and trust, in the divine will.

"8th.—Exercised in looking over the inhabitants of this town, and went with Friends to look at several large buildings with a view to a meeting.

"9th.—To a week-day meeting, and silent; thought much of a public meeting to relieve my mind. After tea felt an opening to give liberty to invite the people, to-morrow evening at six o'clock, to Friends' meeting-house.

"10th.—After breakfast walked to Daniel Holt's, a mile and a half out of town, with John Thorp, and dined: went to see his cotton works—he and partners employ six hundred persons. The evening meeting was large, and though laborious, ended solidly; many of the principal persons of the town came.

"11th.—A conflicting time before I left my bed, but upon endeavouring to resign all up to boundless mercy and goodness, I felt easier and relieved with respect to the inhabitants of Manchester. O what wadings I have to go through sometimes, before I can appoint and get through but one meeting. Set off about eleven o'clock with Isaac Hadwin, in his chaise, and arrived at our friend John Wood's, at Bolton, about one o'clock, there being a meeting appointed at six, to be held in a barn; which was long in gathering, but concluded solidly and satisfactorily.

"12th.—After a tendering opportunity in John Wood's family, with divers who stepped in, I. Hadwin brought me to Liverpool, about thirty miles, and arrived about five o'clock, and those dear friends, R. and S. Benson, received me once more under their hospitable

roof, with much kindness. After supper we dropt into silence, and in it my mind was sweetly calmed and refreshed, and hope some of us were baptized by the one true baptism, and enabled to drink into one spirit in a good degree.

"A paragraph in the paper to-day, states that a letter has been received from Baltimore, giving an account of the fever having broken out in Philadelphia; and that in consequence, the public offices are all shut, and the city nearly deserted. It is an alarming account, but I am not disposed fully to believe it.

"13th, first-day.—To meeting, and was comfortably opened so as to relieve my mind. S. H. appeared in supplication for infidels, &c. The afternoon meeting was put off until six o'clock, and was large and laborious, yet pretty comfortably relieving. When I got into R. B.'s after the meeting, an exercise which had impressed my mind since leaving Manchester quarterly meeting, of going to Ulverstone, revived so pressingly, that I opened it to my friends.

"14th.—Set off between ten and eleven o'clock, accompanied by Robert Benson in his chaise, and lodged at Preston.

"15th.—We arrived at David Dockray's, at Lancaster, before dinner, and found there was no crossing the sands to Ulverstone this day. In the afternoon took a walk with my companion and John Dockray to see the castle. We saw the room where they say G. Fox and others were confined. Thanks for so quiet and resigned a mind; and my soul craves ability to advance in the Christian race, so as to be able to adopt the Apostle's advice; 'In every thing give thanks.' Surely there is occasion so to do, when I can only believe with tried Jacob; 'The Lord is in this place.' The Lord has been near my soul when plunged in the deeps; when wave followed wave,—when the weeds were wrapt about my head. O for continued ability to say in sincerity, and in deep abasement and humility, 'Thy will, O God, be done.' Subject mine unto it—then let what will come, thy name will be sanctified, and my soul purified in the furnace of affliction. Grant this, for thy name and thy mercy sake.

"16th.—Was called up about half past four o'clock, and between five and six set off, accompanied by George Barrow: we crossed the sands and got to Ulverstone near an hour after meeting time; it was much such a season as at this time two years ago. Some time after I sat down, I went on my knees and prayed for poor mournful Zion, that her gates, yea, her very dust, might be remembered, and afterwards told Friends I had

a prospect of a better day, and held forth encouragement to old and young. After meeting I went to the old house where Judge Fell lived; and being told that the widow and children whom I visited when here before, had removed, and that the man who took the place died about two months ago, and has left a widow; I called to see her, but she appeared very raw and very little of that tenderness so manifest in the other, who to my comfort continues loving to Friends. Attended a full meeting in an assembly room at six o'clock.

"17th.—Set off in a post chaise, and had a very pleasant ride to Kendal, and gave liberty to invite the neighbours together at six o'clock, in which I was as open as I had any expectation of, although not large; however my mind was relieved.

"19th.—Reached Liverpool about four o'clock, after a pleasant ride, and I feel satisfied that it was right to go this little tour.

"20th, first-day.—Attended the morning meeting, where my friend S. H. had considerable labour in a close line, and some also fell to my lot. Appointed a meeting at six o'clock and requested friends to give notice to the upper class of people, slave importers, &c.; it was large, and a number of the description I wanted to see attended, and it was a relieving opportunity.

"21st.—All seems closed up with respect to Liverpool;—I desire ability to say in sincerity, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O Lord.'

"22nd.—Awoke in sorrow of heart. O that it were the Lord's will this mountain of exercise might be removed. But if there is yet a measure, even of more bitter suffering to be filled up, may my soul be favoured to say, thy will be done. Purge me from iniquity, and extend thy mercy, O Lord, or I faint and fail by the way.

"24th.—Awoke early, and trouble awoke with me. I was as a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Attended week-day meeting, and on returning endeavoured to anoint my head and wash my face, and ate what dinner I could; and afterwards my soul was exercised, and venturing to call the family of my dear friends R. and S. Benson together, I poured it out in supplication for ourselves as travellers, for the parents, children, and servants, and for the inhabitants of the town; and then set off, accompanied by my friends S. H., Joseph Smith, and John Hadwin to Warrington.

"25th.—J. Smith and James Foster accompanied us to Leek: we put up at T. Chorley's, and although he is gone to London, we were kindly provided for:—a day of great exercise, in which the cry of my soul has

been, Lord, help through and over all, that I may not be swallowed up.

"26th.—Struggled along through this one day more—got into Derby before night, and found several Friends there from Nottingham."

The following is extracted from a letter addressed to him by his friend Sarah Talbot, from America, then on a religious visit to Friends in England, viz;

"Warrington, seventh-day morning,
Tenth month, 1799.

"My dear friend, T. S.,

"I received thy letter yesterday morning, and it was very gratifying to me, but it would have been more so to have had an interview with thee; but pleasant things are not always best for me. I feel much for thee and do sympathise with thee, believing thee to be greatly tried; but it is in my heart to say to thee, 'be encouraged, and trust in God; for He has been thy helper, and I verily believe will continue to help thee through all and over all, to thy peace of mind and His own glory.' Therefore, my dear friend, have patience and stay thy appointed time for thy release; which I believe thou wilt be favoured to see with clearness, when thy great and good Master shall say thou hast done enough; for I verily believe, all things will work together for good, unto all those that love and serve God. My hopes and fears have been more than they ought to have been, about thy going with me across the sea; but when I may go, I know not, for I expect the Liverpool packet will sail before I am ready, if it goes in one week, as we have eleven meetings yet to visit, which will take us nearly two weeks. When they are visited, I have thought from the feeling of my mind, that I might be at liberty to return home, and no Friend's company in England would be as acceptable to me as thine. If we had been informed that your stay at Warrington had been so short, we should have met you there, but it is now over, and I feel a hope that we shall meet when our religious labour in this land is accomplished, in the enjoyment of sweet peace of mind: yes, my dear friend, I verily believe this will be thy experience, if thou abidest in patience."

"27th, first-day.—I said in my heart, how is it possible to get through the meeting I have appointed! To believe and trust, when hope is cut off;—'our hope is cut off, we are like a dry withered branch.' Language fails to set forth my state this morning, and yet I went to the meeting appointed, and laboured largely.

This is a mystery indeed, and I thought myself a very unworthy creature. In the evening we had the little company of Friends in this place together, in an upper chamber at the Bell inn. It was a singular time, and my companion was opened with much clearness; some labour fell to my lot; and now, after supper, I feel much lightened from the burden and oppression I have waded under for days. 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.' How thankful I feel for this little ease:—Lord, my God, thy will be done. Thou hast an undoubted right to do with thy creatures as thou pleasest. Take not thy Holy Spirit from me; take not thy loving kindness from me."

In a letter dated eleventh month 4th, to his son, he says;

"There are several in Derby who have applied to be taken into membership, there being a little company who have met in the way of Friends for some time past. When I was there two years ago, I visited them in their families, and one of the oldest now tells me, that the number who meet has increased in these two years to double. It has been a comfort to my often depressed and exercised mind, to find here and there, by going over the ground again, some fruits—some convincements: the Lord be praised, whose work it is." After some remarks respecting returning to America with S. T. he says; "I had set my mind on going with her as much as was profitable, and how it may be yet, is uncertain. Let us all endeavour to dwell in faith and patience. I have been marvellously tried about home, the sickness at Philadelphia, &c., and when favoured to resign all up, there has been a comfortable portion of peace. I desire to stand in my allotment, even though it has been in the watch-tower in the day time, and as it were in the ward whole nights. The Lord restrain the murmurer and repiner, and mercifully keep me on the bottom and ground of truth, in and through all; that neither winds, nor rains, nor floods may overturn my foundation. I think I can say with uprightness, it is my desire to get home in the Lord's time, not my own; whose servant my soul desires yet to remain."

"28th.—Took an affectionate farewell of the landlord, whose heart is much opened towards me, and arrived at Litchfield about three o'clock, and my friends who accompanied me, with R. Leaver, were industrious in getting a place to meet and inviting the people. This meeting was held in the town-hall, and a great concourse of people there was, and much was

on my mind to express, although in a weak state and still under great exercise of mind.

"29th, third-day.—Moved on to Birmingham and had an evening meeting; many of the people attended, and here again I had much labour.

"30th.—This morning set off early by coach for Chippingnorton, and after breakfast, accompanied by George Boon, I went to Worcester and had an evening meeting; it was laborious, and I felt unworthy to move in this line.

"31st.—Accompanied by Richard Burlingham and nephew, went near forty miles to Chippingnorton, a meeting being appointed there; felt very low and poor indeed, and was content in silence, my friend having most of the labour.

"Eleventh month 1st.—My beloved friend William Hull having met me last evening, I rode with him to Oxford. How shall I describe my feelings of late;—I am now at an inn in this place, a lonely poor pilgrim. One more meeting appointed at Jordans, and my feelings, I think, resemble those of the poor woman, who was gathering a few sticks to bake her last cake, and then lie down and die, as she thought. How did Ezekiel feel when he baked the cakes and ate them? and when he lay so many days on his side, bearing the sin of Israel? O why am I a man of such sorrow? Is it all a fruitless thing? Lord, God, almighty and powerful, who can resist thy will? Look down in mercy upon me, a poor stripped creature, and help me through all, and over all; for I faint and fail without thee.

"2nd.—Went to Adey Bellamy's, at High Wiccomb, and was kindly cared for, and I felt more ease of mind: many friends called in the evening and sat with us, among whom I had some religious communication.

"3rd, first-day.—Had a pretty full meeting at Jordans, but almost all was sealed up as to myself. My friend S. H. had considerable to communicate, and appeared also in supplication. I advised the people at the close of the meeting, to inquire for, and read the writings of Isaac Pennington, William Penn, and Thomas Ellwood, who very probably had often sat in this house, which is now mostly deserted and shut up. I told them, likewise, of instances where meeting houses had been closed for a time, and that by the religious concern of one individual only, who felt it a duty to go and set alone to worship the Almighty, the meeting had been revived and numbers added. Most of the people appeared very raw; my own conflict was great, and my situation trying indeed. After the meeting we proceeded

to Uxbridge, and put up at Samuel Hull's. Parted from my beloved sister, S. H.: she proposes going to London with S. Hull, having her mind charged with a prospect of a family visit to Grace-church street meeting; may the Almighty go with and help her through this and all others, and give her a reward when the race of life is run, is the craving of my soul.

"4th, second-day.—After resigning myself quietly to stop here, I lay down pretty comfortably: awoke, and lay about two hours in deep thoughtfulness, and yet accompanied with more than usual settlement and quiet. I took a retrospect of my journeying and prospects of later months, having now got through what opened sometime back, concerning Manchester, Liverpool, Derby, Litchfield, Worcester, Chippingnorton, and Jordans; and though my soul has been let down very low, I thought, how could I have done otherwise in my journeyings. Deep were the searchings of heart, in looking over my stepplings, and I besought the Lord for a covering of mercy and love; and that I might be favoured to experience more settlement and peace. My wife and home, &c., came up, and my soul craved ability to offer up all, and that my feeble desires might meet with acceptance before the throne. Is there a baptism for me to be baptised with in this land, in London? Is there a cup to drink of; and am I yet to remain a prisoner in bonds? Lord, only grant me remission, wash away all guilt and stain, and receive me graciously into favour,—point out the way and go before, and behold thy servant, thy tribulated servant, be it unto him according to thy will and thy word, in further stepplings along in this land, and grant that I may clearly see the time to leave it, and that it may be in peace, after so many years of deep conflict. All this thou canst accomplish—do it in thy own way and time, and humble my soul into submission to thy sovereign will. I thank thee, Lord and Master, for support in the deepest trials; yet with blushing and confusion, when I view my strugglings and want of fully exercising faith. O extend thy free mercy:—O Lord, protect and preserve my children; let them be thine in life and in death. It has been a day of some ease, from that oppression and death often felt. I endeavoured to anoint my head and wash my face.

"6th.—Attended week-day meeting, and was favoured with a comfortable degree of calm upon looking over my accounts; but much humbled. Stood up in the latter part of the meeting and had some religious communication, which appeared to have a tendering,

humbling effect, and I felt quiet and calm after it."

The following is an extract of a letter, addressed to his beloved friend S. H., dated

"Uxbridge, eleventh month 6th, 1799.

"My dear friend,

"I know it is an arduous work to visit families, yet believe it to be a blessed one, and it has proved so to some. Take up then thy penny received, after getting through the meeting; it is lawful, and sometimes expedient so to do, and view it carefully, and observe the image; a small piece with the King's stamp, is sufficient. May thy Divine master grant thee a larger portion, if it be his will, when thou hast performed this present engagement. Be faithful in the work, remembering it is not a concern of yesterday; fear not with man's fear, least thou be confounded. Thy soul has been humbled of late—may such dispensations fit thee for the Lord's work; thou must expect it will be so. These humble ones are taught in the way often times, though it is a trying one, and the meek are led in the paths of judgment. I have been a tried man since we parted, and thou knowest much so since we left Liverpool; and through mercy I hope my all is given up. I told thee no way opened further than this place, and so it remains. It seemed like coming up to a wall, without a gate way through. O may my poor oppressed soul yet trust in God, and wait patiently upon him all the days of my appointed time, until a change come. My love to thy dear father, and tell him I have a hope I shall yet see him, and be with him to our mutual comfort and consolation; the Lord grant it may be so, and that we may obtain a mansion of rest together, when done with the fading enjoyments of this world; this is not the thought of a moment, but at times, when further absent.

Thy affectionate friend,

THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

"7th.—To High Wiccomb monthly meeting, accompanied by S. Hull in his chaise. I went in a humbled state, and sat along side of my dear brother George Dillwyn. My soul craved a seal of some encouragement,—and was favoured with a view, that the great and good Master would bring to pass his purposes, which at times had opened on my mind, in which I felt calm and content; and after dear George got through his exercise in the ministry, I kneeled down in supplication, and felt calm and easy through the business. After dinner a number of friends came in, and my mind was stirred up to speak, and tender-

ness and brokenness appeared. I had to address M. E., who is in a very low state, and now lives separate from her husband and children. Rode to Amersham and put up at R. E.'s.

"8th.—Dined at E. Raper's with George Dillwyn and wife and others, after which we were favoured with a comfortable uniting opportunity together. Soon after this returned to Uxbridge."

He remained in Uxbridge until the 21st of the twelfth month, and at times in a very excited state of mind, in consequence of having no clear opening to move in any religious service. Several prospects presented during this period, but were either soon removed, or did not continue with sufficient weight and clearness, to induce him to believe it would be right to pursue them. In this tried state, his prevailing desire appears to have been, to be favoured with patience and resignation to the Lord's will, and to be preserved from doing or moving, except under Divine guidance. He appears, however, to have been impressed with a belief, that he should be obliged to go again to London,—which with the remembrance of the trials and deep baptisms he had passed through in that city, about a year previously, no doubt had a tendency at times to depress his spirits. Notwithstanding this prospect was extremely trying, he was earnestly desirous of performing faithfully the whole service which his Divine master required of him in that land, which led him often to pray for Divine direction, though frequently silent in the meetings, which he regularly attended in this place; yet he appears to have been, at times, very considerably enlarged in them, as well as in private opportunities; many of which he describes as solid, tendering seasons.

Whilst here, he received the following letter, giving an account of the departure of Sarah Talbot for her native land, viz;

"Liverpool, eleventh month 10th, 1799.

"My dear friend, T. S.,

"Thy acceptable letter I received since I came here, where I am waiting for the wind to change, it being contrary to leave this port for America; for which I now think I feel at liberty to embark in the Liverpool packet, bound for New York, which it was said was ready to sail when we got here, and the Captain said he would sail yesterday a week ago; but when we came to R. Benson's, found to the contrary, and have been endeavouring to get ready. I believe I shall be at liberty, for any thing that I now see, to leave this land with peace of mind; though I do surely know that

I am a poor unworthy servant, if worthy to be called a servant, and have not any thing to boast of, no verily; yet may say to thee, my beloved friend and brother, that the peace and quietude of mind I have felt since I came here, have bowed my heart in thankfulness before Him who has been with me, and helped me to do the work appointed: and I verily believe He will be with thee, and enable thee to do his will: thy work is great in this land, and if it should be lengthened out some time longer, mayest thou be favoured with patience to hold out to the end, for it is the end which crowns all. If it had been the will of Him who knows all hearts, and undoubtedly orders all things right, that thou and I should have gone together over the waters, it would have been very desirable to me to have had so dear a brother on the seas; but how different is it likely to be: no friend or acquaintance going, and but one woman, and she as a steerage passenger; so thou may see that I am likely to have a lonely time of it, but I feel resigned and not much discouraged, and hope that He who cares for the sparrows, will care for me."

Her companion, Sarah Shackleton, adds:

"Although I feel myself in a very bereaved state, and as much as I can do to keep up a suitable appearance, having lost a precious companion, whom I have experienced to be a nursing mother, who preached continually to me in the expressive language of example; yet I am unwilling to detain her letter, or the news of her being on shipboard. Orders were received to come on board, for the ship was on her way, whilst we were sitting quietly at our work yesterday morning. It was thought best for no friend but Robert Benson (who was the only man friend there) to go with her in a boat to the ship: we saw her safely on board, and the vessel sail beautifully down the river, on a very smooth sea, but had not been long returned to R. Benson's, before an awful storm came on, which continued several hours. I should have been thankful either to have had her here, or to have been with her there; we suppose the ship has cast anchor at the Rock, about three miles from this place. Perhaps I may have more certain intelligence before I need seal this. The sky begins to look again as it did yesterday evening, and I expect another storm is coming: how distressing to have her lying so near us, and she without an intimate friend to speak to. She reminded me yesterday of an obedient dependent child, throwing itself into the arms of its father, trusting that he would protect from all danger.

"Sixth-day, 15th.—After some trying days,

we have received the agreeable news of the Liverpool packet having really sailed away with a pretty fair wind. I had a letter from dear Sarah yesterday, which says, 'Before dinner was done (the 12th) the storm began; I was in my chair, and between the table and a chest; the table was lashed, or I could not have sat: the things began to tumble about from side to side as the storm increased, so that the carpenter was ordered to be at hand with his axe, in case of extremity, to cut away the mast, that the vessel might drive before the wind. But He who cares for the sparrows, caused the wind to shift, and then they made towards land. On inquiry I was informed, that we were going for Liverpool, of which I was glad. I did not think that we should perish, but it was a very alarming time until about midnight, when we got in here. I am not much discouraged about my companions, although we have card players on board. Five or six vessels have been much injured, and one wrecked; what cause have we to be thankful in being thus wonderfully preserved from harm, only some of our rigging taken away.' S. S."

"20th.—The way to London felt open and clear this evening, and I rejoiced to feel and see it so, and said in my heart, 'Lord, if thou go not with me, take me not hence;' preserve me in my place.

"21st.—This has been an open day pretty much throughout. Left Uxbridge, accompanied by Samuel Hull, and got into Joseph Smith's, London, soon after four o'clock: felt cheerful and well on setting out, and most of the way; but when I entered London, began to sink, and spent the evening with Susanna Horne, Sarah Lynes and others, low and exercised.

"22nd, first-day.—A night of exercise to what I have experienced of late; but through all, endeavoured to cast my care on the Lord, the only sure helper, and experienced a comfortable support. To morning meeting at Gracechurch street, under close exercise; and stood up once more with a searching testimony in the beginning, but toward the close I hope the oil of divine consolation ran from the Fountain into some drooping hearts, as well as my own. I remembered and expressed John Woolman's prospect, 'that the time was coming, when he that was wisest in earthly policy would become the greatest fool; and also a prospect of a searching, trying day approaching. The afternoon meeting was a precious one to me, and hope also to others; it was a time of encouragement. I lay down sweet and easy after this day's work, being much relieved thereby.

"23rd.—A comfortable night, and though when I awoke this morning, a degree of trembling seized on me, yet it was mixed with that holy fear, that broke and tendered my heart, in a sense of the preservations I have met with. Attended the select quarterly meeting, and laboured therein to satisfaction; and after it broke up, many Friends expressed their pleasure in seeing me once more, which was encouraging to me.

"24th.—My mind was enlarged in the quarterly meeting, in which there were several new appearances. The business was comfortably conducted, and in the close I had another satisfactory time with the youth present. Many Friends dined with us, with whom I had an opportunity to some relief.

"25th.—After dinner my own situation came humbly over me. O Lord, bear me up in patient resignation, to do and to suffer thy will. Preserve me from the fear of the enemy. My home is closed up and hid from me, and an humbling weight yet rests on my soul, with respect to the inhabitants of this great city, and no opening to get clear of it. May I with humility say, Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound ceased to be healed? Why go I mourning all the day, as with a sword piercing my soul, and in the night season oft times such trembling of heart? Thou Almighty one knowest, and my soul craves patience to endure until thou removest it.

"29th, first-day.—I attended Devonshire house meeting, and after sitting nearly two hours, felt some openness to stand up, endeavouring to encourage some seeking, sorrowful souls, and felt an opening to appoint a public meeting at six o'clock. Went to Gracechurch street meeting in the afternoon, and had to speak encouragingly to some seekers present. In the large assembly convened at six o'clock, I laboured some time, but felt a stop, and told the meeting so, believing it not right to exceed the gift and feeling; and after a time Sarah Lynes stood up and was much enlarged.

"31st.—O Lord, have mercy on me and save me, seems to be the prevalent cry of my poor travelling soul.

1800, first month, 2nd.—When I reflect how little I am engaged in actual service, it appears sometimes as if I was an idler away of time; but then again, are not the conflicts I have endured for years to be esteemed labour? It seems like the war we read of between Michael and his angels, against the Devil and his. O that he was cast out, and if consistent with the divine will, my soul was set at liberty. When in meeting there is an opening to speak, I fear to forbear, and it is a mercy, that in this respect no disobedience

comes up against me. Rather let my life go, than that I should reproach the Truth, or dishonour God. I went to Tottenham meeting, and was favoured with sweetness and calmness of mind, wherein my faith was renewed in the all-sufficient power and mercy of God, to carry me through my conflicts in this land, and to enable me to fulfil all his requirings. When faith is raised, which is only the gift of God, how it renews that hope, which is an anchor to the soul. I was thankful, and had to speak encouragingly to others; for which the Lord be praised, and let him be waited on in all trials, and in all desertsions.

"4th.—A secret hope spreads on my mind, that the time is drawing near, when there will be an opening towards home; and if it is the Lord's will that I must leave this land without a full discharge, and even if my foolishness appear to myself and others, thy sovereign will be done. I crave ability to trust in thee, and lie prostrate at thy feet. Thou, and thou only canst change my wilderness into a more fruitful field. How pleasant the thought of being favoured to move towards America in peace: yes, it is pleasant to feel a disposition and willingness to trust in God,—to cast body, soul and spirit on his goodness and power. What are words, what are memorandums? As respects the latter, perhaps I may have to look over them in a day to come, and be humbled, as I feel at this present moment. O Lord, enable me to bind thy dispensations, proving and trying to uneasy flesh as they are, as jewels and chains about my neck. O that I might be favoured to declare in the congregations of the people, that thou art good when thou givest, and also when thou takest away. My soul desires to say, Blessed be thy name, even with tears and a broken heart, for thou art the healer of the broken in heart, and the binder up of their wounds.

"5th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, where Sarah Lynes had a very enlarged time. I sat content under it; her companion also appeared in testimony and supplication. After dinner I felt so oppressed that I went up to my chamber, and prostrated myself in awfulness and trembling before the Lord; afterwards went to meeting, where P. Chester and S. H. appeared in testimony, and in the close, remembering the Apostle's advice, 'He that is afflicted, let him pray,' I ventured to bend once more in supplication.

"9th, fifth-day.—To Ratcliff meeting; sat long in silent travail and conflict, and towards the close had to speak of the trials to be met with, &c.; my faith was revived, and I felt pretty cheerful and comfortable afterward.

"12th.—Recruited in health this morning,

and my mind more at ease, for which favour I feel thankful, I hope humbly so. Went to Gracechurch street meeting, and am ready to think it was the very closest time I ever had in this place: I believe some opposed and fought against the communication, but I felt easy. Went again in the afternoon, and both on the way there, and in the meeting, my mind felt easy. It was a time of encouragement, there being a class present, different from some in the morning: drank tea at William Phillips', and after it had a comfortable sitting.

"13th, second-day.—Attended the morning meeting, and felt very poor; yet in a comfortable degree quiet. Sarah Lynes and Susanna Horne completed their visits, and I came to Tottenham with them.

"14th, third-day.—Is it not good to dwell in a broken state, and be able to say, Thy will be done; and when called on, to be found like the spouse in the Canticles, who says; 'I have put off my coat, how shall I put it on; I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?' I hope and desire to be right, and to be in my place, even though it may be that afflictions abide me wherever I go.

"16th, fifth-day.—Had a few words to offer in meeting from these expressions; 'My soul is athirst for God.' Susanna Horne closed the meeting in supplication.

"19th, first-day.—Sat the meeting through in silence. Susanna Horne appeared with an encouraging testimony. In the afternoon meeting the cloud was lifted up, and I felt an openness and some enlargement of heart, and stood up in this sense, with a language of encouragement to the widows, the desolate, and the fatherless children, and spent a pleasant evening afterwards.

"21st, third-day.—A night of exercise, both in sleep and when awake: I strove to be resigned and bear my burden with patience, and hope I was favoured to say, in the secret of my heart, on leaving my bed, 'Thy will, O Lord, be done;' grant me patience to wait on thee, and that I may not bring reproach on the blessed Truth I came to promote. Arose measurably resigned to suffer in silence. After breakfast took up the Bible, and on opening it my eye fixed on the seventh verse of the fiftieth chapter of Isaiah; 'For the Lord God will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.'

"23rd.—Much exercised this morning, and a sweetness attended; went to meeting and had an open time in testimony.

"Second month 2nd, first-day.—It is truly cause of thankfulness that my mind was fa-

voured with so much calm last evening. O Lord, my desire in the deeps has been unto thee, and the remembrance of thy holiness; and the cry of my soul has been, 'Be thou my physician, and heal me.' I crave ability to resign up all, both body and soul, to thy providential care. If thou hadst not cared for me I surely should have fainted and failed: time is thine, and though it appears to be a long time I have spent in this land, and mostly in silent sorrow and suffering; yet, if thou please to accept my offerings, even in sorrow of soul, let thy will be done. I attended Tottenham meeting, and was much enlarged; and after dinner attended the burial of the eldest son of Dr. Letsom, where I was again opened amongst a numerous company of Friends and others, who attended, and returned to Whitehart Lane, after drinking tea at William Forster's, and having an opportunity, and was particularly led to visit a little son of J. H., who was much broken: had also a religious time in the family of my dear friend Thomas Horne; and it is marvellous it should be thus, after the distress I have felt.

"4th, third-day.—Sweetness of mind on awaking: my soul bows in thankfulness for this portion of ease. Worship with fear, and rejoice with trembling.

"7th.—O that this mountain was dissolved by the Lord's power, and that more continued ease and freedom of spirit was granted: this has been often my desire. But stop, my tried soul, and be willing yet to suffer. It is not suffering when we fully see and feel what we suffer for; but when we have to live by faith alone, and by hope alone, that that there will be a change. O then, not my will, but thine be done, O God: all power and strength is thine.

"8th.—Am I filling up my measure in thus moving and acting from day to day? If I am not in suffering and pain for the inhabitants of this island, then deceit has entered. Lord, keep me patiently resigned to thy will, in suffering; for little else can I see.

"9th, first-day.—In the morning meeting I was silent, and in the afternoon was opened to the youth, in a manner beyond my expectation. Drank tea at William Forster's, and here again, with a large company, I had a satisfactory opportunity.

"10th.—To London, and attended morning meeting, where I found Thomas Colley on a religious visit to this city and neighbourhood.

"11th.—To Devonshire house meeting, and had an open time. M. Sterry closed the meeting in prayer.

"12th.—Accompanied Thomas Colley to Peel meeting; he spoke to a tried state from

these expressious: 'There is a life that can live in the midst of death.' I felt a little toward the close, to offer in the same line.

"13th.—To Westminster monthly meeting with Thomas Colley and R. L.: I was silent. Thomas Colley began with these expressions; 'They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.'

"20th.—O London! what I have passed through in thee! Where will thy haughty sons and daughters appear when the Almighty and just One visits and humbles thee? My desire is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee, O Lord, in the deeps. I went with J. and R. Smith to Westminster meeting, and felt an opening to speak, and relief was administered. T. C. and R. H. were married; I dined with the wedding company, and in the evening had an opportunity with them. The cloud of distress was removed for a season, and I worshipped in prostration under this sense.

"21st.—Quiet and resigned, I wait daily to feel my way rightly, and it is a mercy I am not overwhelmed. In company with my friend J. Smith, I went on board the ship Kensington, bound for Philadelphia, with a view of feeling how it may be respecting going home. After sitting alone, and weighing and considering things, there appears no opening to make a move homewards, although I have been six years from wife and family and friends. It seems as though there was yet something to accomplish, and whether it be in doing, or whether in filling up the measure of suffering; whether more of the roll is to be eaten, or more of the little book is to be digested, in order to prophesy, I know not. O for patience when nothing is to be seen, and that I may yet be preserved to walk by faith, and know purification thereby. All things are thine, thou Saviour of men, and thou givest as thou pleasest of thy blessings; enable me to bless thy name when thou withdraws or withholds.

"23rd.—Attended Peel meeting in the morning, and had a pretty relieving time: was at Gracechurch street in the afternoon, and a very large meeting for the youth, in the evening, wherein I had a share of labour with Thomas Colley, W. C. and Sarah Lynes.

"25th.—Was favoured with an opening, tendering time at Devonshire house.

"28th.—To Clerkenwell children's meeting, and an open opportunity. My heart is thankful to feel a little change of dispensation: may I be favoured not to abuse the liberty.

"Good when thou gives, supremely good,
Nor less when thou denies;
Crosses and exercises in thy sovereign hand
Are blessings in disguise."

"Third month 2nd.—Attended Devonshire

house in the morning, and Gracechurch street in the afternoon; also the burial of a clerk, who died suddenly; and in the evening at six o'clock, went to a meeting in the new house at the Park; in all which I was exercised to my own peace and comfort.

"3rd.—I find no discharge from this warfare; but if I am an enlisted soldier, I shall be cared and provided for. Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief. I went with A. Christy to Wandsworth, with Thomas Colley in company, and had a low, silent time; there were only three men Friends at meeting. To an evening meeting at six o'clock, which was pretty full, and Thomas Colley laboured amongst them. Stopt at C. West's school, where I felt an exercise, and was favoured to relieve my mind; the widow of a late lord mayor was present, and much affected.

"6th.—Attended monthly meeting at Croydon, where a little labour felt to my lot. It was close to some, but hope the oil of consolation was administered to a few, and felt by them. O poor county of Sussex! how mammon and the wisdom of this world have spoiled thy sons and daughters making profession with us.

"7th.—Went to Kingston, accompanied by Thomas Colley and J. Townsend, and put up at the widow Rachel Owens', opposite the meeting-house: we sat with three women and one man, beside three Friends from Esher. It was a meeting of trouble to me; I sat and thought of George Fox and others, who used to meet here, and mourned over the state of our Society; yet felt but little or no strength to say any thing. Thomas Colley was silent, but I told them some of my thoughts. I trust the time will come when the command, the sweet command, will be heard; 'Arise, Zion and shine, for thy light is come. Arise, and put on thy beautiful garments.' But there must be a shaking of the dry bones first: the Lord hasten the day, for my soul longed, as I sat in this meeting, to behold it with my eyes. To a meeting at six o'clock, which was pretty large, and dear Thomas Colley had a full time, which appeared satisfactory: silent burden bearing was my portion. To Esher and lodged.

"9th, first-day.—To Wandsworth meeting, where was a company of gay, flashy people. I felt discouraged at first; but after a time was enabled pretty fully to relieve my mind. Divers Friends came to see me in the evening, with whom I had a tendering time.

"15th.—Felt a little opening towards Hartford quarterly meeting; and M. Sterry took me in a post chaise; we got to our friends, John and Mary Pryor's after night, and I was unwell with a cold.

"16th, first-day.—I was much opened and enlarged in both meetings to-day, and felt some freedom in the quarterly select meeting also, which began at six o'clock.

"17th.—Went to quarterly meeting, and to my admiration had an open time, though in much weakness of body. I had to revive the memory of John Crook. Left the meeting before it was over, and came home oppressed with a cold. O Lord, I am yet oppressed in soul; deliver me, I pray thee; keep me in patient resignation to thy will, and preserve from deceit. How my faith is tried—how hard I find it to believe. After an opportunity with a number of young Friends, feel a little lightened and relieved; but there is yet a cloud to pass through and be baptized in.

"18th.—Staid in all day, poorly, but pretty easy and comfortable, for which thankfulness covers my mind.

"19th.—M. Scott took M. Pryor and me to Ware week-day meeting; divers came from Hartford, and several after the interment of a corpse in the grave yard. Mary Pryor had a close, yet sweet time, and I felt some openness also, though it was with difficulty I could speak to be heard.

"20th.—After breakfast, as dear Mary Pryor and I were sitting alone together, she began in the line of religious communication, and said, I had been much the companion of her thoughts in the night; not in sleep, but in wakeful moments. Expressed the sympathy she had felt for me in my sufferings for the inhabitants of this land, and that she believed the time was near when I should be set at liberty to go home, and meet a kind reception, and be made instrumental in watering the seed in my own land—there being a work to be done: she said she had prayed for me, that my voyage might be safe and prosperous, and be made a blessing to the poor sailors; that my prospects and labours would not be lost in this land, for I had been made instrumental in speaking of a day of trial coming, because of wickedness; and that it was her firm belief, the Lord would carry me through and over all, to the end, and crown it with peace. Lord, help my travelling soul to believe, not only in thee, but thy prophets; and fulfil thy purposes concerning thy servant. Here am I, prepare for what thou hast yet for me to do, and let thy will be done. Amen.

"21st.—Spent this morning mostly in reading; dined at Mary Scott's, the widow of Samuel Scott, who died about seven years ago. She brought some of his memorandums in manuscript, which afforded me instruction. They say of him, that he was a lively minister; but I find he had a low opinion of himself. A man weak in body, and oft depressed in

mind: his widow is about sixty-eight, and appears to enjoy a comfortable share of health and spirits. O this changeable world! how many ups and downs in it: how uncertain are the best of blessings—that of husband and wife; and what a mercy to be favoured at last, when troubles are at an end, to join the company of those who are fixed, where there is neither marrying, nor giving in marriage, but who are as the angels in heaven, peacefully under the dominion and care of the everlasting Shepherd, who laid down his life for us all. Lord, grant that this may be my happy portion, and those thou hast blessed me with in this life.

“23rd.—I have spent one more week of my life in a poorly, broken down state of body; but it has not been the most unpleasant. O that this day I may be favoured so to wait upon the Lord, as to know my strength renewed; that I may experience more of an establishment in faith and patience, and keep fast hold on hope, the anchor of the tried and tossed soul. Attended both meetings: was silent in the morning, but towards the close of the afternoon meeting a little arose on my mind to express.

“24th.—After dinner dear Mary Pryor again broke forth with a language of encouragement to me, believing the Lord would not leave me, but bless in basket and store; to all which I felt disposed to say, Amen. Left Hartford after two o'clock, and arrived at Joseph Smith's, London, after tea, where I found Thomas Colley.

“25th.—To quarterly meeting, and after Thomas Colley had pretty fully relieved his mind, I stood up with an encouraging testimony to the youth, to some satisfaction. To the adjournment at five o'clock, and had communication on divers matters, and felt satisfied.

“27th, fifth-day.—Went with Thomas Colley to Tottenham, and expected he would have had a public meeting, but the prospect died away with him. Some light, and hope, and peace, sprang up near the close of this little week-day meeting.

“29th.—Seeing no opening for present service in London, and having a freedom to accept the kind offer of my friend John Hull, I left the city in a post chaise, and arrived at Uxbridge to tea.

“30th, first-day.—To meeting in a weeping state, and remained so most of the time, and then went on my knees and begged that the Lord would be pleased to open my eyes. O, if such a poor, humbled, reduced creature may ask, would it not be, that I may not return to London again, unless there is a work

to be done; and if so, to be favoured to see it with clearness, and have strength to perform it; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done. To afternoon meeting and was silent.

“31st.—My friend John Hull took me to High Wiccomb, and lodged at A. Bellamy's, whose kindness appeared as great as ever.

“Fourth month 1st.—Before meeting George Dillwyn came from a visit to Norfolk. Went to meeting, where tears were my meat for a considerable time; dear George appeared in testimony, and my heart was broken, under which I was engaged in supplication; and just as the meeting was closing, I stood up with a few words, and was enlarged; much brokenness appeared, as also again in the men's meeting for business; and I admired much at the tears which dropt like rain from eyes present. O Lord, preserve me, and go with me, according to thy good hand upon me; remove my iniquity, and bear with my infirmities; make me more and more what I ought to be in thy sight.

“2nd.—To meeting, and I passed it in silence: dear George Dillwyn, E. Raper and C. Whiting had the service.

“3rd.—The monthly meeting was to me a humbling time; dear A. Bellamy stood forth in a feeling, lively manner, and spoke to such as were under trial, and after him George Dillwyn appeared, and towards the close I knelt in supplication, and felt some relief; the business was conducted comfortably. After tea, J. H., E. R. and I, went into a sick Friend's chamber, and had a religious opportunity with her, which proved a tendering one. The circumstance of Jesus visiting Martha, Mary and Lazarus, was mentioned; and in the close our sick sister took me by the hand and said, she believed I was a deeply exercised servant of the Most High, and that there was in store for me, an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come, life everlasting,—and I said, The Lord grant it may be so; being willing to believe that out of the mouth of two or three witnesses the truth is established. Spent the evening pleasantly in company with my beloved brother, George Dillwyn, wife, &c.

“4th.—Returned to Uxbridge, and attended an evening meeting appointed for Thomas Colley. This has been a comfortable day of rest in mind.

“6th, first-day.—Went to a meeting at Jordans, and sat by Thomas Colley, who was large in testimony. A. Bellamy also, appeared early in the meeting, but silence was my portion. Returned to tea at D. Moline's, and attended a meeting at five o'clock, where there seemed some little revival of faith in

my own particular, and I stood up and encouraged others, and spent the evening pleasantly.

"15th.—My heart expands with gratitude and thankfulness in being favoured to arise from my bed with so much ease, and also for the opening last evening. If there is then more for me to do in a different manner, than I ever yet experienced, and these deep wadings and baptisms are to prepare me for it, so help me everlasting Father.

"16th.—Attended monthly meeting, and was opened in testimony to a degree of comfort, and felt my mind turned towards Kent quarterly meeting. This has been a day of the lifting up the cloud, and I lay down comfortably.

"17th.—An intimation was given me on awaking, of receiving tidings from home; and I thought if it was another messenger of death, whether I should be warranted in going the little journey in prospect; it disappeared, and I endeavoured to arise with a resolution to hold up my head. When I came down stairs I found a letter from my son, inclosed in one from Joseph Smith, giving an account of the quiet departure of my dear aged mother; she died on the 22nd of the second month. I have frequently thought since I parted from her, as well as at the time, that I should be favoured to see her close, and receive her blessing, and now am a little straitened about it; but perhaps it was wisely so ordered. The Lord's will be done, for there has been a sweetness accompanying my mind, in a hope that it is well with her soul; yea, at seasons, under deep conflict and prayer on my own account, and on hers, there has been an answer of peace."

On the 16th he thus writes to a dear friend in the ministry:

"Uxbridge, fourth month 16th, 1800.

"I have had thoughts for days past of sending thee a few lines, my beloved friend; but being reduced very low, was discouraged. I should be ungrateful, if I was not now and then to send a paper messenger, after this sort, remembering the great kindness I have experienced at thy hands, and from thy dear father and sisters. Ah! my friend, I have been in the deeps since I parted from thee, but underneath yet, is the everlasting arm, or surely I had fainted. A little relief has been vouchsafed, for which my soul bows in thankfulness, and receives it with a degree of trembling. There is but little presents to write, more than that I feel anxiously solicitous for thy welfare every way,—that thou mayest

deepen in religious experience; that by descending into Jordan and there abiding, and rightly so, thou mayest yet be favoured to come up with thy stones of living memorial. Thou must experience the furnace; this is still the doctrine I have to hold forth to thee, and when I have seen thee in it, my heart has sympathised, and been more knit and united to thee, than when in the greatest pleasantness and joy. Thou hast put thy hand to the plough; go forward, and the Lord redeem thee from all that lets and hinders."

"18th.—Set off after breakfast accompanied by William Hull and wife, in a post chaise to London, in a low condition.

"19th.—Started about six o'clock, and got to Dover about seven in the evening, and met a kind reception from R. Baker and wife.

"20th, first-day.—To Folkstone meeting, and was silent in the morning; in the afternoon many neighbours came, and I was much enlarged in communication, and felt relieved.

"21st.—To quarterly meeting; many neighbours came, and I had a tendering time. Many tears, I believe, were dropt, and on the whole, the quarterly meeting, I hope, was to profit.

"22nd.—J. B. and wife came, and I had a tendering opportunity: he has been a soldier, and was so when I was here last, and now attends meeting as well as his wife, and they appear hopeful. After these went away, S. T. eighty-two years old, and another ancient woman came to see me, the latter, the widow of the principal gunner at the battery. 'It was pleasant to find so much love in the hearts of strangers. Went to the meeting, which was very crowded, and I had a relieving time, although much spent afterwards, but felt easy and relieved.

"23rd.—Comforted respecting my dear mother, and also respecting my wife and family; and desire to leave the things that are behind. I remembered that passage, 'He shall not fail nor be discouraged,' &c.: seeing then that help is laid on one so mighty, O, may I lay aside these weights, and endeavour still to run the race before me with patience. The promise of openness and enlargement while at Uxbridge, has been fulfilled in several meetings. After a seasonable opportunity with T. E. and wife, and a tendering time with divers Friends at our lodgings, we left Folkstone and got into Dover to dinner, easy in mind.

"Much freed from labour and toil of mind. O how comfortable, and yet must I not learn in all states to be content. Yes, I long for it, and to be able at all times, and on all occa-

sions to say, thy will be done. To meeting, which was small, but I felt considerable openness and enlargement.

"25th.—I looked yesterday towards calling the town's people together in the evening, but it left me.

"26th.—But dull and low this evening; two days more spent, and not one religious opportunity in a family; yet hope and trust I have not been idle.

"27th, first-day.—Feed me with convenient food this day, and let thy will be done. Attended both meetings in silence: R. B. and daughter, and two others, had the labour. In the evening many friends called, and I felt openness towards divers states, and relieved my mind; I was again exercised in supplication at supper, and lay down easy.

"28th.—Spent this day under close exercise.

"29th.—See no opening towards the people at large, nor any thing to do in a more select manner. Set off in a post chaise, and got to Rochester in the evening, and met a kind reception at W. Cowper's.

"30th.—At meeting my soul was humbled into tears of contrition. I remembered the first time I came to this place, and how I had to turn back to London, and the singular occurrence which took place. This is the fourth time I have been here, and some liberty of soul was experienced, for which thankfulness was felt; and towards the close of the meeting I had a tendering opportunity.

"Fifth month 1st.—Met some friends at seven o'clock, in order to get them reconciled one to another; again at ten o'clock, and also at two o'clock, and in some good measure saw the end of our labour answered, and feel comfortable now while making this note. My mind is easy and faith renewed.

"2nd.—Arose early and with an easy mind, finding no more to do here, but an opportunity with Henry, who attends meetings and appears sober and hopeful. I am now again at Dartford, where I have been greatly afflicted in times past, when my face has been turned towards London; it was so the last time I was here. I had a pretty comfortable entry into London, and dined at Joseph Smith's, whose kind notice and attention, with that of his wife, had a tendency to comfort and cheer my mind; he went with me to J. Bevans', from whence I took chaise and proceeded to Uxbridge.

"3rd.—The language of my heart has been, 'Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path, because of mine enemies.'

"4th, first-day.—Sweet and easy on awaking after a comfortable sleep. My heart is thankful, and desires to be preserved in watch-

fulness and resignation to the Divine will. At meeting; I thought A. Crowley appeared in a sweet and lively manner; soon after which a dark cloud gathered in the outward heavens, and spread with some thunder; and while I was on my feet the wind increased, and hail stones came so powerfully against the window, &c., that the attention of some was turned away, and I sat down. Silent in the afternoon meeting.

"6th, third-day.—I have been reading and walking with an exercised mind; and this precious thought is sweet, that I cannot do without affliction: I feel content. Beautiful, indeed, does the creation appear this day. In the midst of these pleasant pictures, I cast an eye on home, once my pleasant abode, but from which I am now far separated, and in a stripped and tried condition. It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good, let his will be done, and all will work in the end for my good.

"7th.—Was singularly concerned in communication in meeting to address divers states—last first-day's concern was revived.

"10th.—I have been greatly tried with the veiling of the light of God's countenance, for which I have long and often mourned in this land; but through it all, what a favour not to lose all faith. What has supported unto this day but goodness and mercy, though sometimes much hid. I bless the name of the Lord, in that He is favouring me to believe in His name. Surely I am yet a weak Christian, to mourn when tried, as I have done. It is said of the eagle, that though ever so hungry, she makes no noise: when will the time come that I shall bear all things, and hope all things.

"13th.—Again at my friend S. Hull's, after a little visit to London. I attended the burial of Sarah Row, the day before yesterday, and was largely exercised in testimony at Devonshire house, where the corps was brought; and again in the afternoon pretty much so at Gracechurch street; and some openness yesterday at the morning meeting, but have returned low and exercised; it seems like a remand back to the prison-house. Lord, help.

"18th, first-day.—Mary Watson, and Mary Alexander, R. Fowler and wife, with several others were at meeting, but not a line in the way of ministry. My employment was to trace back my path to the first yearly meeting I attended; and although I have been greatly tried since, in various ways, I hope no wilful transgressions stand against me. To afternoon meeting, in which I had not long sat down, before my mind was favoured with an opening, and brought into sympathy with the

oppressed and exercised. I remembered, and also mentioned, how gladdening it is to mariners at sea, after being driven hither and thither by high winds, and having had many cloudy days, so that no observation could be taken; when another ship, perhaps equally distressed, may have been favoured with the sight of the sun, and taken an observation; and when these meet at sea, and inquire what latitude and compare notes, and gain some information, how joyfully they again proceed on their voyage. What a joyful sound it was to the poor disciples, when the Master saluted them with, all hail!

"19th, second-day.—Attended both of the sittings of the yearly meeting of ministers and elders in London, and was very poor."

The following letter was received from his friend Mary Dudley:—

"Suirville, near Clonmel, 18th of fifth month, 1800.

"My much beloved friend,

"How has thy sympathising, thy cordial salutation many weeks ago received, been apparently neglected and unacknowledged; but how different from appearance have been the real feelings of my heart, which, burdened and longing for some relief, sought in vain for it. Yet no ability has it found to pour forth its sorrows, and such a restraint I know not that I ever experienced from holding converse in this way, so that I have for many months past, been like an ungrateful receiver of many affectionate tokens of unmerited regard from some near my best life. The purgings of my poor tried spirit have been and continue unutterable: in this state, sick in bed one morning, thy valued lines met me, like deep uttering unto deep; and was I not afraid to say, thankfulness was the covering of my mind, stripped and divested as it feels of any sensible fruit of righteousness, and every word sunk into an almost broken heart. On thy account, my long suffering brother, I could and did say, this hath God wrought, having introduced thee into these afflictions, and then causing thee to partake of the consolations of the Gospel of his dear Son, that thereby full conformity to Him might be effected, and the purpose of His holy will through thee wrought out. Never did I question this would be the blessed consequence of thy deep and almost constant travail, nor that the path of consecrated suffering would lead to deeper unfoldings into the mystery of godliness; and O! that whatever remains to be partaken of for thy own and the church's good, thou mayest have in addition, the sustaining efficacy of continued everlasting love; whatever becomes of thy poor friend and little sister, whose way is closed up on every side, and in the depth

of astonishment utters at seasons this language: 'Is Thy mercy clean gone forever; wilt Thou be favourable no more?' Thy query, my dear friend, deeply penetrated my heart, 'What art thou about!' Trying to stand against a host of difficulties within and without; against a torrent of temptation (if it be so) from the adversary of all good; often fearing I have introduced myself and others into an increase of suffering, more than might have come in holy appointment, by overlooking the right time, and by waiting for more light, when a sufficiency was vouchsafed; or by not abiding where there was at seasons a gathering, even into that spot, that longed for state, where 'not my will but thine be done,' arises: yet though often tossed in a manner not to be set forth, gracious mercy withholds condemnation; I feel not the dreadful weight of reproach from an ever-loving Father, but at times a hope, that feeling a degree of resignation, and not standing opposed to His revealed will, He will either in abundant mercy accept the imperfect sacrifice, or in His own way and time burst my bonds, and proclaim liberty to the captive. If I am just lifted out of the dungeon with any little message to the people, and while in commission the vessel feels a little strength, soon is it gone and darkness covers the earth, as though the sun would no more shine upon me. I am here in this land of commotion and bloodshed, a suffering stranger, to my own feeling, weaned as I long since told thee (in the confidence I felt) from it, and looking to a residence on the other side of the water, when a detention (very unexpectedly) of several months in the last year, confirmed my feelings in its being the best for us all. Self, and what attaches to it, has driven me farther than I had any view of when I sat down; but it has not so fully occupied, as to hide thee and thy views, my beloved brother, from my sight. Much do I long to know how thou art likely to be disposed of; and O how should I be comforted by a little of thy society, previous to a separation by the great deep; at one time it looked rather probable, that at this season I might be so indulged, but that is over, and I can only hope through thy own kind pen to know whether a peaceful retreat has been sounded in thy ears: if so, may the Lord go with thee, and His Spirit give thee rest—preserve on the mighty waters, and restore thee to thy endeared connections with the joy of harvest, and unbroken sheaves of soul-enriching peace. I would request thy kind host and wife, J. and R. Smith, to accept my and my R. D.'s love, and thy dear country folk near thee. I shall hope, little as I deserve it, for a line from thee when thy case is determined as to moving or staying."

"Sixth month 14th.—I am now again at my friend J. H.'s, Uxbridge; many days have passed since I made any record;—have got through the yearly meeting with a pretty comfortable share of health and strength, and trust I laboured to be found in my proper allotment: although trying things have occurred, yet it has been thought on the whole the most solid meeting ever remembered. What a favour, what a consolation to see the church advancing as out of the wilderness! this I think my eyes have seen since being in this land, and have rejoiced in it. I left London under pressure of soul; and thought on sitting down in the meeting at Brentford, a few days since, that my state resembled a field laid open without fence or wall; and under this sense I wept much, and continued weeping until I felt strength to bend in fervent supplication; and afterwards by some communication, got much relief. Sweet was the calmness that covered my mind for a season, whilst sitting in the men's meeting, which in some degree continued through the remainder of the day. Here I am again, shut up a prisoner, but not altogether without hope, though I have had a deep plunge since returning.

"16th.—Week-day meeting was a humbling one; my faith was renewed in silent travail, and I was favoured with openings. The Lord continue his good hand upon me, and enable me to believe and put my trust in him, and to wait on him. Humbling prospects opened a little to my view respecting the king and London, and I lay down resigned to whatever allotment Divine Providence may permit.

"23rd.—London quarterly meeting of ministers and elders was but a flat dull time, and the general quarterly meeting, held on the 24th, was a very low time in the first part: I feared there was not a digging for the fresh springs of life; and throughout the business there seemed very little life stirring. Is it not a sifting, proving time, in which the prudent men keep silence.

"26th.—Had a trying time on my bed; the state of society and individuals pressed me sorely.

"29th, first-day.—Empty and poor on awaking; yet hope, in prostration and abasement, I felt desirous to subscribe to the Lord's will. I long to experience his favour, and the lifting up of the precious light of life in my soul, and to feel more liberty of spirit. I long to see the way home, how and when; and yet I desire also to lay abased and humbled, so as to be willing to be dashed to pieces, and yet more broken, if it is the Lord's blessed will; believing his power is able to make me up anew. Attended both meetings, and was shut up in silent sorrow.

"Seventh month 1st.—To Southwark meeting, in which I felt a concern to labour, and it was to some satisfaction.

"3rd.—Awoke about one o'clock, and it was a very singular time of opening prospects; and thanks be to God, my mind was brought into resignation and willingness to submit to his will—perhaps I hardly ever had a clearer opening into the agony of my Saviour in the garden, and also his crucifixion; he emptied himself—he stooped to the cross, and who can declare his generation, for his life was taken from the earth.

"6th, first-day.—Attended Gracechurch street meeting, and dined at W. Birkbeck's, accompanied by Ann Crowley, and after dinner my mind was turned towards the son in a particular manner, and afterwards to the goodly old Friend, the grand mother; and M. Bevans closed the opportunity by prayer for the youth.* To Gracechurch street meeting again in the afternoon, and sat it in painful silence.

"7th.—Received a letter from Samuel Smith; he, Richard Jordan, and Gerves Johnson arrived at Liverpool the 3rd of this month. Attended a special meeting to-day on account of H. B. I have felt more ease of spirit these two days past, and have rested on my bed, for which thankfulness of heart is experienced.

"12th.—Had a tender opportunity with one I longed to see. Packed up my things in trunks and saddle bags, and now I have said in my heart, what wait I for, but the signature and seal of permission to go home. Spent the evening quiet and easy, and lay down so, inasmuch as to adopt this language: 'Thou art my Father; thou art my Judge, and my Law-giver; thou art my King, and thou wilt save me.' O for faith to hold fast such a confidence as this.

"13th.—Still feel a comfortable reviving degree of faith and hope; O may it give courage and boldness. Two open times in meeting to-day, to my admiration.

"14th.—Attended morning meeting in London, which was exercising, and yet I was favoured to bear up under complicated trials. In the evening answered George Dillwyn's letter, which is as follows:

"Tottenham, seventh month 14th, 1800.

"My beloved friend,

"Since thy letter was put into my hands at the close of the meeting this morning, I have been looking it over again and again, musing and pondering its contents; and the more I think of it and of thee, my dear feeling brother, the more I am induced to believe thou

* Who died soon after.

wast assisted with best help to pour a little oil into these wounds, that I have sometimes ventured to believe, were made as by fetters of iron; for on looking over the precious encouraging portion of scripture thou sent, and turning my eyes to the margin, I there read, 'His soul came into iron;' and I gained instruction thereby. How I have longed, both in lonely places in the day time, and upon my bed in the night season, when almost every brook or stream of comfort was dried up, that the King immortal, and everlastingly glorious, might be pleased to loose my imprisoned spirit, and let me go free; therefore, to this little portion which thou sent me, with the greatest sincerity I can say, Amen. Thou art, I think, just right with respect to comparing, or bringing us back to youthful days. I was a *diver*, and thou and I have had our dips under the water together, since the day we met in this land. How singular, and yet how comfortable was it, on reading thy lines, to remember afresh the thoughts of my heart respecting thee, within these few days past—they came up somewhat after this manner; for I may assure thee, I have had a very deep plunge: 'There is my friend and brother George Dillwyn, who appears to be bearing me company, and seems like another Ezekiel; he has prepared his stuff, and has removed; he has had a singular life in this land, much like mine; he has returned again, and though settled as to appearance—and though I am separated from wife and children, &c., yet he appears like one bound as I am. I have seen him as a mark that has been shot at, and the archers have wounded him.' From thoughts like these my mind was brought into near fellowship with thee; was not this like *diving* under the water, and *touching*? Canst thou recollect that we can see one another under water, when we cannot speak? I have often wanted to say more to thee, but when with thee have been restrained. I was at Tottenham yesterday, and in both meetings favoured with enlargement in testimony; it seemed like a farewell service, and afforded much comfort and relief to my mind. And now I may conclude by assuring thee, that no part of thy precious letter was more sweet than the close, whereby thou felt liberty to own me as a brother in the sympathy and fellowship of the gospel: and as far as I dare venture in this my imprisoned state, I can dearly salute thee in a measure of the same.

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

"15th.—Awoke early, and the situation of H. B. awoke with me, and pressed hard on my mind; which, with other prospects relat-

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ing to myself, brought me into prostration and tears.

"20th, first-day.—To Gracechurch street meeting, which was silent on my part: dined at S. Southall's, and had a tendering opportunity with the family. To Gracechurch street meeting at three o'clock, and had a comfortable time in prayer, and afterwards in testimony, particularly toward the dear youth. Stept into William Allen's and took some refreshment; here I met with my dear sympathizing friend J. G. Bevan, much to my comfort and refreshment. To Devonshire house at five o'clock, where the body of the widow Elliott was brought; it was a large and mixed meeting, and very unsettled. H. B. pretty soon stood up to define the difference between a wise man and a fool. Special West afterward preached salvation only by and through faith in Christ, received by faith in the heart—it was a trying time.

"23rd.—What a mercy to be favoured with a little ease of spirit! My soul longs for deliverance from this great city; yet I trust in the Lord's way and time. O for greater sanctification of spirit and purity of heart, so as to be favoured to see God, to know his will and do it.

"24th.—The situation of afflicted Job opened last night on my bed: how stript was he of all his living, and reduced to lie on a dunghill, or to sit among ashes. Surely in a spiritual sense he could say, he had eaten ashes like bread. Soon after breakfast Mary Pryor came from Hartford to see me. In a little sitting she told me how much her thoughts were with me as she sat in her week-day meeting yesterday, and therefore wanted to see me; that it had passed through her mind, and with much fear and care she mentioned it: 'Thou art my servant; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction; I will keep thee in all places, whithersoever thou goest.' Soon after this opportunity I received a letter from Uxbridge with nearly the same expressions. I dropt my tears, and was willing to say, So be it, good Lord.

"27th.—I felt some openness in both meetings, especially that in the morning, with the rich and gay, and felt relief.

"29th.—To a meeting of ministers and elders called on my account, where I opened my prospects of returning home. A committee was appointed to prepare an endorsement for my certificate. It was a comfortable time,—I found sympathizers. After meeting I opened to a few Friends another weighty concern, respecting visiting the king.

"31st.—Set off in a post chaise about eight o'clock, accompanied by my friends Richard

Chester and J. Elliott, for Weymouth, to endeavour to obtain an interview with the king. Got on our way about sixty-six miles to Winchester: I felt quiet and resigned on the way, and pretty cheerful.

"Eighth month 1st.—Got to our journey's end, starting about six o'clock, and arrived about sunset, seventy miles. My weakness, and great infirmity stared me full in the face, and it was trying. I felt very unworthy this day, but endeavoured to look forward.

"2nd.—Waited until near eleven o'clock before any thing opened to make way for my concern. In the evening R. Chester and J. Elliott walked on the esplanade and met with the king, and requested for me an opportunity with him, his consort, &c., but got no answer; they were kindly noticed. During their absence my mind was closely exercised, being left alone at the inn. Sometime after they returned I walked to the pier-head, and looked toward the sea, and deep and pensive were my thoughts respecting this island and its inhabitants.

"3rd, first-day.—Endeavoured to put on strength, I hope, in the divine Arm: about eight o'clock, accompanied by my two friends, I walked along the sea shore, and saw the king with divers of his officers, walking the esplanade. On their return we met them, and I had a full opportunity to ease my mind. Returned to the inn peaceful and easy as I could wish or desire; and about ten o'clock set off and rode this day about half way back towards London."

It will be proper to observe, that in the interview which his companions had with one of the king's advisers, to whom they had applied for permission to visit him, they were informed that it was not likely he would consent; alledging as a reason, his unwillingness to see any strangers, in consequence of attempts which had recently been made upon his life. He however suggested, that as he regularly walked on the esplanade at a certain time in the day, they might have an opportunity then, if they thought that would answer. When they met, Thomas Scattergood was introduced to the king as a much loved minister of the gospel from America, who had been engaged in a religious visit to the Society of Friends in England. Thomas then took off his hat and said, "I have a message from the Lord to thee, O king." The king instantly uncovered his head, also his attendants, and made a full stop at this salutation, and listened with respectful attention to what Thomas said. When he concluded, the king said to him, "I thank you,"—and instead of pursuing his walk, returned at once to his apartment.

"4th.—Dined at Egham near Staines. On

entering the room I saw a Bible laying on the table, and opened on the twenty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, and felt encouraged in reading it, for my mind has been closely exercised respecting another prospect which has long been upon my mind. Got into London about six o'clock: the last ten miles stage into London was a trying one; and it has often been so on entering this place, but this exceeds all, from a prospect of mortifying service opening and pressing very heavily upon my mind.

"6th.—Slept pretty well, and I feel cheerfully resigned, I hope, to do what has opened as a religious duty. Met a number of Friends at Gracechurch street meeting-house, and laid before them a prospect of going to the Royal exchange. It was a solid, uniting time, and I found sympathizers: none could see their way to accompany me in the exercise, and as the way did not open in their minds, I got eased of my burden, and left it. Attended meeting, which was pretty large, and many young people present. I began with some expressions which I heard T. Gawthrop dropped on leaving Philadelphia: 'Master said, thou came poor amongst them, be content to leave them so.' Tenderness appeared in the meeting, and after it was over I was saluted by many, old and young. Went to Tottenham to lodge.

"7th.—After breakfast I took my farewell of this very kind family, (Thomas Horne's,) and went to London to the Alien-office, and after waiting some time, got my passport. Dined at J. Bevans' with a number of Friends, Joseph Bevans and wife amongst them, and after a tendering time with a pretty large circle, set off, and accompanied by my kind friends E. Janson and sister, Martha Horne, in a post chaise, and J. Bevans, wife and son, to Uxbridge, where divers called in and took leave.

"8th.—An opportunity with several Friends, and started about half past six o'clock, and breakfasted at A. Bellamy's, High Wiccomb, where dear George Dillwyn and wife met us. We had another opportunity, and passed on through Oxford, Chippingnorton to Skipton, and on the 9th as far as Newcastle and lodged.

"10th.—Got to John Bludwich's, at Warrington, about two o'clock, and to meeting with them at three, and about five set off, and arrived at Liverpool a little after dark, where I met with Joseph and Rachel Smith, and pretty soon after I got in, was informed that P. Speakman had sailed early in the morning of this day, which gave me a little shock for a moment; but felt easy in a belief it is well.

"11th.—Spent this morning at R. Benson's, and in the afternoon went on board S. Coffin's ship, and sat down with a number of

Friends in quiet. I told the company I felt easy to go in this vessel, and cast myself on divine Providence; that I had been a prisoner for years in this land, and this ship seemed like removing into a small compass, &c.

"13th.—No prospect of sailing for several days, and I feel content.

"16th.—I feel at liberty to cross the great deep again, and to look towards my native land. Surely I may say this morning, I feel myself an unworthy creature; yet I hope I desire to trust in God for mercy, deliverance and salvation: grant it may be so, and my soul yet more humbled and abased in truth.

"17th, first-day.—Am yet at Liverpool. There is occasion to lie humble, as with my mouth in the dust. Went to meeting and prayed for myself and others, after which I felt a little lightened. In the afternoon meeting I laboured, and bid farewell, and felt more ease of spirit. It has been a hurrying time of late. O for sustaining comfort to accompany on board of ship, and over the sea. I hope my views are not great; quiet and ease of mind, and a sense of forgiveness of all my weakness, infirmities and iniquity; I desire to trust.

"18th.—Better in health and spirits; wrote to several friends, and feel relieved and lightened.

"19th.—A prospect of sailing was given out last night, and my mind became more fully charged, and did not sleep so well as nights past. After breakfast sat down in Robert Benson's parlour, with him, wife and children, J. and R. Smith, E. Janson, M. Horne, &c., when a quiet, and I trust, a solemnity covered us: it was the testimony of R. B. it was so, and after we broke up, R. S. also expressed the same. I wept in the opportunity, but felt resigned to my allotment, believing the time was come to leave this land, and expressed it: when we got down with my sea stores, the ship was getting out of the dock; the pilot would not come to, and so we were under the necessity of taking a boat and following her a considerable distance, which was trying, as I wanted some of my dear friends to have gone on board with me. Parted with them at the pier-head, much as I parted from Friends in New York, and accompanied by Robert Sutcliff, of Sheffield, the only cabin passenger, got safely on board about eleven o'clock, and after sailing about thirty miles, anchored until night.

"20th.—Fair wind but light: my heart feels heavy at times, not only in looking towards shore, but also to my native land: great have been my conflicts since I left New York, to which place I am now bound, if the Lord permit; unto whose keeping and care I crave abili-

ty to commit body, soul and spirit, as into the hands of a merciful Creator, for there appears nothing to recommend me, a poor unworthy servant, but mercy in Christ. O then let me settle down into it. O my God, visit and revisit my soul; cast me not out of thy presence. I am weak, and have been greatly loaded with infirmity. Look once more on my afflictions and my pains, and forgive all my sins—keep my soul and deliver me, let me not be ashamed and confounded; for I dare not do otherwise than put my trust in thee, and believe and hope in thee.

"Two o'clock.—Fresh wind and fair, and a fine day: not far from Holyhead. I look at Wales with love, a part of the island I have not visited in this long detention in this land. O that the seed may be visited and cared for.

"22nd.—I have felt lively sensations on looking towards my dear friends parted from, and to whom I am going. Even in these few day's tossing, I may adopt David's language; 'Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence. When I said my foot slipped, thy mercy, O Lord, held me up. In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my soul.'

"25th.—O how pleasant and how desirable is it to be continued under divine favour, and to be acknowledged as one of the Lord's servants. Had a refreshing night's sleep, and awoke with a degree of courage and confidence in the divine Arm. Thou canst change the wilderness of great trial into a fruitful field, at thy pleasure. I crave ability to wait on thee, my Creator and Preserver. I opened the blessed book, and cast my eyes again on the ninety-first Psalm; 'I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in him will I trust.'

"27th.—A calm night, and now the wind has shifted to S. W., and it is a very fine morning: my mind is calm, and I feel pretty easy in my allotment. I trust I have been favoured to come off in the right time: never did I see the way open before. It is the Lord alone who can heal the broken in heart, and bind up their wounds.

"31st, first-day.—A brisk wind this morning, but increased in the afternoon, so as to require the topsails to be reefed. I sat on deck most of the day, the sailors having put up a piece of a sail on the quarter rail to break off the wind. When I saw the sailors on the yards taking in sail, so exposed to danger, I thought surely the watchful eye that is over the sparrow, is also over them to preserve them; the thought was sweet, and love flowed in my heart towards them, although no opening for a meeting presented.

"Ninth month 1st.—The wind increased

to a storm last night, and between ten and twelve o'clock the ship lay to. The captain ordered the dead lights put in, and it was well he did, as he afterwards said; for although the ship lay easy, yet the wind dying away suddenly, and then shifting to an opposite point, she got into the trough of the sea, and at times the waves beat against the stern, and would have washed us in the cabin, if this precaution had not been taken. Got under sail again in the morning, but had a very heavy sea.

"2nd.—There was a time during this long detention in Great Britain, when the waves of the sea appeared terrible and insurmountable; so did the prospect of being captured at sea: now they are very little to me, no fear, even the night before last, in the greatest seeming trial, possessed my mind.

"3rd.—I have been instructed this day by observing the weather and outward elements on this wide sea, which surely resembles my life of ups and downs. This morning, after I came out of my little confined cabin, upon deck, the clouds were thick, the wind ahead, and it was oppressively close. In a little time the wind came more northerly, a pleasant, clear horizon appeared, and a cool, refreshing air sprung up. I wait on Him who holdeth the winds in his fists, to change my spiritual dispensation.

"4th.—Spoke the ship *Rose* from Philadelphia for Liverpool, twenty-one days out. I feel thankful that my mind is so easy and quiet. O for a day of liberty to serve God without slavish fear. I long for more of such a dispensation; 'My life, if thou preservest my life, thy sacrifice shall be.' I trust this is the upright language of my tribulated soul; desirous to say, Not mine, but thy will, O God, be done to-day, and to the end of my days here, and forever.

"6th.—Beating against the wind—how much this resembles my track through this vale of tears. 'Ye have need of patience after ye have done the will of God, to receive the promise.'

"8th.—It is a favour worthy of recording, that I feel so quiet and resigned in my present allotment, and that I can sleep so well in the night season, with little care upon me as to the voyage; thanks be rendered where they are due.

"18th.—About sunrise it began to blow; we soon had a very heavy wind, and lay to. I enjoy a calm and easy mind in the midst of a storm. O London, London, what unutterable conflicts have I passed through in walking thy streets! Now, even when the waves run high, and stormy winds rage, so as to make the sea like a boiling pot, my spirit is at rest,

and centred in the Creator of sea and land. Bless his name, O my soul.

"22nd.—Last evening before night, put the ship about, and laid our course south, with very little west—the captain thought it best to stand no further north: between seven and eight o'clock this morning lay the ship to, and the hands went to fishing, we being on the Banks. I remembered, I hope, instructively and encouragingly this language; 'God spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us all.' O the mystery of the redemption of lost man! Great is the mystery of the work of Truth. About ten o'clock put the ship about on the starboard tack, and lay a N. W. course by W., with a light wind. Our fresh cod-fish dinner was very grateful.

"24th.—A calm covered my mind on awaking this morning, and continues with a revival of faith and hope. A little after twelve o'clock, as we were sitting at dinner, it suddenly began to rain, the first mate sprang from his seat, saying, 'What's this,'—he found the wind had suddenly died away, and a squall came up from the north. The helmsman was confused, and put the helm the wrong way: the hands were all at dinner, except the helmsman and the cook. There was such a stir on deck as quickly sent up the captain: I followed, and was sensible of the difficulty, seeing so much sail out; however, by keeping the ship before the wind, for the captain took the helm, the sailors got in sail, and by this time the wind got round to N. E. Went under a close reefed topsail, fore-sail and main-topsail, and in a little time were sailing at the rate of eight or nine knots. When the captain and mate came down to finish their dinner, he remarked he had never been caught so suddenly before, for when he left the deck there was no such appearance. I felt thankful that my mind was so calm and easy in this bustle: poor sailors, what a wet condition they were in, and how cheerfully they went to their work.

"28th, first-day.—I have been walking the deck; and a number of my dear friends left behind have come nearly into remembrance. I have been thinking of holding a meeting with the ship's company, both yesterday, and also upon my pillow, and since getting up, but do not feel an opening.

"Tenth month 3rd.—The wind continued brisk until between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and then suddenly came round to N. W. There was a bustle on deck: I dressed and went up, and found we had stood on within six or seven miles of Long Island. It being moonlight we could see it plainly,

and a sweet smell like fresh hay regaled our senses: the sailors caught a woodpecker, blown off, no doubt, by the north-wester. We are now, after breakfast, out of sight of Long Island: what joy was manifest last night among the mariners on sight of land. I felt calm and easy, and when at breakfast this morning, some were speaking of the head wind taking us, I felt resigned, and expressed that I felt at home, and had been so since coming on board this ship; and yet I have been and am a tried man, and frequently have broken forth in this confinement in the language of the Psalmist, the type of the suffering Saviour—the type of the church under her trials also: ‘How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord; forever? how long wilt thou hide thy face from me? how long shall I take counsel in my soul, having sorrow in my heart daily? how long shall mine enemy be exalted over me? Consider and hear me, O Lord my God: enlighten my eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death—lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him, and those that trouble me, rejoice when I am moved.’ Then let me trust in thy mercy, that I may have yet to rejoice in thy salvation, O God. We have been beating all day opposite Black Point, wind right ahead.

“4th.—About three o’clock this morning a pilot came on board, and now we are beating up with a small head wind. I am once more in sight of my native land, and to all appearance delivered from the dangers of the sea. I feel at the present moment a poor unworthy creature, abashed and humbled, and yet I trust there is a tribute of thanksgiving arises unto the Lord, for favours vouchsafed on the mighty waters; and it seems as if I must go home as I left it, in an humbled condition: well, the divine will be done, and mine reduced—so be it. Got up to New York about nine o’clock; came to anchor, and soon after the captain ordered the boat and took R. Sutcliff and myself ashore. On the wharf I was met by my kind friend Isaac Collins, who had been watching for me, and conducted me home with him, where I had an open reception, and before bed time a sweet religious opportunity; forty-seven days on the voyage.

“5th, first-day.—To both meetings, and felt openness to labour tenderly. My heart was broken, and mine eyes flowed with tears. Friends appeared glad to see me, several of whom I visited in the course of the day, and had a remarkable opportunity with J. M. and daughter, at Isaac Collins’.

“6th, second-day.—Spent considerable of this day in getting through the custom house, &c.

“7th.—After breakfast went on board ship

with R. Sutcliff and distributed some little presents amongst the sailors, and had also an opportunity to relieve my mind. Dined at R. Pearsall’s, and soon after set off with Isaac Collins in his chaise, and got as far as Rahway.

“8th.—Divers friends called in this morning, and we had a religious opportunity; then proceeded as far as Stonybrook, where I met my father David Bacon, and son Joseph.

“9th.—Left our carriage and horses at Bristol, went over to Burlington and dined, and got home after night.”

After returning from England he remained mostly at his own residence until 1801, not being called to any religious service out of his native city, except an occasional visit to neighbouring quarterly or other meetings. As he kept no memorandums during this period, little further is known respecting him, than what is contained in the following extracts of letters, viz:

Addressed to a Friend in England.

“Philadelphia, Eleventh month 5th, 1800.

“My dear friend,

.....“I trust the time had come for me to leave that land; and though I left my beloved friends at the pier-head with my heart full, yet the watery element was made easy to me; yes, more so than at one time I could believe. O what fears dwelt on my mind at seasons on looking toward the ocean, with desires to be going when there was no clearance: then it was terrible indeed, as also when I thought of going as a prisoner to France, in such a sifted, tried condition. If I could hardly bear up amongst such feeling, sympathizing friends as I had in England, I thought, what should I do amongst strangers, to be a prisoner spiritually and outwardly. All these cogitations and fears were removed; and though I had very humbling thoughts, and tossings of mind at times during the voyage, it was as prosperous as I could wish for. I landed at New York in forty-seven days from Liverpool, and met a kind reception in that place. I had no opportunity in the way of meetings during the voyage; I could not get at it. I was very poor; but before I left New York I went on board ship and had a full opportunity with mates, sailors, cabin boys and cook, all together, to much satisfaction, and I have cause to believe they love me.

“And now I may tell thee, that the desire of my heart continues for thy preservation and advancement in the way everlasting. Put on the breast plate of faith, and follow the Captain of thy salvation fully and perfectly.

There is need to be girt about; and if I mistake not, there will yet be more need. O, it is a comfort to me to believe, to be assured thou art not of the company, nor in the least joined with those, who are denying a crucified Saviour, and setting up something else instead. Keep down in the quiet habitation, and be willing to be baptised with the baptism of Christ, that so thy feet may be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, that thou may be able to travel through and over all the rough ways and stony places, that may yet be cast up for the proving of thy faith; so wilt thou honour the Lord with thy all, and in and through all, in being faithful to fulfil thy duty, not only at home in thy own particular meeting, but to know when to go forth in little services, and how to move and conduct in them. The Lord be near to thee in all, and guide thee safely through all that he may be pleased to permit thee to pass through, and give thee at last to sit down in the kingdom of peace and rest, and grant that our spirits may unite in bliss. I am comforted in observing one here and there of the female sex, under the polishing hand, that are as plants sprung up since I have been away, bright and clear in testimony for the Truth, who have been moving about, and still continue to move, I trust as clouds waiting to be filled by him, that seeth to the ends of the earth, and looketh under the whole heaven, to make the weight for the wind, and bringeth it out of his treasury. O what a spectacle I have been among you; what an exercised creature—what lonely walks have I had in fields and gardens! Was ever any one so before? Well, when I ponder and think, and it is very likely I have sometimes done too much at this, and I am striving to mend in this respect; I say, sometimes I query, whether I could wish it should have been otherwise, and hardly dare say I do. I am again amongst my own people, and pray to be sustained by a few crumbs from the bountiful table; and may tell thee, my friend, that I have been able to come at little further at times, both in meetings and out of them, than to breathe forth this mournful language; ‘have mercy on me, O Lord, and forgive all my weakness and infirmity, and blot out all my iniquities, and favour with a place amongst thy sons and daughters, for I feel myself an unworthy and unprofitable servant; and if all or any part of the deep sorrow I have passed through may stand in thy sight, it is all but little, and no more than a debt due.’ I have no other view in thus writing, than that perhaps it may give some relief, by a little vent to one who has oft seen me inclosed as in the pit, when the poor exile has been hastening

not to die therein. What will be the amount of all this? I was deeply plunged before I offered to visit the miserable in London—not for days or weeks: long was it on my mind. Long was I troubled in walking London streets. The last exercise that I mentioned to Friends, was peculiarly singular; but I have felt quiet and easy about it, and sometimes have thought, that were I now in London, it is so gone, that I should feel different. I love her inhabitants, and have been ready to say within myself since I got home, and thought and said so among you; Surely they are not the worst of people, there is much good; ‘much that I love, and more that I admire.’ Farewell, says one who prays thou may be kept and preserved in and through all states, which wisdom may see meet to permit, and remain thy affectionate friend,
 THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.”

The following is taken from a letter addressed to him, by his friend Ann Crowley, dated,

“Uxbridge, Eighth month 13th, 1801.

“Beloved friend, Thomas Scattergood,
 “As much time has elapsed since thy departure from this land, it may seem rather unseasonable to remark, the satisfaction and comfort we experienced in hearing of thy safe arrival on thy native shore, and that a portion of the blessed legacy given to the disciples of old, was vouchsafed at the winding up of thy arduous labour. Ah! my friend, I have not forgotten the many baptisms, the sore conflicts, which attended thy deeply exercised mind, while engaged in the Master’s service on this side the Atlantic; they are profitably imprinted on my mind, and I trust, lessons of great instruction were learned by some of us, in reading thy example of silent suffering with the seed of the kingdom. What signifies how large a portion of suffering falls to our lot, while conflicting with the clogs of humanity, if through all, we are but made useful in the furtherance of the work of the Lord in the hearts of his children; it is a blessed experience to know assuredly, the virtue and efficacy of that baptism, which crucifies the will of the creature, nails it to the cross, and reduces self, until it becomes of no reputation; here the Lord alone is glorified, his excellent name exalted, and his church edified. It is good for us frequently to know a being buried with Christ in baptisms, in order that we may experience renewed qualification to preach his resurrection and life. If, in the wisdom of truth, it should be the lot of my endeared friend and father in the church, to be again plunged into many tribu-

lations, let him keep in remembrance for his encouragement, that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, which maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart. It is those that are willing to abide with their spiritual feet fixed on the bottom of Jordan, until the Lord calls them forth, that are enabled to bring up stones of memorial to his praise. Let us then unitedly thank God, in that he has thought us worthy to suffer for his blessed cause of truth and righteousness sake. I write not thus from feeling a redundancy of good in my heart, or that it is a time of feasting; nay, verily, the Lord only knoweth the many trials, discouragements, and mournful exercises, that attend my mind; but I thought a cheering, animating language seemed due to thy feeling spirit; believing, without any manner of doubt, that thy deep conflicts will redound to the honour of God, and thy own perfect purification; so that if true patience is suffered to have its perfect work, thou wilt most assuredly have to adopt the language of an eminent apostle, near the close of time, 'I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, I have finished my course; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give me at that day.' I never could let go the hope, that thou wouldst through all, be favoured to know thy bonds broken, and liberty proclaimed to return in safety to thy near kindred after the flesh, carrying sheaves of enriching peace with thee, which would be so manifested to thy fellow believers, that they would have no room to doubt, but thou had been employed in doing the Master's will; and my heart is made to rejoice in the persuasion that this was the case, and now solid satisfaction is thy blessed enjoyment. We have abundant cause to be thankful that our lot was cast amongst tender care-takers; but O, the want which I feel, of a real sense of true gratitude of heart, which ought to ascend to the Father and Fountain of all good. As I believe thou art interested in our welfare, I may inform thee, that although we often set in low places, experiencing the immortal spring of life to be exceedingly deep, and little ability to draw water out of the well of salvation; yet such is the condescending goodness of a gracious God, that he is pleased at seasons to own us by the fresh incomes of his life-giving presence, which melts the heart into humble contrition, so that we have been unitedly enabled to say, the Lord is still remembering the very dust of Zion, and willing to satisfy all her poor with bread. I have not been out with a certificate since we parted with thee,

but have attended some neighbouring quarterly, monthly and other meetings, accompanied mostly by our mutually beloved friend John Hull, who I feel increasingly bound to, in the covenant of love and life, believing he is deepening in the immortal root of life. I feel much sympathy for him, knowing his baptisms to be many; but have no doubt, if he patiently abide under these conflicts, his bonds will yet be broken, and he will be enabled to come forth as gold seven times purified, fitted and prepared to declare of the Lord's wonders experienced in the deeps. I am about leaving home, once more to engage in the Master's service. O the awfulness of such an engagement; how does the prospect frequently weigh down my spirit into fear and trembling, lest through any degree of unwatchfulness the work of the Lord should be marred. Beloved friend, let me beseech thee, when favoured to approach the throne of grace, to put up thy secret petition, that the blessing of preservation may be mine through all the remainder of my pilgrimage; that so the Lord's name may be glorified, and my peace established forever."

"Philadelphia, Eleventh month 29th, 1801.

"Thy letter, my beloved friend, came safely to hand a few days ago, and as the ship Rose is to sail in a few days for London, I was not easy to let slip the opportunity of telling thee so.

"I still feel interested in thy concerns, and felt a wish, when I read thy lines, and frequently since, that thou mayest witness preservation on the right ground; and shall I add, let patience have its perfect work. This is a great word for me in my present emptied state to adopt, or recommend to another; but I know that we all have need of patience, even after doing all that we see to be our duty, that we may receive the promise. Is it not enough to wait day by day for the unfoldings of required duty and be faithful. It is a great thing to be faithful, and manifest our allegiance even in the fire. There is many a pang of conflict to be passed through, previous to going forth into a fresh field of labour. The vision may be for an appointed time, and this must be waited for: some by over anxiety, have, it is to be feared, even dared to hasten, or strive to hasten. I am ready to say, why write I thus? I had little or nothing to make a beginning with, and even this day, such has been my reduced state, that I was thinking of closing my correspondence with my friends on your side, for a time, having so little to spare; but truly I love numbers in that land. Twelfth month 3rd.—Thou hast manifested much sympathy and love towards me on

various occasions, and I often remember it and thee. Didst thou ever see me much more reduced, perplexed and troubled on every side, than in the tour from Liverpool towards London, excepting the season previous to, and about the time of receiving such mournful intelligence in ninth and tenth months, 1798? My faith, hope, confidence, patience, and all that I once thought I was in possession of, was tried to the very bottom and foundation. Surely, often then and since, I have been ready to say, how has my foolishness appeared. Lord, extend thy mercy—I often begged for it. I feel willing to turn back again with a mind possessed with earnest desires for thy safe guidance through this vale of uncertainty, tears and sorrow; that thou mayest be favoured so to dwell with thy gift, as to be enabled to get thy work done in the day time, by labouring to keep the single eye. This will be thy preservation through all storms and tempests; this will show thee what state in life will be most pleasing to thy heavenly Father, conducive to his honour, and be most profitable to thyself; so that in all thy getting, thou mayest get wisdom and understanding in the law of life; and if I am favoured to keep the foundation, I shall yet have to rejoice in thy prosperity."

From a letter written to him by Ann Crowley, dated, Uxbridge, tenth month 29th, 1803, the following is extracted.

"Uxbridge, Tenth month 29th, 1803.

"I humbly trust, it is in the renewings of that love, which unites Christian travellers the world over, in the precious union of gospel fellowship, that I feel once more influenced to salute my endeared friend with an epistolary communication; not with an apprehension that I possess a mind fraught with goodly treasure, but from a desire to evince that thou art still alive in the affectionate remembrance of those who have, in days that are passed, prized the privilege of thy instructive society, and esteemed it a favour when enabled in any degree, to share by sympathy, the deep exercises permitted, in unfathomable wisdom, to attend thee, while visiting the seed of the kingdom on this side of the Atlantic. O, my beloved friend, I have often been humbled in spirit, when favoured with ability to take a retrospective view of the heart-tendering seasons we have mercifully been favoured together, when in the liberty of the ever blessed truth we have communed of things that are excellent, hid with Christ in God, and only revealed by the renewings of that divine light, which discovers the deep things that belong to the eternal well being of the immortal part. The fresh recol-

lection of seasons, wherein we were permitted to ascend the holy hill of Zion in company, and wait together at Wisdom's gate for the renewed unfolding of heavenly counsel, seems to contrite my spirit, and enables to subscribe to the truth of that ancient declaration; 'The Lord is good, and worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance.' Perhaps I may safely venture to say, that no seasons have made more profitable impression on my exercised mind, than those wherein I was made sensible that thy faith and patience were deeply tried, in order to prepare for fresh service in the great Master's house. I have said in my heart, it is good to be afflicted; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and teacheth them by his fiery baptisms, to place all confidence on his Arm of Omnipotency in the day of battle: and as these are concerned to keep the word of his patience, endeavouring to possess their minds in humble quiet, they can feelingly say with Job; 'He knoweth the way that I take, and when he hath tried me I shall come forth as gold.' Ah! my beloved friend, may not a similar language to what was formerly expressed, be still uttered in the camp of God's Israel; 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth out of them all.' In the little ability which has been graciously afforded mentally to visit thy deeply exercised spirit, it livingly arose in my heart; 'Behold, I have refined thee, but not with silver, I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction;' by trying dispensations hath the Lord purified and sanctified the vessel, enabling it to show forth his praise; therefore, fear not dearly beloved friend, though thou mayest still have, at seasons, to pass through the valley of the shadow of death, and know a being baptised into deep suffering for the seed's sake, for all these trials will ultimately work together, to the deepening in the immortal root of life, and qualifying for further usefulness in the dignified service thou art undoubtedly called to. There are living witnesses who can acknowledge, with a sense of gratitude to the efficacy of that power which prepared thee an instrument of great use in this land; not only by diffusing the truths of the everlasting gospel of light and salvation, in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit, but by a circumspect conduct, regulated by unmixed wisdom. What preaching can more effectually set forth the excellency of saving grace, or exalt its virtue, than a humble, patient, self-denying life? Such preachers of righteousness, of which number, I verily believe thou mayest be ranked, evince to carnal professors, that there is a God who still ruleth in the hearts of the children of men, and if yielded to, effects the great and glorious

work of sanctification. Without premeditation have I scribbled the above, which I hope will be received with the same cordiality as thou heretofore accepted my free conversation.

"Thy last kind testimonial of continued affectionate remembrance, came to hand, as thy letters have ever done, in a very acceptable season, and tended much to my encouragement in giving up to a weighty service I had long believed required of me, even to pay a religious visit to all the meetings that constitute London quarterly meeting; a work thou wilt readily conclude, arduous enough for a poor little stripping to encounter, amongst the wise and great. But thanks be ascribed to Him, who is still manifesting himself to be strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and a present helper in every time of trial, for his unspeakable mercy, in that he enabled secretly to utter the language, 'Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.' I had a kind, sympathizing companion in dear D. Moline, through that momentous undertaking, and I humbly hope this fresh act of dedication was accepted by the divine Master, as it has tended a little to break her bonds, and to the acceptable enlargement of her gift. O how repugnant to human nature to become a fool for Christ's and the gospel's sake! May the Lord so operate by his redeeming, purifying hand, as to enable each of us in our several capacities to say in all things, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O thou ever adorable Master.' I have lately been spending a few weeks' with my relations at Shillingford, Reading, and Staines; and though this visit was professedly in the line of friendship, yet a large portion of secret exercise, and some public labour fell to my lot. It has been a time of trial, both of faith and patience, in which I have found the necessity to renew my covenant with a covenant keeping God: there is much cause administered in the present day of great degeneracy from the purity of truth, for lamentation and mourning; and may the God of all grace enable his devoted servants to stand fast in their allotments, patiently filling up their measure of suffering for the precious seed's sake. I believe thou wilt be truly glad to hear, that our mutually beloved friend T. H., continues growing in the root of life, and has publicly avowed his allegiance to the King immortal. He is as a father amongst the few poor scattered sheep hereaway. O that wisdom and strength may still be granted, to enable him to keep his rank in righteousness."

The following are to Susanna Horne:

"Philadelphia, Fifth month 9th, 1804.

"Dear friend,

..... "Thou mayest rest assured, that since the arrival of thy last, and also before that, thou hast been often the companion of my mind, and under the sense also, that it follows thee in all thy exercises and religious movements, with desires thou mayest be preserved on that foundation that stands sure, faithfully following thy heavenly Guide, to the finishing of all the work allotted thee; and that we may be happy enjoyers of that rest, which is prepared for such as hold out unto the end. I feel for my part, like a vessel much laid by: great, thou knowest was the travail and exercise I had to wade through when amongst you, and great was thy sympathy and care towards me. None perhaps have beheld me in greater weakness, fear and trembling than thou. I cannot forget the wormwood and the gall, and yet feel disposed to believe I could not have done without it; and have an humble hope, that all my misgivings and want of faith and firmness, in seasons of deepest trial and seeming desertion, will be blotted out of the book. My little labours seem much confined to this place, having very little openness to go from home, and I esteem it a favour to have so comfortable a one. They [his partners in business] have agreed to take the labouring oar, and set me at liberty, much to my satisfaction; and I hope the disposition of an old soldier who has been in many a warfare, measurably prevails, even a willingness to go forth any where, at the word of command; but may my soul ever be favoured with this, and not attempt to uphold the ark unbidden.

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

In the same year:—

"I feel near regard towards thee in penning these lines, with desires thou mayest continue watchful and faithful to the filling up of the measure of appointed duty, that thou mayest grow in grace and saving knowledge, and then doubtless thou wilt grow in the gift committed to thy charge. I think I can say that the desire of my soul has been on my own account, from my little beginning, that I might be preserved from being a light, windy, or frothy minister; but be favoured to wait for a commission sealed; though I know there are times when we must move from very small impressions, and there needs great care in moving in the dignified work of the gospel. It is waiting for, and renewedly feeling, the touches of the

live coal, that makes words reach to the captive seed in others. T. SCATTERGOOD."

The following letters will doubtless be acceptable to the reader:

"Uxbridge, Sixth month 20th, 1804.

"Beloved friend,

"Having been renewedly favoured this morning, to feel a revival of that love which reaches over sea and land, and makes the disciples of Christ dear to each other, I seem stimulated to embrace the present opportunity of convincing thee, that thou art still precious-ly alive in the remembrance of thy friends on this side the Atlantic. Perhaps I may, in much sincerity, venture to say, that thy poor friend is one of the number who, according to the capacity received, feels thee near in the blessed covenant of love and life; believing thou art a chosen vessel of the Most High, on whom the inscription of holiness unto the Lord, is written in legible characters. O, saith my spirit, that the blessing-of preservation may be mercifully granted through the remaining rugged steps thou mayest have to tread in this probationary state, that so, by being enabled to keep the faith, and fight the good fight under the banner of the Lamb, Christ Jesus, a crown of ever-enduring peace may be thy happy portion, when the shackles of mortality may be removed, and death swallowed up in a glorious victory. It has afforded me much solid satisfaction to hear, through various channels, that thou hast been favoured to enjoy a pretty good share of health since returning to thy native land, and appeared to possess a serenity of mind, which the reward for obedience does not fail to afford. I have often had to remember, how many deep draughts of the wormwood and gall thou hadst to drink while in our land,—how deeply were faith and patience tried, yet through all the varied baptisms of the living Word, the many descendings and fiery trials, which, in wisdom were permitted to overtake thee, thou hast abundant cause to erect thy Ebenezer, and say, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped;' yea, and I am renewed in the belief, that he will not fail to stretch forth his omnipotent Arm of power to preserve in every dispensation of his Providence. Have not many cups of sweet consolation been handed to thee in secret, by Him who still delighteth to succour his own flock, and strengthen for every good word and work? Be of good cheer then, my endeared friend, for verily, according to the promise, He that hath been the Alpha, will most assuredly be the Omega, if we faithfully continue to manifest our allegiance to Him, who is King of kings, by a circumspect walking in his fear. Although I have not been favour-

ed to receive any written testimonial of thy continued affectionate regard since my last communication, yet I am ready to indulge a hope I am not wholly forgotten by my much beloved exercised brother, but that his solicitude for my preservation is unabated; and though conscious of not meriting this privilege, I dare not doubt possessing it in some degree, believing our friendship to be founded on a basis too permanent for the fluctuating things of time to shake, or the changes of dispensation to weaken. No, surely; I fully believe, as our abiding continues to be in the living vine, and we are favoured, through adorable mercy, to increase in the saving knowledge of redeeming love, our hearts will be more closely bound together in the cementing virtue of gospel union, and secret intercession will be made with the God of all grace, that his all-powerful Arm of salvation may be vouchsafed, to keep in an humble dependence, both in heights and in depths, that no gilded bait or destroying weapon prepared by the cruel adversary, may ever be able to exalt above measure, or sink the poor tossed mind below an holy confidence in Him who never was foiled in battle, and remains to be the ever victorious Captain of the soul's salvation. I seem to be furnished with very little consoling, comforting information; having more often to sit down and lament over my own weaknesses and failings, with those which are obvious amongst a highly professing people, than to rejoice in the prosperity of Zion, and joy in beholding the enlargement of her borders. Yet I humbly trust, though things of a trying nature may be in our camp, and the pure life of religion at a very low ebb, there are many preserved alive unto God, who have not dared to bow the knee to Baal, or kiss his image; but who are faithfully bound to the law and the testimonies, counting not their lives dearer to them than the blessed cause of truth and righteousness. It seems to be a time of deep wading with such exercised minds, because the beauty of Israel is much eclipsed, and too few of her professed children are coming up to the solemn feasts of the Lord with holy dignity. Oh! when will an individual reformation take place, that 'judgment may run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream;' that the kingdoms of this world may indeed become the Lord's and his Christ's.

ANN CROWLEY."

"Portland, Eighth month 9th, 1804.

"Dear friend,

"As our friend Daniel Elliot is about leaving this place, I feel as though I could not miss the opportunity of reviving the love and nearness, I think we have in past times felt

toward each other; and at this time, as at many others, thou art brought very near to me in a belief that many and great have been thy conflicts, as well as mine, since we saw each other. I may say, mine have often been so great, that it has appeared there was but a step between me and spiritual death, and that I should surely fall one day or other by the hand of Saul; and I have my fears that it will yet be my case, for want of being sufficiently reduced to a willingness to suffer with patience and resignation, whatever may be my lot. I have often thought of thee in my greatest conflicts, believing thou art no stranger to deep baptisms, but doubtless thine may be more on others account, and mine on my own; but be that as it may, I think the enemy of all good often takes the advantage at such times, to cast out floods of discouragement, in order if possible, to swallow us up; and sink we should, did not our blessed Master take compassion on us, and reach out his hand, as he did to Peter, when his faith failed him, and he was about to sink. So that we have abundant cause to take courage and press forward, remembering, as our day of trial is, so shall our strength be. I write not to thee with a view of instructing, but from a near fellow feeling with thee, which I think my mind has been dipped into this morning, and I crave thy prayers that my faith fail not; for it is often at a very low ebb, and many fears encompass my feeble mind. With near love to thee and thy dear wife, with which mine unites, I remain thy affectionate friend,

JOHN TABER."

The following letter from his friend David Brooks, is dated

"Eighth month 15th, 1804.

"I have not forgotten you nor your kindness to me when my lot was cast in your city: there is One only who knows what I passed through there, I may say in a two fold sense; but I hope, and have some cause to believe that I was not altogether without companions. I do not wish to complain or murmur, for our afflictions are but light when compared to the sufferings of our blessed Saviour, whose agony was so great that sweat, as it were, great drops of blood rolled from his sacred face. Dear friends, I often think of you with great sweetness, and I feel an assurance that you are going on your way mourning, as with your hands on your loins, and passing through dark and lonesome places; but we may remember, there is no beast of prey to devour in the Lord's highway. I sometimes have faith to believe, that the Lord's candle will be again lighted, and hope we shall be enabled to wait patiently all his appointed time, for he

that believeth maketh not haste; and he that runneth when he is not sent, will not be likely to profit the people. A superficial ministry has a powerful tendency to close up and stop the sweet, living spring of true gospel ministry. It is a great lesson to learn to bear trials properly as they arise, and I am sometimes afraid of myself, I can bear so little with the Christian fortitude which becomes a soldier of the Lamb. Dear friends, the distance of the way and the length of time, only serve to strengthen the bond of that love which stands in the power of an endless life, in which I nearly salute you, and bid you farewell."

The following is taken from a letter written by him to Susanna Horne:

"Philadelphia, Fifth month 24th, 1805.

..... "There is a secret rejoicing accompanying my mind, in hearing of thy industry to get forward in thy day's work. It is a pleasant thing to look back and remember the willingness wrought in the mind to labour in the morning. I feel it so, as one to whom the afternoon has come; there seems little to open with me, except now and then to a quarterly meeting, but much at home. Go on in fear and trembling still,—expect to meet with thy various trials; wait, I beseech thee, as one desirous thou may be numbered amongst the true born children—wait for the renewed touches of the live coal; wait for the seal and evidence: this will make thy language drop as dew, to the consolation of the mourners and tried burden bearers, and thou wilt grow in thy gift; sound judgment will be experienced also to know what is sealed or seasoned, where to deliver or scatter it, and also the time when; so living without carefulness, in due time the Lord gives a right issue."

The following is extracted from a letter from his friend John Bevans, dated

"Plaistow, 1st of Second month, 1805.

"Dear friend,

"It would have been very pleasant to me to have written to thee before now, but feeling my mind often clothed with much deep poverty, it seemed as though I could not, either profitably to myself or to others, take up the pen. But from some little renewal of that brotherly love which uniteth the Lord's children in that life which is better felt than expressed, I can at this time salute thee my beloved friend. Trying times have been the portion of many brethren on this side the water since thou left us. Thyself and others have had your perils by land and perils by water, but ours have been by false brethren, who, by fair speeches and great pretensions to liberality, have deceived and misled some

in many places. But I hope the firmness of Friends pretty generally on this side the water and on yours, will in good measure put a stop to this delusive spirit. These things have brought to my mind the deep exercises thou wast often under whilst amongst us, and particularly in our great city. I believe there was a cause, which was not then altogether manifest, but has since burst upon us as a gathered cloud; and I fear not a few, more particularly among our wise men, are carried away with it. At the same time, it is no small consolation, that there are amongst us many faithful brethren, and it is to be hoped that others have been stirred up to try their foundations; and to such we may hope it will ultimately prove profitable.

"I had written the above a considerable time since, but feeling again too much discouragement from a variety of causes, I could not proceed. Thy last letter was very acceptable, and the recollection that I had not acknowledged the former, has been painful to me; yet it is not for want of an affectionate remembrance, but writing is become more a task to me, and living in this retired spot, I see and hear much less of our friends than we were wont to do. William Jackson paid our meeting an acceptable visit a short time since; Ann Crowley has also been with us in the same way. Thomas Colley has been much engaged amongst those not of our Society for some time; he was lately at Birmingham, where he had several public meetings, to much satisfaction; some of those meetings were held at dissenting meeting-houses in different parts of the town, for their accommodation. Perhaps thou mayest know that some of the disaffected among us have been very active, and have published several pieces, greatly misrepresenting the conduct of Society in the case of H. B.; and also by mutilating the writings of our ancient Friends, have made them to speak a language they neither intended nor thought of. They have likewise endeavoured to invalidate several parts of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The above publications have much tendency to turn the feet of the unwary out of the right way, making the offence of the cross to cease, and the path wide enough for the old corrupt man to walk safely in, without danger of alarm, it being in their view, sufficient to preserve a fair moral conduct before men, without being shackled with the mistaken notions of a new birth from above, and the necessity of an inward and vital change, which the humble, self-denying Christian considers essential to his eternal well being. They tell us our reason is the primary gift of God, and able to guide us safely along, in all that is necessary to salvation, rejecting the

sacrifice and atonement of Christ as absurd. Thus deluded and deceived, they attempt to mislead and deceive others, and it is to be feared that too many are readily caught in the snare. The account thou hast given of thyself since thy return to thy own quiet habitation, has been very pleasant to us; and that thou hast had to enjoy domestic comforts after much exercise, toil and labour. The language of the prophet occurring, I shall insert it: 'The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever. And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places.' The application I leave to my dear friend; I believe this thou canst do from heartfelt experience.

JOHN BEVANS."

From an apprehension of religious duty, he spent the summers of 1805 and 1806 at West-town boarding school, sometimes assisting in teaching, as well as in the care of the pupils. He was very fond of the society of children, and deeply interested in their eternal welfare: he freely mingled with the pupils, and participated frequently in their amusements, which gained their confidence and affectionate regard, and enabled him to exercise an important and valuable influence upon them. His religious counsel was also very strengthening and encouraging to the teachers and others, who found in him a true sympathizer in the arduous duties of their important stations. A Friend who resided at the Institution at that period, speaking of his services there, remarks, that "he was concerned to enter closely into the care, the exercises, and trials under which the caretakers were then wading; and very useful and beneficial were his labours, not only in their schools and private collections, from which he was seldom missing, but in their religious meetings also; as many of those there in that day can testify, to their great comfort. From my distinct remembrance of his gospel labours, I then believed they were owned, and now at this day can say, I believe they have been crowned with success in many instances. He was greatly favoured and enlarged in testimony in their religious meetings, many times to the tendering and contriting of the minds of those present who were of susceptible feelings; and often was favoured in supplication with near access to the throne of grace, to the comfort and bowing of every contrite soul. Ah! these opportunities cannot be forgotten."

His interest in the institution continued to the time of his decease. After returning from there, the last time in 1806, he addressed a letter to the teachers through one of their

number, from which the following extracts are taken :

“The plan thou sent me met my approbation, and immediately my thoughts were turned toward all the thoughtfully exercised teachers; and I said in my heart, go on precious servants as you have begun, and doubtless you will prosper. Your station and work is honourable, and no doubt remains on my mind, but that you are watched over and cared for by the great Shepherd of Israel, who said, ‘feed my sheep.’ This is your employ; let your hands be strong in the work, and resist all those discouragements, both within and without, which at times, very likely, assail you.” I am not a stranger to your exercises, having been sensibly dipped with you. Yes, you will believe me when I say my mind was exercised, feelingly so, and plunged into most or all your trials, when with you, and how precious comfortable was the little fragment of my pilgrimage there filled up. Many comfortable moments I enjoyed; many pleasant prospects were opened respecting the rising of the church out of Babylon; and I have, since that day, said in my heart, O that there were many schools erected for children’s guarded education. As I have told you, your work is honourable, so I believe a precious reward awaits, for giving up the prime of your days to perform it. It is an easy thing in the sight of the Lord, even sometimes of a sudden, to enrich for little acts of faith, and labours of love. I frequently look at you with sweetness, and send this little messenger, desiring it may prove, in some degree, an encouragement to you all, on both sides of the house, to continue in the way of your known duty, continuing to be, according to present ability,—your affectionate and sympathizing friend,

“THOMAS SCATTERGOOD.

“First month 6th, 1806.”

From his labours at West-town, and the above letter, it will be seen that he felt a lively concern for the religious, guarded education of the youth of our Society, being fully aware of the important influence such a course of instruction would exercise upon them in after life. His interest in schools, and the course of education, was not, however, confined to any particular class. He felt for all descriptions of his fellow men, and was ready to promote their welfare in every right way. He was especially qualified to feel for and sympathize with the poor, among whom he was a very frequent visitor, whose wants he was enabled largely to relieve by the assistance of his friends, who frequently sent him sums of money to be appropriated for this purpose, at

his discretion. His visits among the poor, afforded him a good opportunity of observing the idle habits and neglected education of their children, which he saw led them into many immoral practices. Being much impressed with the demoralizing influences attending the situation of this class, he communicated his feelings to a number of Friends, and proposed to them to unite in an effort to establish a school for such, on the Lancasterian system, which was then just claiming attention. Having succeeded in interesting several in such an undertaking, a meeting of Friends was called, in the ninth month, 1807, to consider the propriety of forming an association to carry out their benevolent object. The plan was cordially approved, and in the next month the association was duly organised, and was subsequently chartered by the Supreme court, under the name of “The Association of Friends for the instruction of poor children.” It was found necessary, in a short time, to build a house for the purpose of accommodating the large number of children who applied for admission. Thomas Scattergood and another Friend gave the association a lot for this purpose, and early in 1809 a building was erected, in which the school was continued for nine years, affording the blessing of moral and literary instruction to many destitute children. In 1818, the education of the poor being adequately provided for by law, the school was discontinued, and the funds of the association allowed to accumulate for four years, when they were appropriated for the instruction of poor coloured children, for which object they continue to be very usefully applied.

The following are extracts from letters, addressed by him to his friend Susanna Horne :

“1806.—I have done but little at writing of late, and feel but small ability, nevertheless my thoughts often waft over to you, and I still feel interested in your welfare, though much as one on whom the ends of the world is come. This thou knows was much the case once, and what marvel, when it has been, and very likely must be, the experience again of many in your land. Wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins? &c.; this is the portion of Zion that dwells in the midst of Babylon; and when the dispensation is yet more fully known, there will be a rising and shaking of the dry bones. I am glad thou remainest desirous to be one of her exercised travellers; go on and prosper, and fulfil thy task, whilst strength of body and mind is vouchsafed; and thou wilt never have cause to repent thy enlistment into such a work.”

"Sixth month 9th, 1809.

Extract.—"Leaving the things that are behind, let us press forward: O that the blessed Master may account us worthy to be employed in his work during our few remaining days. As for thee, thou seems to be going from one little service and journey to another, much, I think, as I was when about thy age. I seem, at least sometimes, like a vessel laid up in dock. Perhaps this may be more thy state bye and bye, and if thou art upright and honest in the present season, it will be no matter then. Though the body has been much stationary, yet my mind is off far off from it. My exercise was not small when among you, in often mentally visiting the continent, and beholding the distress began and coming more upon nations and kingdoms; and I am still often abroad in mind. Surely, I have said in my heart, the Lord has arisen, and is shaking the foundations of the earth: this, I think was more like a promise than otherwise, that the heavens and earth should be shaken, that so that which could not be shaken might remain; but how little is this seen into by many. May we, dear friend, be washed from every defilement, both of flesh and spirit; and press after holiness—press after a settled stable mind, in which the divine will is given up to, is the desire of thy friend, on his own account, and also on account of thee, whose welfare is very near to him, and who yet remains thy affectionate friend,

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

In the fourth month, 1811, he obtained the necessary certificates of unity with his prospect to pay a religious visit to the yearly meetings of New York and Rhode Island, and some of the meetings composing them. In this journey he accompanied his beloved friend Susanna Horne, from England, who was then engaged in a religious visit to this country. The first memorandum of this visit commences at Lynn, and is as follows:

"Seventh month 21st, first-day.—Attended two meetings at Lynn; on the 23rd, a meeting at Salem, which was a comfortable time; and on the 25th had a meeting in the large Methodist house at Boston, at four o'clock, which was satisfactory.

"28th, first-day.—Went to Salem meeting, where I was silent, and it was a very low time with me. The afternoon meeting was largely attended by people of other societies, and I was favoured with enlargement toward them.

"29th.—To Amesbury, to old Jacob Rowell's; he is in his eighty-eighth, and his wife

in her eightieth year. Stopt and dined at Newburyport, and as soon as I was out of the chaise, I turned involuntarily down the street to view the ruins made by a late fire. It appears to have consumed even to the water's edge, and some of the wharves did not escape, about two hundred and fifty houses were burned. We sent for some of the inhabitants; eight or ten of whom came, and we proposed a meeting for to-morrow afternoon, to which they readily consented, and the court house was procured.

"30th.—Amesbury meeting was small and a poor low time; after which proceeded to Newburyport, and had a very crowded meeting, which was satisfactory—we were taken home by Ebenezer Wheelwright to tea, where a number of the neighbours came in, and it was an agreeable time.

"31st.—To meeting at Seabrook: it was a remarkably warm day, and the labour fell on me. Susanna Horne was so overcome with the heat as to take to her bed for a time, but afterwards she took courage and rode in the afternoon eighteen miles, to B. Folsom's, at Epping.

"Eighth month 1st.—To meeting at Epping, where divers of the neighbours came in, though it was a rainy morning, and it proved a pretty open time. After dinner set off accompanied by Eli Beede, and lodged at an inn about fifteen miles distant, where we met with poor accommodations, but the kindness manifested made it easy.

"2nd.—Rode to Henniker, over a rough road, eighteen miles, and lodged at Pelatiah Purington's, which was a comfortable resting place. Had a satisfactory meeting, and a good opportunity in the family.

"4th, first-day.—To the meeting held in the north house at Weare; dined at W. D.'s, and before we set off had a tendering opportunity, in which the old man was much affected. At four o'clock went to meeting in the south house, about three miles off—both of these meetings were laborious and pretty large.

"5th.—After a pretty early breakfast, and a good opportunity with this large, and in good degree, well conducted family, where there are hopeful children and careful parents, accompanied by David Gove, we rode back to Concord. Stopt at R. B.'s, whose husband is not a member; she has seven miles to go to meeting: here we had a little opportunity, which I hope was to some profit. Dined at Abel Houghton's, and at four o'clock went to a meeting in the court house: there were about twelve or fifteen members, all women and children except two; Susanna had a pretty relieving, good time. I felt like a sign to be gazed and wondered at. We detained the

little company of members after the others were gone, and had a comfortable opportunity with them.

"6th.—Went to Pittsfield, and it was a pensive time to me, and nothing to do in the meeting; being covered with a cloud of exercise, and exceedingly empty and poor: I thought Susanna had a pretty open time. After dinner rode to Gilmantown—put up at E. H.'s. This Friend and his wife came into Society about sixteen years ago, and since there has been a gathering to them of others convinced, and some Friends who moved from other places. When we were within a few miles of this place, our guide proposed beginning to invite to a meeting to be held to-morrow, but I felt an entire stop in my mind, and on mentioning it to Susanna we freely agreed to go on to a Friend's house, and wait there to see what would be best.

"7th.—My mind was much exercised after getting up, and I walked out pensively before breakfast, and when we sat down to eat was engaged in supplication for our little band, and all left behind—for this family, and for the enlargement of Zion's borders; and felt more easy after it. Yesterday afternoon I thought we were going to a Friend's house which would be a resting place,—and so it proves, and we need it. After breakfast took a lonely walk, and enjoyed the beautiful and extensive prospect which it afforded. Sat down in inward retirement afterwards, when the situation of some of the Lord's exercised prophets came into remembrance; such as Elijah and others, who wandered about in desolate places; as also the temptation of the greatest of all, even the Lord Jesus himself, in the wilderness; and I strove in his name to offer up a petition for the blessing of preservation, through and over these besetments, which so cleave to me in this my pilgrimage state.

"8th.—To a pretty large meeting, made up of the few Friends hereaway, and others. It was laborious, and the service fell pretty much on me: we stopped Friends afterward, and Susanna was favoured measurably to get relief.

"9th.—Accompanied by our friend E. Hoyt, we rode to Sandwich, about thirty-one miles, to Cyrus Beede's. It was a delightful hilly country, and a good road.

"10th.—To a meeting about seven miles further, held at Solomon Hoyt's. This was a time of favour and encouragement: dined at John Folsom's, and afterwards had a very satisfactory opportunity with the family.

"11th, first-day.—After breakfast Benjamin Scribner came in; he was much broken on meeting with me, and continued in this

tender condition sometime. Cyrus Beede related to me the following circumstance: when I was here before, a man who lived at some distance, came into the meeting, which was then held at Benjamin Scribner's, and endeavoured to get his brother, Aaron Beede, to follow him out; but upon every attempt Aaron motioned for him to sit down, and at last prevailed on him so to do, and he staid the meeting out. In the course of the communication, mention was made of the grievousness of the sin of injuring our neighbours, and that such as did so, would be met with sooner or later. This man, after getting home, which was immediately after meeting, went to one of his neighbours, and told him that he had injured one of his oxen, and hid him in the woods, and offered to make him restitution for the same. It was not known what he wanted with Aaron Beede when he came to get him out of meeting. The house at Sandwich could not contain the people who came to meeting. This proved a tendering time; and we were both pretty largely engaged therein. After meeting, Samuel, son of Benjamin Scribner, was introduced to me as I came out the door; his eyes overflowed on my saying a few words to him. I was also introduced to several after meeting, who remembered me when I was here twenty-seven years ago.

"On being informed that the people who met in a large house not far distant, would not come to our meeting, some Friends went and proposed for them to consider whether they would come in the afternoon to our meeting, if they thought there would be room, or give me an opportunity with them in their own house: they thought the latter would be best, viz: for us to come to their house. We went, and I got relief thereby; my friend Susanna Horne did not feel much of this concern, yet bore me company.

"12th.—Set off about eight o'clock, accompanied by Nathan Beede to Wolfborough, and got to Joseph Varney's. Paul Bunker met us here; he went on yesterday afternoon and appointed a meeting in this house at three o'clock. In this meeting Susanna had all the labour: we stopped the little company of Friends afterwards, and it was a tendering time, as also next morning with this family, on parting.

"14th.—Reached the monthly meeting at Middleburg, and then to Rochester and lodged.

"15th.—To select monthly meeting at Berwick, fifteen miles. This was a small meeting, but a time of some comfort and encouragement.

"16th.—Very low and under discouragement this morning. Trust thou in God, O my soul; I hope yet to praise him. We at-

tended the monthly meeting in this place, and found things low. Joseph Savage spoke to me after meeting; he was a captain in the artillery in the time of the war, and quartered at Burlington: he appears measurably convinced of Friends' principles.

"17th.—To William Brown's near Dover, and on the 18th, first-day, attended their meeting. It was very large, though no liberty was given to invite the neighbours. We learn that there is much division and unsettlement in this place; no priest among them at present, and therefore no meeting. It proved a pretty open time, and this large assembly was recommended to the Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting Teacher and High Priest. This has been a day of exercise to me on various accounts, but I trust profitable.

"19th.—Staid at William Brown's until about eleven o'clock, and then I rode with him to Rochester.

"20th.—Had a favoured meeting, appointed at this place, and in the afternoon went on toward Berwick again. I lay down in sorrow, in consequence of not keeping the girdle of truth girt close enough. Ah! what a little deviation affects a mind that is tender. The cutting off but a small piece of Saul's garment by David, when he was in his power, made his heart smite him, and so hath mine, and I begged pardon almost immediately, and yet I feared I should be set aside for a time for this. O my God and Saviour! I have covenanted to serve thee all my days—preserve my feet from falling.

"21st.—Meeting of ministers and elders, and to my admiration I was exercised in it in the line of ministry. Ah! here was no room for exaltation, neither on looking into myself, nor over the flock; there is yet bitterness in my cup this evening.

"22nd.—To a large congregation of Friends and others, assembled at quarterly meeting, and we were pretty largely engaged therein; it appeared to be a solid time for the most part. We sat from eleven to near five o'clock, and at the close of this great day's labour I felt comfortable and thankful.

"24th.—To Windham monthly meeting; where we had a good time in the first meeting.

"25th, first-day.—To Falmouth, and I was shut up in silent exercise: Susanna relieved her mind, and I was glad of it. After meeting stopt at Stephen Monall's, and visited his sick wife in her chamber. When I was in this land before, I had a remarkable opening at two different times, as I sat in this meeting-house. One was to go directly back to Boston, and then take such meetings as David Sands and I had left on our way hither, and also the monthly meetings, and amongst the

places was Sandwich, then a wilderness; all which was accomplished to my great peace and comfort, for I got through the prospect that opened, and returned to Falmouth in one month, and attended the quarterly meeting. While sitting in that, I had an opening of the way home very clearly, even to a day, and my soul, with thankfulness, remembers the favour whilst penning this note. Now I am shut up—there are great changes in twenty-seven years, and no virtue in meeting-houses, I find. Dined at John Winslow's, and he and wife went with us to Portland, to an afternoon meeting, where was a mixed company, and very unsettled. Susanna had but an exercising time, and I was quite shut up.

"26th.—We got into Joseph Douglass' at Durham, before night.

"27th.—After an opportunity with two widows and their children, attended the meeting at Durham, which was large, and an open time.

"28th.—To Amos Davis', and put up before meeting, which was held in a school house, an awkward place: Susanna Horne had all the labour. I felt for her, and for this very little company of Friends, but there was no food in my barn, nor wine in my press. Proceeded on our journey and lodged at Joseph Samson's. This Friend, it appears, was a soldier in the revolution, and settled here twenty-seven years ago. The two first years he came and cut down a few trees, burnt the brush and upper limbs, and planted a little corn without the use of plough or harrow, for he had neither ox nor horse for some time: he then brought his wife, after raising a small habitation for her, and had to carry a bushel of corn eight or ten miles to mill on his shoulder, and for seven years had not above one dollar in possession; now he has a pretty large habitation.

"29th.—To meeting at Leeds, and put up our horses near the meeting-house, at J. W.'s, on a remarkably high hill, from which there is an extensive prospect. This was a good time, and after the meeting went back to J. W.'s and dined; with this family and some others we had a satisfactory opportunity before we parted.

"30th.—This morning we paid a visit to two ancient Baptists, living in a small adjoining house, and after I had delivered what was on my mind, the old man preached us a little sermon. The meeting was a good one, although small. After dinner and a comfortable opportunity with the large family where we dined, we took our departure again, and rode fourteen miles. About half this distance we ascended a high hill, from the top of which Augusta, on the Kennebeck river, opened to

our view, with the land on the other side—a very delightful prospect indeed; nothing have I seen in this journey, that came nearer, in my view, than this to some of the beautiful spots in England. We got to our friend S. W.'s, at Sidney, about dark, and met a kind reception.

“31st.—To meeting, which was held in a comfortable house, and proved an open, good time; we stopt in at the nearest house and had a tendering time with D. P., wife and children, and after dinner proceeded to Belgrave.

“Ninth month 1st, first-day.—In the morning returned to W. D.'s before meeting time; this industrious, goodly Friend fitted up his house with benches to pretty good advantage, and we were favoured in a large meeting: a motherly old woman came to me after it broke up, and inquired after David Sands, saying, with the tears running down as she spoke, ‘Ah! he was the first that offered up public prayer for us in this remote country.’ After dinner we proceeded to Fairfield, about twelve or fourteen miles. This seemed to be the roughest ride we have experienced. In one or two instances our guide endeavoured to hold up our carriages to prevent them from overturning.

“2nd.—To meeting in a comfortable meeting-house, which I conclude has been the most enlarged meeting we have had since we have been together. Marvellous it was to me, to think of being here, when I looked back and remembered being at Vassalborough years ago, when nothing but trees and rocks were to be seen in these parts, and now a large and open meeting. We had some satisfactory conversation* with a serious professor who requested it.

“3rd.—Set off about eight o'clock this morning, after a religious opportunity, and rode about nineteen miles to Moses Sleeper's, at Vassalborough, about two miles beyond the meeting-house. This Friend was a soldier in the American war, and being convinced, came amongst Friends a little before David Sands and I visited this neighbourhood. I remember well the visit David and I paid him and wife, then lately married; he had cleared about half an acre of land and built a small log house.

“4th.—To select meeting—it was not large, but ended, I thought, profitably and comfortable. I took Susanna Horne and M. Allinson in our chaise to it, about two miles. On our way home, when within about half a mile of Moses Sleeper's, the horse suddenly took fright, and we appeared to have a very narrow escape from broken limbs, or death itself; thanks be rendered where due.

“5th.—To quarterly meeting, which was

large; and I thought Susanna Horne was much favoured: the business was conducted with condescension, and on the whole it was a satisfactory time; we had the company of divers Friends in the evening, and a religious opportunity.

“6th.—To Haarlem meeting, on the far side of the Pond, twelve miles distant, accompanied by Moses Sleeper; the house is not quite finished, but pretty well fitted with benches, and we were favoured with a large meeting, to my surprise. I thought many goodly ones, both Friends and others, were there: the labour of this day has fallen on me, and it was a memorable day to me, both before and in the meeting. We went in the afternoon to Moses Dow's and lodged, near the Pond meeting-house, about five miles from Moses Sleeper's.

“7th.—To the Pond meeting, which was large. Susanna Horne spoke first, and had a favoured time, and indeed it was a remarkable meeting; there were two appearances from professors—the first short and the other long, but we thought best to bear with them, and hope the meeting ended well. We put up in a little village; and I am in admiration at the increase of the country.

“8th.—Went to Kennebeck meeting, which proved a sweet parting time; Susanna Horne opened it in supplication, which I felt not only on the way to meeting, but soon after sitting down, and therefore could feelingly unite in it, and trust encouragement and strength were administered to us by the great and good Shepherd of Israel. We rode in the afternoon seventeen miles, to George Randall's, and called by the way see a man, by the name of Gitty, who told me that he is one hundred and twenty-two years old.

“9th.—Attended an appointed meeting in an unfinished Methodist meeting-house. It was the day of general muster, and but few came besides George Randall's family and one more, but it proved a very solemn, sweet opportunity—the service lay with Susanna Horne pretty much, and I felt content. Low and poor this afternoon, anxiously concerned rightly to see my way in further movements.

“10th.—To Samuel Tobey's, at Bristol, about thirty-three miles: part of the ride to-day was through a wilderness, but in other parts there were remarkably good houses. We stopped at Nobleborough and dined: here we met with uncommon accommodations; the house being a very neat one, and the furniture in accordance with it.

“11th.—To meeting about two miles distant: the house is opposite to Broad Cove. The company was not large, and Susanna Horne had all the labour. I was very poor.

"12th.—Set off early, passed through Nobleborough and dined at Wiscasset, a seaport, which appears to be a thriving place. We lodged at village called Brunswick; this appears to be another thriving place, and but lately cut out of the woods; they have already a pretty large college, a president's house and chapel, on a very beautiful level.

"13th.—Got a pretty early breakfast and proceeded to Portland; found some difficulty when we came to North Yarmouth bridge, and had to be ferried over the river.

"14th.—A night of conflict when awake; I seem broken up as to moving on, and O how I am veiled—I cannot go forth out of prison. I have been thinking of the prophet's expressions, or the apostle quoting him, respecting our blessed Lord and Saviour: 'In his humiliation his judgment was taken away, and who can declare his generation; for his life was taken from the earth.' O that I might hold the mystery of faith in a more pure conscience; then may my soul hope for deeper and more lasting instruction by what is permitted to befall me.

"15th, first-day.—Very close searching of heart upon my bed this morning, and feel a little more peaceful and quiet: what need of patience and resignation to wait the Lord's time, which cannot be hastened. I passed through both the meetings in silent conflict, and Susanna Horne also.

"16th, second-day.—Susanna Horne has her mind turned toward a little company on the Cape opposite this place [Portland]. I am very blind and cannot help it.

"17.—Resigned, I trust this morning, into the arms of Christ, for protection and further help, who can anoint mine eye to see how to move, and what to do. Lord, I would most willingly resign my state, present and future, to thy disposal. I have been greatly distressed in this place. I hear that there is great profession of religion, and a great variety in this little town; but ah! the living, eternal Truth is but one: the Lord, he is one, and his name one; bow then, unto him, O my soul, and serve him the remainder of thy days here on earth. Before we set off to attend the meeting, held at Nathaniel Dyer's, on Cape Elizabeth, we sat down with S. H. and family, and by this means my mind was greatly relieved, and we parted in much brokenness and tenderness on the part of some. Left my companion to see after mending the chaise, and R. Horton took me in his. This has been an encouraging meeting, and I have a hope there will be an increase hereaway. We called by the way at W. F.'s, who lately came into Society. His aged parents live with him, and this dear old man was tendered, both in

meeting, and now in a sitting with the family; the case of good old Simeon being treated on: he appears to love Friends and their company. Parted tenderly from the family and reached Calvin Stuart's before night. A great change in my feelings, but feel the effects of so deep a plunge; surely I may say with David, 'My heart and my flesh also fainted in the hour of conflict.'

"18th.—Susanna Horne had all the public labour in the meeting held to-day. Soon after it broke my companion arrived, accompanied by Edward Cobb, who continued with us to Kennebeck.

"19th, fifth-day.—To Paul Rogers' at Berwick, where we had a meeting, made up chiefly of Friends. Dear Susanna had an open, enlarged time. It was a season of light, comfort and encouragement to me: I remembered the remarkable tendering time we had in this house when with David Sands; how exceedingly I was broken into tears, and which continued with me on the road; how all my prospects closed up after getting into this house, so that David Sands had to wait for me until morning; the many baptisms I then passed through in this eastern country, and also how marvellously my way opened to go home, and the sweet peace I enjoyed for giving up to the service, together with prospects, conflicts and exercises endured since, in Carolina and England, and now of late continued. I fell prostrate in humble acknowledgment to the great Author of all good, thanked him for mercy and deliverances past, and supplicated with brokenness of heart for the continuation of support in all the future: it was a day to be recorded, of release and relief. After dinner we had a remarkable opportunity with the family and two other Friends, and parted in great nearness, and accompanied by P. R., proceeded to William Brown's at Dover.

"20th.—To a meeting at Dover, appointed for Friends only, which was an open satisfactory time. Dined at M. Osburn's, and then rode to Seabrook, twenty-two miles.

"21st.—After breakfast sat down with this family and had a solid time—the labour fell on me. I felt engaged to supplicate, and was very peaceful and easy on the way to Salem, thirty-two miles; where we arrived about the fourth hour, and put up at our kind friends, Matthew and Betsey Purington's.

"22nd, first-day.—To Salem meeting, both morning and afternoon: in the first I had a pretty relieving, satisfactory time. I was favoured, I thought, in the afternoon, both in testimony and supplication. We drank tea at A. Chase's.

"23rd, second-day.—We rode to Boston,

accompanied by William Brown, Jr., and Betsey Purington. Put up at John Fry's, near the meeting-house,—an old man about eighty, who lives in an ancient habitation. He received us kindly, and we had a parting opportunity with him and his family.

"26th.—To Smithfield monthly meeting, which was a satisfactory time; I had a sweet opportunity after a solid pause in the close of the meeting for business. We dined at Walter Allen's, and then moved on about four miles, to R. Southwick's, and lodged.

"27th.—To Uxbridge monthly meeting, held at North Bridge; silent suffering and exercise were my portion throughout.

"28th.—To Uxbridge, where we had a satisfactory time, and in the evening went to Providence with our kind friends, Obadiah Brown and wife.

"29th, first-day.—To meeting at Providence, morning and afternoon.

"30th.—To Greenwich monthly meeting. This was a remarkable meeting throughout; they looked and felt like Friends, and conducted the business with weight. We had a very sweet opportunity with a young man, who was invited into the meeting; just at the close of the business, on the men's side of the house, I told Friends, that if the women had done theirs, it would be pleasant to have the shutters opened. They were, and we both had a relieving time; Susanna Horne in testimony, and I in supplication, and the meeting closed sweetly. After visiting a sick Friend returned back to Obadiah Brown's.

"Tenth month 1st, third-day. A meeting is appointed at six o'clock this evening for the inhabitants of Providence. Dined at Moses Brown's: I rode with him in his chaise, and when we came in sight of his house, my mind was affected in remembrance of past occurrences. O how marvellous are the changes to be met with—yesterday I was greatly favoured, was light and easy after so good a meeting; this afternoon the sense and weight of death and darkness overspread. I walked out and could have fallen prostrate on the earth, if it would have been of any avail. Went to the evening meeting low and tried; here my female companion had a singular time, and near the close I ventured to express a little of what impressed my mind, and felt more easy.

"2nd.—To a meeting appointed at Smithfield. I rode with Moses Brown: it was a small meeting, and a low time in the beginning; and for most of the time I thought there was no labour for me; but a little arose, and I expressed it, and felt relief. Dear Susanna followed; more light, life and comfort sprang

up, and under a sense of it my soul bowed in thankfulness, and had, before the close, to acknowledge it in prayer: had a sweet ride back to Providence. How different the feelings of my exercised mind, to what they were most of yesterday.

"3rd, fifth-day.—After breakfast, and an opportunity with Obadiah Brown and family, which was a tendering one, we went to Cumberland meeting, eleven miles: this little company appear to be most of them convinced ones. Divers serious people dined with us at D. Metcalf's, near the meeting-house. After which we went to Samuel Smith's, twelve miles, and lodged, accompanied by Obadiah Brown.

"4th.—To Mendon meeting, three miles. It was long in gathering, and rather trying, but closed solidly—Susanna Horne appeared in supplication. In the afternoon rode to Worcester, eighteen miles, after an opportunity with the family we dined with.

"6th, first-day.—To Leicester meeting, which was pretty satisfactory: dined at P. Earle's, after which had an opportunity. Set off accompanied by Obadiah Brown, and got lost, but after riding about ten miles we put up at a very comfortable inn.

"7th.—Left this place early, and rode twelve miles to another inn, where we had a religious opportunity with the inn-keeper's family. After breakfast proceeded, and on our way stopped to get some refreshment, and had a sitting with a pretty large family; after which we rode to E. Cook's, at Pelham, and met a kind reception.

"8th.—A rainy day, and but few Friends at meeting, and the other part of the company mostly raw looking people—a number of women and girls without bonnets or caps. We set, I believe, more than two hours in a very trying, cloudy silence, and being near breaking up, E. Cook spoke a few words; 'That although Paul might plant, and Apollos water, it was God who gave the increase;' after which a little more sprang up in my mind, and an opening to minister, which, though trying work, was some relief to me.

"10th.—To a large meeting at Richmond, which proved an open time. We both had relieving service; and supplication was offered for the extension of mercy and kindness to New England, and thanksgiving for preservation in it. Now we felt a release, this being the last meeting within that yearly meeting which we are likely to attend.

"11th.—To Rockingham, twenty-three miles, and dined, which was a pleasant ride. This afternoon we rode eighteen miles over a turnpike through a wilderness country, at

least it appeared so, though we saw here and there a farm. We put up before night at an inn in Cavendish, a pretty village.

"12th.—Arose this morning, as we did yesterday, by candle light; got our breakfast and rode twelve miles to Clark's inn, called Mount Holly. I may with thankfulness, record this morning's ride, as being sweet and comfortable. Got to Stephen Rogers' in a pretty heavy rain, where we met a hearty reception.

"13th, first-day.—After breakfast I walked to a woods on the hill, and opposite to a high mountain: here my mind was brought into a calm, and faith granted to believe I was here in the will of my God,—when desires arose, that from henceforth in travels through this yearly meeting, his will manifested in me, may be done by me, and thereby prove my sanctification. Thanks be rendered for the renewed extension of mercy and favour.

"To Danby meeting; and previous thereto, felt liberty to encourage Stephen Rogers to mention our being likely to attend it this day week. Some close exercise, and also labour, fell to my share. In the afternoon I had a very deep plunge, and for a time I was fearful it was all wrong, and that I had been too presuming; and yet, on examination, could not accuse myself. Was helped by Stephen Rogers in conversation in the evening.

"14th.—Felt easy to have a meeting appointed at Wallingford, about eight miles off. This meeting was held in a Presbyterian house, at two o'clock. Our friends thought it was a satisfactory one, and we came back a few miles and lodged at N. Lapham's.

"15th.—After breakfast went to Joseph Button's, and concluded to have notice given of our intention of being at Granville tomorrow, Pollet fifth-day, and Dorset sixth-day.

16th.—There were but few of the neighbours came to the meeting at Granville, and to me it was a distressing time; we were both silent. A company came in and staid some time, when one of them said, 'Let's go, it's near dinner time,' &c. It was preparative meeting, at the close of which we had the shutters opened, and a pretty good time with Friends.

"17th.—To Pollet, and had a meeting in the Presbyterian meeting-house: here the labour fell altogether on me, a poor stripped creature. We dined at a friendly man's, belonging to the congregation, where came three men, and had considerable conversation on points of doctrine; to one of whom S. R. related a remarkable circumstance respecting an Indian. The Indian wanted a pipe of tobacco,—one in company put his hand in his

pocket and gave him some. The Indian turned away to fill his pipe and discovered a small piece of silver among it. The Indian expressed himself afterwards nearly in this manner, to some company; 'Two men talk in my breast, the good man and the bad man; the good man say, Carry the silver back; the man that had it did not mean to give thee the silver. The bad man say, You fool; what is freer than a gift, and you can buy a dram with it; but the good man speak again, and says, Do as thou would be done by; the man did not mean to give thee the silver. Then I thought I would sleep upon it, hoping I should be left quiet in my mind about the silver; but I could not sleep—the two men talk so to me *all night long*: in the morning I was made willing to carry back the silver, then I found peace.' S. R. then said to one of the most zealous and talkative, 'Take this home with thee, and weigh it carefully in thy own mind, and when prepared, I should be glad to see thee at my house, and inform me whether there can be found a better guide and director in any man, than that which the poor savage Indian found. We proceeded several miles to Dorset, and put up at Sylvester Cheeseborough's. It was rather a trying evening; my spirits were sunk before we got into this Friend's house, and I had a sleepless night, many things crowding in upon my mind, so that I almost wished to be at home.

"18th.—Went to a meeting held in an unfinished house, where Susanna Horne had an enlarged opportunity, and I felt very content in silence. We all dined at S. C.'s, and afterwards had a religious opportunity.

"19th.—Felt a sweet calm on waking; but why not give thanks for trials, seeing the trial of our faith is precious: 'In every thing give thanks, for such is the will of God concerning you.'

"20th, first-day.—To a very large and satisfactory meeting at Danby, where were many youth. I feel thankful we have got through this arduous week's exercise. A large company came to see us in the evening, amongst whom we had a religious opportunity.

"21st.—Accompanied by Stephen Rogers, we rode this day to Cambridge. Put up at Dr. Smith's, whose wife is a member: here we met with a kind and hospitable reception. Not long after we arrived, two serious neighbours came in and spent a part of the evening with us, having heard that some strangers were come; they supposed it was Esther Griffin and Hannah Field, who, on their way to Canada, lately visited families at White creek, about eight miles from here, and had extended some visits to families not Friends, in or near

this place. Before these men left, we proposed a meeting, which was approved of.

"22nd, third-day.—I feel placid and quiet in my present circumstance; let us then wait for further manifestations of our heavenly Father's will, and when favoured with them, cheerfully obey. We had an opportunity with this family after we dined, and proceeded two miles, to what is called the Checkered Inn, where the meeting was held in a large upper chamber. It was filled with people, and was a satisfactory time, manifestly so, by what was expressed at the close, as also the affectionate behaviour of the people. The two friendly men who visited us last evening obtained this place to hold the meeting, and it evidently appeared they took much pains to get their neighbours together.

"23rd.—To Cambridge meeting, held in a school house, which was but a low time. We had a sitting with this family and then rode to J. Dillingham's, at Easton, and lodged.

"24th.—The remains of an ancient Friend named Gifford, were buried before the meeting at Easton. The company came into the meeting, which was mostly made up of Friends, and it was a good time. We returned to J. Dillingham's, and had a comfortable sitting with his large family in the evening, and felt much united to both parents and children.

"25th.—Crossed the river and attended meeting at Saratoga, held for Friends only, which was a singular time.

"26th, seventh-day.—We rode to Troy: we were informed that twenty-six years ago, there was only the ferry house and another in Troy.

"27th, first-day.—To meeting in Troy; and my mind singularly exercised with fears that all present did not walk and act in the true faith once delivered to the saints, and had a relieving time. At the close we appointed a public meeting, to be held at six o'clock; which was an unsettled, trying, dull one to me—I felt entirely shut up. 'If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.'

"28th.—We could not get off according to expectation and desire this morning, and so staid until after dinner, before which had a religious opportunity with J. G. Proceeded to Albany, where a clever little company assembled in the evening, and we encouraged them to consider whether it would not be right to sit together, and keep up a meeting in this place.

"29th.—After breakfast crossed the river at Albany and rode to Henry Marriott, Jr.'s, about twenty miles, and after a religious opportunity proceeded to Klynkill.

"30th.—To Klynkill meeting, which was rather a laborious time. We dined at A. Ma-

cey's, and after a religious time with this large family returned to Henry Marriott's and lodged; here we had a religious opportunity before we retired.

"31st.—Went to Hudson meeting, which was a solid, comfortable season.

"Eleventh month 2nd.—Susanna Horne and companions set off for Nine Partners. I tried it until our chaise was brought to the door, and did not feel easy to leave this town. After they left me we crossed the river to Athens, and went to John Alsop's: whilst sitting there my thoughts were turned to another family whose names I had heard mentioned, and was free to go, and so went on from place to place, until we visited all the families except one, being twelve in number.

"3rd, first-day.—To meeting, and had a satisfactory, open time, much as last fifth-day. After dinner went to visit the halt and maimed.

"On the 4th, accompanied by several Friends, we rode to Henry Hull's, and on the 5th attended the select meeting at Nine Partners, where we met with David Sands and wife. It was a low time with me on the way to meeting this morning, but I was raised up before it closed; dear David being favoured to speak feelingly to my state, and I thought to my companion, Susanna Horne's also, whom we met again at this place. Dined at Isaac Thorn's, and afterwards paid a visit to the Yearly meeting boarding school; went through the different rooms among the children, and had a meeting with them and the family in the evening.

"6th, fourth-day.—To Nine Partners quarterly meeting, which was a favoured, good time throughout.

"7th.—To Stanford, to Henry Hull's, and walked to meeting, which was a remarkable time of instruction and favour,—back and dined, and drank tea at John Hull's, with many Friends, and afterwards had a religious opportunity.

"8th.—The quarterly meeting at Stanford was a remarkably favoured time.

"9th.—To an appointed meeting at Pleasant Valley, which was small, but a favoured season.

"10th.—To meeting at Poughkeepsie, which was held in an upper room in a dwelling house. In the evening to an appointed meeting in the court house, which was large, and a quiet favoured season.

"11th.—This morning David Sands and wife accompanied us to Marlborough, where we had a satisfactory meeting.

"12th.—To a meeting appointed at the Valley, after which we rode to D. Birdsall's. I felt pilgrim-like on riding up to this house.

The hearty reception of this Friend measurably healed me.

"13th.—After breakfast sat down with this large family and had a comfortable time. Proceeded to Newburg, which I suppose is the spot where the American army lay, when David Brooks and myself passed through it thirty-five years ago. We had a meeting in the court house, which was very small, but a comfortable, instructive season. In the afternoon rode on to David Sands', where we were received with much affectionate kindness, and spent the evening pleasantly.

"14th.—To meeting, which was large, and an open, satisfactory season; much so it appeared to dear David Sands and wife.

"15th, sixth-day.—After a very solemn time in the family, wherein near sympathy was felt, we proceeded to an inn, about thirty-two miles.

"16th.—Set off about day light on our journey. At Sussex court house we got directions about the way, which appeared not to be correct. We got lost in the woods, and after riding several miles out of our way, we met two men, who directed us across the country to an inn, where we were set right, and arrived at our friend E. Wilson's, at Hardwick, near dusk. This may be received as a favour throughout; for if we had tarried in the morning one hour, and the same circumstance happened, we might have been in the woods all night.

"17th, first-day.—To meeting at Hardwick, which was larger than I expected, and an open, encouraging time; several, after meeting, appeared glad to see me. We went home with G. Wilson.

"18th.—Arose before day, and after we had eaten, had a comfortable, encouraging time with this lovely family. We moved on and got to our friend Henry Clifton's, at Kingwood, about sunset. We rode through that part of the country which David Brooks and I did thirty years ago. I remembered the stop we made at Watson's, whose house stood on a hill, and before the door a very fine spring issued: this was the place I first ventured to go down in awful supplication in public. The precious feelings I had at that time, are remembered by me this day, and how marvellously I have been led about since; 'I am not worthy,' said Jacob, on his journey back to his father's house; and so said I.

"19th.—Some more light, ease and comfort this morning. It was in Bucks county I began in the work of the ministry, and then came to this place; a little similar to Elisha following Elijah. The Lord preserve my dear aged friend and brother, David Brooks, unto the end, and protect me in and through

all yet to be met with: preserve me in integrity, Amen. The meeting was larger than I expected, and a season of much encouragement. Dined at Henry Clifton's, and after it paid an acceptable visit to his brother William and family.

"20th.—To Benjamin Clark's, Stonybrook; rode about thirty miles in the rain.

"21st.—To Stonybrook meeting, which was a close, searching time. Dear Susanna Horne prayed for them, and on the whole it was satisfactory. In the evening had a religious opportunity: the Lord is to be waited on for fulfilling his own will and purpose.

"22nd.—To Dr. Taylor's, accompanied by Benjamin Clark; here we met a kind reception. It is a day of exercise, having written home respecting an opening to engage in a family visit in the Northern district.

"23rd.—To meeting at East Branch, [Robbins']; a favoured time. B. Clark staid with us, and I thought, had a good time near the close; indeed, the meeting throughout was to my admiration.

"24th, first-day.—To Crosswicks meeting, and favoured with an open season, to satisfaction. Second and third-days, attended Burlington quarterly meeting, and on fourth-day evening arrived at my own habitation, a little after night, and found my family in health."

In the twelfth month of this year, he visited the families of the Northern district monthly meeting, to which he belonged, in company with his friend Susanna Horne; and after this was accomplished, a similar visit was made to the families of Philadelphia monthly meeting, both of which were to the peace of his own mind, and the edification of the visited.

He remarks, in relation to these visits; "O the deep descendings I have experienced this last winter, both on my bed and in families, and since. Whilst sitting in one of them, about third month 26th, of this year, 1812, the very same prospects respecting the renewings of hostilities on the continent of Europe, opened and spread over my exercised mind, as did in the last conflict with Austria, fourth month 2nd, 1809; and I know not how to record it better, than to transcribe what Ezekiel mentions: 'Also, son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come: both twain shall come forth out of one land: and choose thou a place, choose it at the head of the way to the city,' &c, &c, to the end."

Fifth month 12th, first-day, 1812.—He thus writes; "The descendings of my soul into darkness and the deeps, has been humbly great, and my trials such, as almost to induce me to entertain a belief I am forsaken. I have queried again and again, why

it should be so, if I am indeed not cast off and out of mind of my heavenly Father; then surely I have, must have, fellowship with such who have lived in dens and caves of the earth; or with the prophet, who was fed by the ravens, and travelled in the strength of the sustenance his Lord and Master ministered to him, until he arrived at his destined place; where, after those alarming seasons of fire, wind, and earthquake, he stood in the entrance of the cave, wrapt his head in his mantle, and heard thy voice, O Lord, intelligibly once more, and was further commissioned in thy blessed service. O Lord, my God, my helper hitherto, thou favouredst me in New England, and also in the late exercise gone through, in the families of my fellow members and others. If, at any time, thy servant exceeded, forgive; and wash and purify me, and make me more clean and pure: keep me in patient resignation to thy will, and be graciously pleased to open my state and condition once more to me; but yet in thy time, not mine; and thy will be done."

The latter part of the year 1812, and the beginning of 1813, he was engaged in a visit to the families of Friends belonging to the Southern district monthly meeting, Philadelphia, in company with Susanna Horne and her companion, Mary Allinson, and Jonathan Evans; which he remarks, was a closely exercising time.

In the fifth month, 1813, he accompanied Susanna Horne to Bristol and Trenton meetings, and back to Burlington. He remarks, respecting this visit; "I was under great discouragement respecting going this little tour, and hardly knew how to leave home, several circumstances combining to hinder. But after setting out I felt comfortable, and may record, that the 17th, and second-day of the week, was a day of days. On my way to Trenton I had not a sensation of pain, either in body or soul; and in the ride back in the afternoon, both the heavens above and the earth beneath, to my outward view, were beautiful, cheering and pleasant; and may I not venture to record, that such a holy sweetness and peace spread over all, that it was as heaven upon earth to me. I returned home peaceful, and with a sufficient reward, which with thankfulness is recorded."

On the 15th of the sixth month following, he writes: "To meeting, but all closed up, and has been pretty much so of late; yet not without some little peep through the cloud at times. It is trying to live in death, and yet I crave ability so to do; for man can do nothing aright, without Christ his Lord. I say in secret oftentimes, in low places, O when

will my poor travelling soul know more of an emancipation from fetters, bonds and chains. I long for ability to serve God with greater freedom; but why should I desire even this, so desirable, if it is not safe for me. I might be in danger of taking the precious jewels of peace and liberty, and play the harlot with them. Thou, O my heavenly Father, knowest best what is best for me. This I crave of thee, to be enabled to fulfil thy will in suffering: 'Sigh, therefore, thou son of man, with the breaking of thy loins; and with bitterness sigh before their eyes.' Ezekiel xxi. 6. Why did this exercised prophet sigh? 'For the tidings; because it cometh: and every heart shall melt, and all hands shall be feeble, and every spirit shall faint, and all knees shall be weak as water: behold, it cometh, and shall be brought to pass, &c.'"

In the seventh month of this year, he went to New York to be with Susanna Horne and Elizabeth Coggeshall, at the time of their embarking for England. He says in relation to it; "As I sat in our adjourned monthly meeting, sixth month 29th, after many tears of contrition, I felt an opening, accompanied with a degree of sweetness, to go to New York.

"Seventh month 7th.—Attended the monthly meeting of New York, which was a remarkable time. Susanna Horne opened the service, Elizabeth Coggeshall followed, and I bent in supplication.

"11th, first-day.—Orders were given to go to the ship, which had dropped down to the watering place, seven or nine miles off. Samuel Emlen, John Warder, William Allinson and I, with several New York Friends, accompanied them aboard. Staid about an hour and a half with them, and parted with near sympathetic affection." The next day he set off for home, where he arrived on the 13th.

In the twelfth month, 1813, he paid his last visit to West-town boarding school, an institution in which he had long been deeply interested, and where his labours had been blessed. At this time he had some precious religious opportunities with the teachers and children, both in the school rooms and at meeting. In one of the former, his mind was led into close feeling with one of the teachers, under an apprehension that she was called to the work of the ministry, which he found it his place to communicate to her, speaking in a very impressive manner on those words of our dear Lord to Peter; "Feed my sheep." The event proved that his impressions were correct, the Friend appearing in prayer at the meeting on the following fifth-day, and being afterwards acknowledged as a minister in the

Society of Friends. Shortly after his return home he addressed the following letter to her, viz :

"Philadelphia, First month 5th, 1814.

"Dear friend,

"Thy letter came to hand this day, and after perusing it, I felt a portion of the same freedom thou expressed, to set down and answer it; for as in a glass face answers to face, so doth the heart of man to man; such salutations proceeding from exercised children in the heavenly Father's family, brought forth by and through many baptisms, cannot fail to unite. I have looked back at the little visit paid you at West-town with sweetness, and the opportunity of expressing what impressed my mind in thy school room; and finding soon afterwards I was not mistaken, is one more seal, added to others, graciously vouchsafed me. I rejoiced over thee in thy appearance in the meeting and afterwards, as much as I could have done for a new born babe; yes, more so; and as I perceive, by thy plaintive letter, thou art desirous of being preserved so as to abide in that lot which thy divine Master may apportion thee, and I have no doubt of the sincerity of thy humbled soul, it arises in my heart to encourage thee to be faithful; remembering, that it is the faithful who are to abound with blessings. Remember, dear child, in all thy movements in so weighty a work, how it was with thee that day, what carefulness to move aright. Well then, be watchful, be vigilant; wait in the assemblies of the Lord's people for the same renewed touches of that live coal; and after thou hast, through holy help, turned the fleece and tried it both wet and dry, and feels the evidence of the requiring, then hesitate no longer, and even if thy going forth in the work may be in fear and trembling—words thus spoken will reach the witness in others, and by faithfulness thy gift will be enlarged; and when it is so, render all the praise to the great and bountiful giver: seek his praise, and not the praise of men. May the Lord preserve thee in humility, reverence and fear, all the days of thy life; so wilt thou have occasion to bless his holy Name. This is written with fear and care, by no means to exalt the creature; but that, as expressed above, thou may be kept in lowliness and fear. So craves for himself, and for thee, thy affectionate and sympathizing friend,

"THOMAS SCATTERGOOD."

Thomas Scattergood was taken sick on the night of the 20th of the Fourth month, 1814, with typhus fever, which soon greatly prostrated his strength. It was during the time

of the yearly meeting, the several sittings of which he had attended until fourth-day evening; and in conversation with his son he expressed his satisfaction in believing, that so far it had been owned by the overshadowing of heavenly good, which he hoped might continue to be the case to the end; adding, "though I cannot be with you personally, my mind will be there, with desires that best wisdom may direct you." He made inquiry respecting a subject pending in the yearly meeting, which occasioned much exercise to his mind, and remarked, "I fear there is too much of a disposition in many Friends of the present day, to have liberty, and to trample under foot the testimonies and judgment of our worthy predecessors."

On sixth-day evening the yearly meeting closed; and he inquired cheerfully how the several subjects which had engaged its attention since he left it, had been disposed of; and manifested his satisfaction in hearing, especially that our testimony against distilling or using spirituous liquors had been revived, and claimed weighty attention.

On seventh-day, a friend sitting by his bed side, expressed that he felt his mind covered with a calming and peaceful solemnity; on which Thomas took him by the hand and replied, "so do I—my mind is centered in quiet, peaceful resignation."

A friend calling to see him, in whom he was much interested, he expressed his satisfaction in seeing her; saying, "I have much desired thy preservation every way. I hope thou wilt be preserved in the innocence and sweetness." Upon her remarking, that the great Shepherd of Israel was near him, and she believed would be to the end, he replied with much animation, "He is near me—I feel quiet and sweet."

Although his weakness had much increased, so that he was scarcely able to help himself, yet he wished to sit up out of bed;—and though the exertion evidently fatigued him, yet he felt the change to be reviving to him. He took food with a good relish, and passed the night without any apparent change for the worse, until near morning, when one of those sinking spells came on, which are so common in this disease.

One or other of his physicians were with him pretty constantly through first-day the 24th, and all was done for his relief which their skill and judgment dictated; but his constitution was unable to sustain the load of disease, and respond favourably to the remedies used.

In the afternoon he remarked in substance; "This is the last piece of the garment that is to be worked up, and if I can be favoured to

join the righteous of every generation, it will be enough." Shortly after he said, "I don't know that I have much to say for myself; I leave it to the Lord, the Shepherd that sleepeth not by day, nor slumbereth by night, who watcheth over his children, and over his flock." On taking some drink, he remarked; "A cup of cold water in the name of a disciple is pleasant;" and presently after, "I hope a righteous generation will be raised up and preserved as a seed." Remaining a little while in silence, he added; "O, if we can but be favoured to take some of this love with us." "I have been thinking of Josiah Bunting; and hope and believe he made a good end—it is the end crowns all—I have nothing to boast of."

His vital powers now appeared to be fast sinking, and his speedy departure was looked

for; but reviving a little he said, "I do not expect I am going now, that is, suddenly,—if so, it is hid from me among the rest of the Lord's secrets. I have been baptized into many low places and raised up again."

After some time of silence, and when very near his close, he said with some emphasis, "I will lead them"—and again "O, who will stand?" He peacefully departed about twenty minutes after seven o'clock in the evening, (24th of fourth month, 1814,) in the 66th year of his age—having endeavoured to serve his generation according to the will of God, and been faithful in the occupancy of the gift bestowed upon him, we have the consoling assurance, that he is numbered among those at the right hand, and has received the welcome sentence, "enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

THE CHRISTIAN PROGRESS OF THAT ANCIENT SERVANT AND MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD:

RELATING HIS EXPERIENCE, MINISTRY, SUFFERINGS, TRIALS AND SERVICE IN DEFENCE
OF THE TRUTH AND GOD'S PERSECUTED PEOPLE, COMMONLY CALLED QUAKERS.

Ascribe the glory of all to God, for his mercy and truth's sake.—PSALMS cxv. 1.

The Lord hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back.—ISAIAH I. 5.

Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.—I. SAMUEL vii. 12.

The following brief notice of GEORGE WHITEHEAD, is taken chiefly from the Testimony respecting him, given by the monthly meeting of Devonshire house, in London, of which he was a member.

He was born at Sun Bigs, in the parish of Orton, in Westmoreland, about the year 1636, and was educated at a grammar school in that neighbourhood; where he appears to have made such progress in his literary pursuits, as to have been employed for some time as a tutor. His parents had a view to educating him for the office of a minister in the Established Church, and his religious disposition and in-

quiring mind no doubt raised their sanguine hopes of his fitness for the office. In his seventeenth year, however, he embraced the opinions of the then universally despised Quakers; and in the following year he went forth, travelling on foot, to preach the Truth in several of the midland counties, and on one occasion nearly all the persons composing a meeting which he was addressing, were convinced through his lively testimony and prayer.

"He was one," says the document referred to, "whom the Lord had fitly qualified and prepared by his divine power and Holy Spirit, for that work whereunto he was called,

and whereby he was made one of the most able ministers of the gospel in our day. He was a large experienter of the work of God and deep mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, and was frequently opened in meetings to declare of and unfold the same, in the clear demonstration of the spirit and power; dividing the word aright, to the opening and convincing the understandings of many who were unacquainted with the way and work of Truth; and to the comforting, confirming, and establishing of the people and children of the Lord, in their journey and travel Zion-ward.

"He was not only a zealous contender for and assertor of the true faith and doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a sound and intelligible testimony, but also was valiant and skilful in the defence thereof, against adversaries and opposers of the same; and one who through a long course of many days, was careful to adorn the doctrine of our holy profession, by a circumspect life and godly conversation, wherein the fruits of the Spirit, viz: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance, did eminently shine forth through him, to the praise and glory of God.

"Being thus qualified, and of a meek and peaceable disposition, he was had in good esteem amongst most sorts of people that were acquainted with him; which tended much to the opening his way in his public service for Truth, and frequent solicitations unto several kings and parliaments, bishops and great men of this our land, for the relief and release of his suffering friends and brethren, under sore persecutions and hard imprisonments, and for liberty of conscience, and also for relief in the case of oaths: in which labour of love and eminent services among other brethren, this our dear friend was principally exercised; and the Lord was with him and made way for him in the hearts of the rulers of the land, so that his faithful labour was often crowned with success, to the comforting and rejoicing of the hearts of many suffering brethren.

"He was a good example to the flock, in his diligent frequenting of first and week-day meetings for public worship, and other meetings for the service of Truth, so long as his ability of body remained; willing to take all opportunities for publishing and promoting the Truth; zealous to support good order and discipline in the church of Christ: and as he was not for taking hold suddenly of any, so he was as exemplary in not being forward to cast any off, in whom there appeared any thing that was good; being always desirous to encourage the good in all, condescending to the weak, but admonishing

the faulty in the spirit of meekness and wisdom, that they might be preserved in love to Truth, and come into the unity of the one spirit, which is the bond of peace.

"We may truly say, he was a tender father in the church, and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with Friends under affliction whether in body or mind; a diligent visiter of the sick, and labouring to comfort the mourning soul: careful to prevent, and diligent in composing differences.

"Dear friends, much more we might say on the behalf of this our dear deceased friend, an elder worthy of double honour; but it is not with us to give large encomiums of the dead; we have rather chosen to give but short hints of some of the Christian virtues and qualifications he was endued withal, believing there is a witness in the hearts of many yet remaining, that doth testify for him and his faithful labours and service in his day; desiring the Lord may raise up many in the room of this and other worthy elders, some of whom are lately removed from us, and, we believe, taken into mansions of glory in the kingdom of God.

"It pleased the Lord to visit this our dear Friend with some severe pains and weakness of body, so that he was disabled for some weeks from getting to meetings; but he often expressed his desires for the welfare of the Church of Christ, and that Friends might live in love and unity.

"He continued in a patient resigned frame of mind to the will of God, waiting for his great change; rather desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ, saying: 'The sting of death was taken away.' He expressed a little before his departure, that he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labours and travels, that he had gone through from his first conviction; he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all.

"He departed this life in great peace and quiet, the 8th day of the first month, 1722-3, about the eighty-seventh year of his age; and we firmly believe he died in the Lord, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

"He was a minister of the gospel about sixty-eight years; and was buried the 13th of the first month, in Friends' burying ground near Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren; being attended by a very large number of Friends and others.

"Signed in and on the behalf of the monthly meeting at Devonshire house, the 15th day of third month, 1723, by forty Friends."

THE CHRISTIAN PROGRESS OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

REMEMBERING the Lord our gracious God, in his ways and merciful dealings with me from my youth; how he found me among his lost and strayed sheep, on the barren mountains of fruitless professions, and how he drew me to an inward experience of his power and sanctifying work in my heart, and to know his teaching and spiritual ministry; thereby to enable me by degrees, experimentally to minister to others, and oblige me to live accordingly; as also to suffer patiently, with resignation of liberty and life for Christ's sake, when called thereunto, and being supported by his power, and cheerfully carried through many great trials and deep sufferings for his name's sake, and having had many eminent deliverances and preservations, even from my young years; I say, considering these things, I have been the more concerned for my friends and brethren, who for conscience-sake have deeply suffered by imprisonments and spoil of goods; and in the tender bowels of Christ Jesus have truly sympathized with the faithful in their sufferings and afflictions; and in his love been many times moved and stirred up to plead their innocent cause before authority, as well as to solicit with great industry on their behalf; wherein the hand of the Lord has been often with me, and his presence and counsel have strengthened and helped me, in answer to my prayers and supplications, and his power by degrees prevailed to mollify the hearts of many in the several governments towards us. Glory to the name of the Lord our God, who pleaded the cause of the innocent.

For these reasons, a concern hath long been upon my spirit, to leave some remarks and footsteps—by an historical account—of my progress, under the Lord's help and conduct, in his work and service: and in order thereto, to collect from divers papers, notes and memorial, I had reserved, some of those exercises and transactions, wherein I have been both actively and passively concerned on Truth's account; and to digest the same into such a plain method as briefly as I well could, and as I thought might be most intelligible, both in point of fact and doctrine, with such observations as might conduce to the good end intended, namely, the glory of God, the honour of his excellent name, and the advantage

of the serious reader, the more to consider of his divine grace and goodness, which endure for ever, to them that truly love and fear him.

In my time, I have been greatly exercised in defence of the truth of the gospel, wherein the Lord did early assist me, by his Spirit and power; on which account I have been concerned in many more controversies and disputes than are herein related; and omitting many circumstances, I have endeavoured not to make too voluminous a narrative, but sincerely to relate the substance of the most material passages, which concern our Christian profession and principles, held from the beginning.

Those of our principles which have been chiefly opposed by our adversaries, and which I have been most obliged to vindicate and dispute for, are, the light and perfection; the gospel urim and thummim; the kingdom of Christ, against the kingdom of satan and antichrist. Let God arise, and His enemies be scattered.

From early inclinations and desires which the Lord was graciously pleased to stir up in my heart towards his blessed truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, I was drawn to be inquisitive after the knowledge thereof, and how to become truly penitent, and witness a true amendment of life from such a vain conversation, as in my childhood I had, with many others, been prone to. Being partly educated under a Presbyterian ministry, which the Lord showed me in divers things, came short of what they professed and pretended in their worship, preachings and prayings; insomuch that before I heard of the people called Quakers, I could not cordially join with them; and being at a loss in my spirit, for what I sometimes secretly desired and wanted, I was as one bewildered, and wandered further, seeking among other people, who had some higher and more refined notions concerning spiritual gifts, &c. I was then about fourteen years of age.

After a short time, I heard of some people called Quakers, who trembled at the word of God; and observing how they were reviled and reproached by loose and wicked persons, occasioned my further inquiry, and thereupon the Lord gave me to believe, they were his

people, and I contended for them and their principles, so far as they were represented favourably to me, before I was at a meeting of theirs, or heard any of them minister.

And though the Lord had raised good desires in me toward himself, that I might know true repentance unto life, yet those desires were often quenched, and my mind led away through an airy, light disposition, fondness for music, vain mirth, and other vanities, like other children and youth, when conversant with them. Howbeit, the Lord was graciously pleased secretly to follow me with judgment and reproof in my very young years, and renewed desires in me after the right way. But I wanted to know a stay to my mind, while a hearer of the priests and other professors, not knowing, or following that light of Christ in me, which convinced and reproved me for the sins of my youth.

The light shined in darkness, as in a dark place, and was often clouded, before it shone out of darkness. The spirit of the Lord moved upon the waters, even when darkness was upon the face of the great deep, before his works of old were wrought. And in order to bring forth his works in the new creation, to make us new creatures in Christ Jesus, his spirit moves upon people's hearts, even when unstable as waters, and his light shines in them before they know God or Jesus Christ, in order to give them the knowledge of the glory and power of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

After some religious discourses with some young men soberly inclined, and when we had newly heard of a few people called Quakers, in Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, and in Kendal Barony in Westmoreland, I was—after my other seeking and wandering—desirous to go to a meeting of theirs, which was at one captain Ward's, at a place called Sunny Bank, near Grayrig chapel.

At my first going to the said meeting, what was most observable to me was, when I came into the meeting, and sat down seriously among them, after a little space of silence, a Friend, Thomas Arey, spake a little while of the spiritual deliverances, travels and progress, of the Lord's people in his way and work; alluding to Israel's deliverance out of Egypt, from under Pharoah and his task masters. All which I thought I easily understood allegorically, or mysteriously, as spiritualized; but there appeared to me a great work of the power of the Lord in the meeting, breaking the hearts of divers into great sorrow, weeping and contrition of spirit, which I believed was a godly sorrow for sin, in order to unfeigned repentance.

I was the more confirmed herein, seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, whom I seriously followed to observe her sorrowful condition; and beholding her, being sat down on the ground, with her face downward toward the earth, as if she regarded no body present, she mourning bitterly, cried out, Lord, make me clean; O Lord, make me clean. This did far more tenderly and deeply affect my heart than what I had heard spoken, and more than all the preaching that ever I had heard from man or men. It was a certain testimony to me, the spirit of the Lord evidencing to my spirit, that it was a real work of his power upon her heart, which also operated upon the hearts of others, causing both trembling, sorrow and contrition, in order to bring them to true repentance and amendment of life, and so truly to experience the work of regeneration and sanctification, from sin and uncleanness; and accordingly it proved so to many; glory to our God for ever.

These things upon serious observation, making deep impression upon my mind, I was the more confirmed in the belief I had before, that the Lord was at work among that small despised people, and that he was about to gather and raise up a people unto himself, to worship him in the spirit and in the truth, for such he seeks to worship him acceptably; and that this his worship, is not in the dead and empty forms set up in the will of man.

Under these considerations, I was induced soon to leave the parish priests, or ministers made by the will of man, having no divine authority from God, nor commission from Christ, to teach others; they themselves also being no good examples to the flock, by their pride and covetousness, contrary to Christ's command, and his ministers' example, inasmuch that I knew I ought to turn away from them, as in a very short time I did, after the Lord by his light opened my eyes, to see the blindness of those guides whom I had followed by education and tradition.

And though I met with opposition and hard speeches from some near relations and others who were hearers of those priests, for confessing and vindicating truth, according to that little measure of understanding I then had, being but weak and young in years, and beset with divers temptations and discouragements, yet the Lord my God helped and persuaded me to take up a resolution, not only wholly to leave the said priests, but also constantly to resort to the meetings of his despised people called Quakers, and to sit down among them, though then but few in number in comparison of what they are since. Their meetings, which I frequented, were for some time in Sedbergh

parish in Yorkshire, and sometimes in Grayrig and that way, near Kendal in Westmoreland, the county where I was born.

Some time after I was fully convinced, and my mind turned to the light, and I was persuaded and resolved to persevere among Friends, before I heard our dear Friend George Fox. The first time I heard him minister, was at an evening meeting at Sunny Bank aforesaid, at Captain Henry Ward's house. I was then very low, serious, and intent in my mind, willing to see and taste for myself, for my own inward satisfaction; and I saw and felt that his testimony was weighty and deep; that it proceeded from life and experience, and did bespeak divine revelation, and tended to bring to an inward feeling and sense of the life and power of Christ, and the sanctifying operation thereof in the heart. His speech was not with affected eloquence or oratory, or human wisdom, but in the simplicity of the gospel, to turn the mind to the light and life of Christ; and the Lord abundantly blessed his ministry to many.

Our meetings in Sedbergh then were often at Thomas Blaykling's house, whose family was honest, and of good reputation, and at Gervas Benson's house, who had been a justice of peace; at Richard Robinson's at Brigflats, who was an innocent faithful man, and at other places near, in those parts. In Westmoreland, the meetings I sometimes went to, were often at Henry Ward's at Sunny Bank, and some other places near the same, and near Kendal.

Being joined to the said people, in derision named Quakers, and by the grace of God resolved to continue and persevere in their communion, and to wait upon God in his light, wherewith he had enlightened my understanding in a good measure, I had great satisfaction therein, being sensible that our society and converse with one another, as we had received the love of the truth, was helpful and encouraging to us, and tended to our edification and comfort. I greatly loved and delighted in the free conversation and fellowship of sober, faithful Friends. When I was a school boy at the free-school at Blencoe in Cumberland, I loved retirement with some other sober, studious scholars, though but mean and poor in the world, rather than the company of loose, extravagant boys, though of the gentry, or richer sort, who were given to much play and gaming. In that company of which I was most fond, we were the most profitable one to another in our learning, and communicating the effects of our studies to each other; and much more in a spiritual and higher sense, when we were in some degree come to know the blessed Truth, in the light of our Lord

Jesus Christ. Our Christian society, and communications therein of our inward experiences, did all redound to our mutual help and edification in the love of the truth, as it is in Christ, the light and life, and our great Apostle and minister, who teaches his true followers to profit in that love and life which flows from him, the Fountain and Foundation of all our mercies; helps, and lively encouragements in his way and work, to whom alone be the praise and glory thereof for evermore.

As to the progress, which by divine assistance I came to experience in the work of the Lord Jesus Christ in me, after I came to be resolved and settled in my mind and conscience, to join in communion with the said people, and to frequent their assemblies as aforesaid, the Lord by his light and grace of his Holy Spirit, having fully persuaded me, that without being converted as well as convinced, and without being regenerated, sanctified, and born again, I could not enter into his kingdom, nor be an heir thereof; and that the godly sorrow unto true repentance, and a real amendment of life, must be wrought by his grace and good spirit in me; and, that without holiness none can see God.

Upon these, and such serious Christian considerations, I was persuaded by the grace of God, to give up in obedience to follow Christ Jesus; to believe in, and obey his light given me, and to wait therein diligently, to receive power from him to become a true child of God; for as many as truly receive Christ the Son of God, he gives them power to become sons of God.

I saw it was my place to retire inwardly to the light, to the grace of God, the immortal, incorruptible seed, the ingrafted Word, which is our divine principle, frequently testified of among the said people, according to Holy Scripture.

And my mind being turned to this light, I came plainly to see my inward and outward state, and how much I was fallen into a state of degeneracy; how much depraved, corrupted, and alienated from the life of Christ and of God. The very vanity of mind and thoughts wherein I had been wandering, and estranged from the light and life of Christ, became my great burthen and exercise to be delivered from, that I might be truly renewed in the spirit of my mind, and therein joined to the Lord. I was persuaded to wait in the light, in the way of his judgments, and to bear and submit to his fatherly chastisements, and reproofs of instruction, believing, that Sion must be redeemed through judgment, and her converts with righteousness. Vain thoughts, imaginations, and wanderings of the mind, became a suffering and burthen to me, and I earnestly

sought the Lord for power to suppress and give me victory over them all, and to stay my mind upon himself, that I might enjoy inward peace with him.

I had a spiritual warfare to go through, and a body of sin to put off and be destroyed, though not grown to that maturity, as many of riper years, who are guilty of many gross evils, by their longer continuance and custom in sinning; nevertheless I knew a real necessity of the work of sanctification, inward cleansing from sin, and being born again. That is the new birth that is born from above, which only is entitled to the kingdom of Christ and of God, which no unclean person can inherit.

In waiting upon God, and sincerely seeking after him with my mind inwardly retired, and my soul desiring and breathing after his name and power, he was graciously pleased often to renew his merciful visitations to my poor soul, and in the midst of judgment and chastisements, to remember mercy, that he might be feared. The sense thereof did often break and tender my heart, and cause me to be the more mindful of the work of the Lord our God, and the more to consider the operation of his divine hand, whose dealing with me was in judgment and mercy; his eternal word by judgment, caused fear and trembling in his presence, and by showing mercy, brokenness, and true tenderness of heart, which I often felt. In the lively remembrance thereof, I find still great cause to ascribe the praise and glory to his excellent name, power and divine goodness, manifest through his dear Son, even the Son of his love, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Many of the Presbyterian priests in Westmoreland, and other northern parts of England, appeared very envious against us, in the years 1652, 1653, and 1654. And in their lectures and sermons they reviled and reproached the Quakers and their ministers, terming them deceivers and antichrists, come in the last times; gathering what evil and false reports they could to incense their credulous hearers against us, thereby setting both neighbours and families at variance and discord, like invidious sowers thereof.

Some of their hearers, even of my own relations, and others, when they have come from their public worship, and from hearing a preachment against Quakers, have come full fraught therewith, to talk against them, oftentimes nonsense; sometimes I have returned them a Christian answer, which when rejected, I have many times found it my place to be silent, and let them clamour and scoff on; the leaders of the people, even those priests, caused them to err, and with their

sour leaven, soured the spirits of many into enmity, whereby they hurt many.

My parents were hurt by them, and the more influenced against me for a time, until the Lord turned their hearts, and opened their understandings, to see better than they would by following their blind guides, whose work was to make divisions; yet my parents and relations had great natural affection and care in their way for me. For when they appeared most opposed and offended, which was a near trial to me, because I left their church and ministers, and was joined with the people called Quakers, their trouble and grief came more from their priest's influencing them against us, and fear of my misfortune, or losing preference in the world, than either from any prejudice against me, or my religious profession. They retained a real natural love and affection to me, while I was absent from them in the ministry and service of the Truth, about three years, and in that time had suffered several hard imprisonments, and otherwise for the same, in Norfolk and Suffolk; and returning to visit them, they were much reconciled and loving to me, and their understandings and hearts opened toward me and my friends, who came to visit me, when at their house.

My mother, some years before her decease, was really convinced of the Truth, and became a Friend in her heart: and my father seeing the corruption, pride and avarice of the priests, retained a love toward Friends till the end of his days. Likewise my sister Anne, before the death of her mother, became a friend to Truth and Friends, and continued so, an honest, loving, and serviceable woman, until death.

It is observable, when the priests or parish ministers, could not prevail to stop the progress and spreading of the blessed Truth and power of Christ, nor prevent the increase of our friends therein, by all their lectures and reviling sermons and preaching against us, their work was to endeavour to incense the magistrates, justices, and the government, against the people called Quakers; whereupon divers justices and officers were instigated to persecution, and imprisoned many of our Friends in Kendal and Appleby jails, in Westmoreland, for bearing testimony against them. I was moved in the dread and fear of the Lord, to bear public testimony against their wickedness in several of their places of worship in Westmoreland, before I travelled into the south parts of England, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve me then, from any harm or imprisonment, having a further work for me in other parts of the nation.

After I had been some time conversant among our friends, and frequented the meetings to which I belonged, in Westmoreland and Yorkshire, chiefly between the years 1652 and 1654, being much inwardly exercised in waiting upon the Lord among them, where we had little preaching, but our meetings were kept much and often in silence, or but few words declared, the Lord was pleased sometimes by his power and word of life, to tender and open my heart and understanding, so that he gave me, among some others, now and then a few words livingly to utter, to their and my own comfort, in Him who opened our hearts in great love one to another, which then increased and grew among us; blessed be the Lord our God for ever. It was out of these, and such frequently silent meetings, the Lord was pleased to raise up, and bring forth living witnesses, faithful ministers, and true prophets, in early days in Westmoreland, and other northern parts, in the years 1654 and 1655.

The Lord our God having in these latter days and times been pleased to visit this island with his gospel day and power, according to his promise unto the Gentiles, and the isles that should wait for his law; and that his elect, his Christ, in whom his soul delighteth, should bring forth judgment to the Gentiles; Isaiah xlii. we also waiting in true silence upon him, and eyeing his inward appearance in spirit, and the work of his power in us, came truly to see and feel our strength renewed, in living faith, true love and holy zeal for his name and power; insomuch that the Lord gradually brought us to experience what he said of old, by his holy prophet; "Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgment."

Thus keeping silence before the Lord, and drawing near to him in a true silent frame of spirit, to hear first what the Lord speaks to us, before we speak to others, whether it be of judgment or mercy, is the way for renewing our strength, and to be his ministers, to speak to others only what he first speaks to us. O! that the people truly minded this; that they would seriously consider hereof; then would they not run after, or follow such as their ministers, priests, or prophets, who run and God never sent them; who say, "Thus saith the Lord," when God hath not spoken to them; and, "who shall not profit the people at all."

Before I was esteemed a Quaker, or was joined in communion with them, I had some understanding given me concerning those

parish ministers, or priests, that they were not sent of God or Christ, having no divine commission or call to the ministry, but were made and set up by the will of man, and not experienced, but artificial preachers of what they studied, or gathered from others, and composed beforehand, without either waiting for, or receiving immediate openings or instructions from the spirit of Christ; and without so much as the real belief thereof, or of any necessity of the immediate help of the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, for his ministry, or thereby to preach Him in these days. But contrariwise, they have denied the same, and opposed our Christian testimony therein, which none of Christ's sheep or flock will do, for they both hear and know Christ's voice, and follow him, he being their leader and commander; and a stranger they will not follow.

Their pride and covetousness set many well inclined people against, and caused some to turn away from them; and the more, when many of them showed their envy and covetousness, in persecuting, imprisoning, and greatly oppressing the people called Quakers, for conscientiously refusing to pay tithes, either small or great, or to gratify the priest's avarice. For the value of a tithe pig or goose, &c., they have prosecuted divers honest men to imprisonment in jails, as if they valued their neighbour's pig or goose which they coveted, more than the liberty or life of their neighbour. Oh! inhuman and unmerciful! But when the priests became rigid persecutors and oppressors of us, it turned greatly to their own disadvantage, disgrace and shame, and set tender people against them; and our number, when called Quakers, the more increased. Though but weak, we came to be the more confirmed against those persecuting ministers, or parish priests, knowing that the Christian religion is not a cruel or persecuting religion, but tender, loving, and compassionate, and not without natural affection; for that can be no good religion which is void of humanity, one towards another. We know also, that true Christians were persecuted, but no persecutors; that they were patient sufferers, not oppressors; they prayed for their enemies and persecutors, and sought no revenge against them.

I was early convinced and persuaded that tithes ought not to be required or paid, under the gospel dispensation. And the reason why those called Quakers, who are true to their Christian principle, cannot for conscience sake pay tithes, oblations, and obventions in this gospel day, is generally:

First, Because Christ's ministry is, and

ought to be, a free ministry, as he commanded his ministers; "Freely ye have received, freely give."

Secondly, Because Jesus Christ, the one offering, and great Apostle, and High Priest of our Christian profession, hath by the offering and sacrifice of himself, put an end to tithes and oblations, or offerings, and the priests' revenues, together with that priesthood and first covenant under which they were upheld and maintained; according to the reasons and arguments which the apostle gives and urges to the Hebrews, in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th chapters. So that to demand tithes and oblations, revenues or profits thereof, appears to be a denial of Christ crucified, and his being offered once for all, and consequently a denying the privileges of the new covenant dispensation and ministry, ratified by him through the death of the cross.

To return to my own inward state, and experience in my spiritual travel and progress—when the Lord was graciously pleased to lead me through the law, judgment and condemnation against sin in the flesh, which Christ came to condemn, in order to bring me to the more glorious ministration and law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, the foundation of the prophets, and spiritually to experience the mystery of John's ministry of repentance, the washing of regeneration, the axe being laid to the root of the trees, as well as the cutting off the superfluous branches, that a thorough work of regeneration might be wrought, these things were spiritually, and by degrees experienced inwardly, through the obedience of faith, waiting and persevering in the grace, light and truth received from Christ, in order to obtain victory over sin and Satan, that his work of sin, and the body thereof, might be destroyed root and branch.

And whatever divine openings, prophecies, sights, or discoveries, the Lord was pleased at any time to give me by his Holy Spirit, for my encouragement, the increase of faith and hope, I saw I must still be mindful of his inward work of grace, sanctification and holiness, that it might go on and prosper. Although many weaknesses and temptations attended, his grace was sufficient for me, and oftentimes gave me strength and victory over the enemy of my soul, and frustrated his evil designs. When he would have come in like a flood, with manifold temptations and devices, the spirit of the Lord lifted up a standard against him, and repelled him: "Glory to our God, and to the Lamb, in whom is our salvation and strength for ever and ever, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion without end."

As our blessed Lord Jesus Christ declared,

"If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." It was in the day of his power as the light thereof did appear, that a willingness was wrought in my heart to do his will, as the same came to be made known to me, and to follow him in self-denial, and taking up the daily cross, which every man must do that will be his disciple: by whose light and teaching I came livingly to believe, understand, and receive those doctrines and principles essential to a Christian life and salvation, especially and particularly these following, viz:

1. God's free love in his dear Son Jesus Christ, and his universal grace in him to mankind; and that Christ died for all men that were dead in their sins; he gave himself a ransom for all, for a testimony, in due time, of God's free love to mankind in general; for it was by the grace of God that Christ tasted death for every man. So that the free grace and love of God to mankind, are testified and evident, both in Christ's dying for all men, and by his being the "Light of the world, which enlightens every man coming into the world."

2. The necessity of men's repenting, and truly believing the gospel, and of being so converted to Christ, as to receive Christ, and to experience a living and steadfast faith in him, in his light, name and power, in order to become the children and sons of God, it being by his power, through faith therein, that men become the sons of God; and not by an outward profession, or traditional belief without Christ, or without spiritually receiving Christ into their hearts, to know his work of faith and power in them, unto conversion, and a real change of their hearts and minds, by the washing of regeneration which is sanctification, the one baptism, which is the saving baptism of the spirit, for the washing us from our sins, and restoring us to newness of life in Christ Jesus. To understand and witness that the true and acceptable worship of God "Is in spirit and in the truth;" and not after human traditions, or forms of men's prescribing, was a great satisfaction to my soul, and to be retired in my mind and spirit, to that holy spirit and truth, even the living Word, wherein God is truly worshipped, bowed unto, and waited upon in true humility, for therein he comforts and refreshes his people. All which every true believer in Christ, our light and life, understands, and knows the necessity of, even of these things, which are agreeable to holy Scripture testimony.

I always had a love to the Bible, and to reading therein, from my childhood, yet did not truly understand, nor experience those doctrines essential to salvation, nor the new

covenant dispensation, until my mind was turned to the light of Christ, the living eternal Word, the entrance whereof giveth light and understanding to the simple. Yet I do confess, it was some advantage to me frequently to read the holy Scriptures when I was ignorant, and did not understand the great and excellent things therein testified of. For when the Lord had livingly in some measure opened my understanding in the holy Scriptures, by my often reading the same before, having the better remembrance thereof, it was a help and advantage to my secret meditations, when a lively sense and comfort of the Scriptures was in measure given me by the Spirit, and thereby I was the more induced to the serious reading and consideration of what I read in the holy Scriptures, and the comfort thereof made known by the holy Spirit enlightening the understanding. All the promises of God, which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus, being truly comfortable when applied by the same Spirit, for that will make no wrong application thereof; that Spirit will never apply peace to the wicked, nor to persons living in their sins; nor tell the unjust that they are just, or righteous in God's sight. It is through faith which is in Christ, that the holy Scriptures are said to make the man of God, "Wise unto salvation, and profitable to him, for doctrine, reproof, admonition, and instruction in righteousness, that he may be perfect and thoroughly furnished in every good word and work." Doubtless, Paul esteemed Timothy's knowing the holy Scriptures from a child, to be some advantage and help to him, but it was principally through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

These things considered, I would not have Christian parents remiss in educating, and causing their children to read the holy Scriptures, but to induce them both to learn, and frequently to read therein, i. e. the Bible. It may be of real advantage, and profitable to them, when they come to have their understandings enlightened, and to know the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus. I have sometimes observed children in reading the Bible, have been affected with the good things they have read, from a secret belief of them, which hath had such impression, that they have been induced to a more serious consideration thereof, when the Lord has opened their understandings in some measure, by the light of his grace in them.

It was without doubt, an advantage, even to the evangelical prophets of God, that they knew the Law of Moses, and understood his judgments and threats therein declared. They had thereby the more advantage over Israel in their ministry, both to warn them, and to

declare such judgments for their great transgressions, when it was revealed by the Spirit that any of those judgments were approaching; and the more advantage they had over the people, because they had the Law of Moses read among them, and professed the same. So have Christ's ministers, who know the holy Scriptures, the more advantage over the hypocritical professors of the same as their only rule, who yet are of irregular, corrupt, and disorderly conversations.

By what I have here declared in commendation of holy Scripture, and the advantage thereof, I would not be understood to limit the gift of the Spirit of God, or ministry thereof, or any of his divine graces, from the illiterate, the unlearned, or from persons of little education,—as ploughmen, herdsmen, shepherds, fishermen, &c. For God hath given of his good Spirit, and spiritual gifts to such, and hath promised "to pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh; and that sons and daughters should prophesy." And Moses said, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them." Among whom, both men and women, learned and unlearned are included.

My entrance into, and beginning in the spirit, and believing in the light of our Lord Jesus Christ, was in order really to come into the new covenant and dispensation thereof; Christ being given both for a light and a covenant, and to be God's salvation unto the ends of the earth. This new covenant is a covenant of grace, of mercy and peace with God, in his dear Son Jesus Christ. It is that reconciliation, that near agreement with God and Christ, which man must come into, if ever he enjoys true peace. It is in this covenant that all the Lord's people and true Christians know him, from the least to the greatest, and are all taught of God; having also his laws written in their heart, and put into their minds, by his holy Spirit, his divine finger. It is in this covenant that the Lord blots out all their former forsaken transgressions, and remembers their sins and iniquities no more, they continuing in this everlasting covenant, and in his goodness. He is a God keeping covenant and mercy for ever, to them that truly fear him. Oh! my cry, my soul's breathing, my inward spiritual travel, my watchings and praying have been, "O Lord, preserve and keep me in thy holy fear, in humility, in the sense of thy power; that I may never depart from thee, nor from thy covenant; that I may never dishonour thy Truth, or our holy profession. And hitherto the Lord has helped me on my spiritual journey and race towards the prize: I ascribe the glory and praise only to Him, who giveth power to

the faint, and to them of no might he increaseth strength; and often in my weak estate, hath manifested strength. Salvation and strength come from Him who is the God of our salvation, that his redeemed ones may sing of his salvation; yea, of his judgments and mercies, and ascribe salvation to our God, and to the Lamb that sits with him upon the throne, in glory and majesty forever.

As it was my early belief and persuasion, when convinced of the blessed Truth, that all who are truly called into Christ's ministry, to be ministers of the everlasting gospel, and preachers of righteousness, must be sanctified, divinely inspired, and gifted for that sacred work and service of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ; they must be careful that their conversations be as becometh the gospel; they must live good lives, as well as speak good words; they must be men fearing God, and eschewing evil; truly fearing God, and hating covetousness, and giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed; concerning which, the Lord hath laid upon me a godly care, which still remains upon me, both for myself and others; that our ministry be not blamed, and that no offence may be given to cause blame thereupon. What signifies it for any to have a name to live, when they are dead? What will it avail them? Or for loose, vain, proud, covetous, or unsanctified persons, to pretend to be in holy orders, when they themselves are altogether unholy, polluted, and sinful? I was in my very young years fully persuaded, that Jesus Christ would neither employ wicked or corrupt persons in his sacred service of the ministry, nor afford such his presence in their preaching, whatever they pretend or profess in his name. It is Christ's faithful ministers who truly obey him, and follow his example, that he will accompany with his divine presence and help in their ministry and gospel testimony. It was to such he gave this great encouragement and promise; "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" or, throughout all ages.

What that kingly prophet David earnestly prayed to God for, in Psalm fifty-one, doth truly set forth the state and condition of true gospel ministers, whose ministry is attended with his power and presence, and thereby made effectual for the conversion of sinners unto him. "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit. Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee."

These things have I sincerely aimed at, and earnestly desired of the Lord; and inwardly in spirit travelled for, with my soul and whole heart. And the Lord in measure answered me therein, before I travelled abroad in the ministry of the gospel of Christ, even the gospel of the grace of God; which gradually he gave and increased from small beginnings in me, and unto me, blessed be his most excellent name for ever: for he promised unto his people, saying; "I will give you pastors according to my own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding." They are only true pastors and ministers who are of his giving; and many such he has given, and will give in this gospel-day, according as was testified by a preacher, both of Christ as come in the flesh, and of the mystery of Christ as come in spirit. "Even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory, whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus; whereunto I also labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily."

According to a real belief and persuasion that God would reveal this mystery of Christ in us, I was made tenderly concerned to wait for the same, that I might experience, witness and feel the power and coming of Christ inwardly in spirit, both to sanctify my heart, and give me understanding to do his will. And when he called me to bear testimony for his name and power, and also for his inward and spiritual work in man, I was engaged in spirit to wait for his power and spirit to move and work in me; and that I might labour in his service according to his working in me thereby, and not otherwise to run or to strive in my own will, wisdom or strength, as knowing that without Christ, his power and presence, help and counsel, I could of myself do nothing, nor any one else. And when my ability was but small, and I was in much weakness, fear and trembling many times, the Lord helped me, and increased strength and ability in my labours beyond expectation; this care still resting upon me, even in my early travels, to minister only according to the ability and gift given to me of my heavenly Father, so to keep within compass of my own gift and ability; and when the Spirit of the Lord opened and moved but in a few words, I must not exceed, but sit down in silence when that ceased. Many times in waiting upon the Lord, and secretly breathing to him

in silence, the spring of life would arise, and open counsel afresh to my own and other souls' refreshment and consolation. Often hath my soul been brought low, and the Lord helped me, and renewed my strength, to persevere in his service; being sensible the more low I was in myself, and the more in fear toward God, though but weak and simple of myself, the more he would manifest his power, and bless my endeavours and service. Let Him have the praise of all, who is for ever worthy.

After many blessed and comfortable seasons and refreshments from the presence of our heavenly Father, which we enjoyed in our meetings in the northern parts; and having cleared my conscience in testimony for the Truth, both in word and Christian conversation toward my parents and relations, being some time with them before, I travelled abroad into the south parts of England,—a weighty concern came upon me to leave my father's house and county of Westmoreland, and to travel abroad southward. I acquainted some Friends with my prospect, and my dear friend Edward Edwards, who then was a young man, and lived at Gervase Benson's, near Coatley Cragg, above Sedbergh, though he was not then called into the ministry, gave up to travel with me, and to keep me company to York, above sixty miles, it being after harvest, in the year 1654. Both of us were given up to travel on foot, and went together directly to York, where we stayed two or three nights, and were at Friends' meeting there on first-day, which was but small, and I had a few words given me livingly to declare among them.

Thence we travelled southward in Yorkshire, and met with our beloved friend and brother in Christ, George Fox, at one captain Bradford's, where we were at a meeting with him in an evening; and afterward we travelled into East Holderness, to Joseph Storr's, where again we met with George Fox, and divers other Friends, and were comforted together, and travelled a little while in that country to some meetings where he was, who then had the public service wholly upon him there, for the strengthening and settling Friends in the Light and in the Truth.

I had some testimony laid upon me to bear at two steeple houses, before I left that county, but met with no hard usage, except haling out; the Lord supporting me in faith and hope for the service he had for me further south. My honest, dear friend, Edward Edwards and I parted in Holderness, and Thomas Ralison, who travelled with George Fox, came with me to Hull, whence we went that night over the river Humber in their boat, being

about four miles over, into Lincolnshire; we had a rude, abusive, drunken company in the boat, who threatened, and otherwise abused us, but the Lord preserved us from being harmed by them.

George Fox and Alexander Parker overtook us, being on foot, in our way toward Lincoln, and we got to a place at night, where was a meeting next day, being first-day; and a burthen came then upon me, to go and bear testimony for the Truth at two steeple houses, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. I had no harm or violence at either, except pulling or pushing out. But Thomas Ralison being at that in the afternoon, was abused and beaten, and followed into the field by a parcel of young fellows; and I was sorry that he was so evilly treated. Next day he and I parted, and I took leave of George Fox and Friends with him, and travelled on toward Lincoln, taking a meeting by the way, where the Lord opened my mouth in a living testimony. After which, I went to Lincoln that night, being but a few miles off, and there met with John Whitehead, who had been exercised in public service in that city, and had met with some acceptance there, and gave some account thereof. I staid but one night in Lincoln, being pressed in spirit to travel forward toward Cambridge and Norwich, though left to travel alone, and still on foot. I went to Cambridge from Lincoln in less than three days, the days being then short, though my feet were pretty much galled and blistered, even before I came out of Yorkshire; yet they amended while I travelled, before I got to Norwich, and I was preserved in health all along; which I thankfully esteemed as a great mercy from God, being then not eighteen years of age.

At Cambridge I was received kindly by alderman Blakeling and his wife, and by the few Friends there. James Parnel met me before I went thence, and we were comforted together, and among those Friends when we met. After two or three days stay there, I was still pressed in spirit for Norwich; from Cambridge Thomas Lightfoot travelled with me toward Norwich; we got within about three miles of Thetford in Norfolk the first night, the weather being wet and showery. It was something difficult to get lodging for our money at a little village where we staid, they were so shy or timorous of us; yet being at a house where they sold beer, we prevailed with them to entertain us that night, but the room wherein we lodged was but cold and mean, and the window so shattered, that the snow came in upon us. The next day we travelled to Wymondham, or Windham, which is about six miles from Norwich, where one Robert

Constable and his wife kindly received us, being convinced a little time before, by our dear friend Richard Hubberthorn, then prisoner in Norwich castle, for bearing public testimony to Truth at the steeple house at Windham, where those called Independents met, and one John Money was their preacher.

From Windham we went to Norwich next day, and I visited Richard Hubberthorn in prison, where we gladly embraced each other in dear and tender love, and were comforted together in the Lord; there being then a few Friends in that city convinced by his testimony and suffering, who coming to visit him in prison, were affected to Truth and Friends. The most noted, serviceable Friend then in that city, was Thomas Symonds, a master-weaver, who received travelling Friends; he was a loving, honest man, and came to receive a gift in the ministry, and was faithful unto death. He lived and died in the faith, and was partaker of the promises, which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus. He was exemplary in the Truth, and serviceable both in the city of Norwich and county of Norfolk, where he lived.

Though I expected to suffer imprisonment in that city, yet as the Lord so ordered, I had liberty some weeks to have divers meetings at Thomas Symonds' house in Norwich, and at Windham, at Robert Harvey's, a glover, who was an honest, innocent man, that received the Truth in the love of it. To a meeting at his house, came captain John Lawrence, who being then tenderly affected with Truth, was desirous I should have a meeting at his house at Wramplingham, which I was very willing and glad to have.

To that meeting came three priests, Jonathan Clapham, priest of the town, and two others to oppose; they staid in the parlour until the meeting was settled, and first they peeped out to see me, esteeming me but a boy; and because of my youth, I was somewhat contemptible in their eyes to discourse with; and I understood they slighted me the more because thereof. However, Jonathan Clapham would undertake to oppose and interrogate me, about our not respecting persons by bowing, &c., as one ambitious, and more regarding worldly honour, and respecting persons, than seeking the honour which is from above. He pleaded what he could for it, and the Lord gave me suitable and scriptural answers, which in the spirit of meekness I returned upon him and his party, and laid open some of their unscriptural and unwarrantable practices; and feeling the Lord's power and counsel with me, I had dominion given me to vindicate the Truth, to the confounding the opposers. After a short time,

Jonathan Clapham, and another priest—one Purt—withdrew, but the third staid until the meeting was over; for after the contest with the other two priests was ended, I had a very good and blessed opportunity to declare the Truth, and open divers matters of weight, as the Lord was pleased to open them to me, and enlarge my spirit to demonstrate them, inasmuch that at the same meeting, most of John Lawrence's family, with several others, were convinced and persuaded of the way of Truth. The Lord gave me great comfort and encouragement, by his divine assistance in his work and service that day; and Friends present were greatly satisfied: and the priests' contempt of me his poor servant and weak instrument, turned to the contempt and disgrace of themselves; so that I had then, and have often had cause to ascribe the glory and praise to the Lord our God, and to declare that, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger;" though at these things the chief priests be sore displeased.

John Lawrence received the Truth, and me and others of the Lord's messengers in great love and tenderness, and gave up freely in obedience thereunto. When he knew a beginning in the Spirit, he turned not back, but persevered, and bore a faithful testimony in suffering for the truth, both in his person and goods. He and his family turning to truth and Friends, was a means to draw many after them, from the mercenary priests, to Christ, his light and free ministry, that they might know him to be their minister, their High priest, their Shepherd, and the bishop of their souls.

Near that time, in the ninth and tenth months, 1654, I had divers meetings in and near Wymondham, and in Norwich. The Lord was with me, and helped me to publish his name and truth; to preach the everlasting gospel, and to turn many from darkness to the light, and from the power of sin and satan, unto God and his power; that people might not continue in empty forms and shadows, but come to the life and substance of true religion, and to the power of godliness, and to know Christ to be their teacher and leader, whose voice his sheep hear, and will not follow the voice of a stranger. Many in those parts were convinced of the truth of these things, and turned to the light of Christ in them. Let the work of the Lord praise him, which began in those days, and has prospered since in that country, both in the offspring of many who then at first received the love of the truth, and in many others, whom the Lord hath blessed in their obedience and willingness

to serve him; being come unto the dawning of the day of Christ's power, wherein his people are a willing people.

The first opposition I met with at a meeting in the city of Norwich, was at Thomas Symonds' house, by an Antinomian preacher, who pleaded for sin to continue, even in the best of saints, through life, from Paul's warfare, &c., Rom. vii.; and that though they still continue sinners, they are not under the law, but under grace, and reckoned righteous in Christ. Much such sin pleasing doctrine we met with from professors in those days, whom in the name of the Lord we withstood, as I did the said Antinomian; and by the Lord's help, stood over him and his perverse gainsayings, to his confusion. I saw those Antinomians were very dark and corrupt in doctrine, contrary to Christ's work, which is to destroy sin, and to save his people from sin and transgression.

At that meeting there were some persons deemed Ranters, allowing corrupt liberty. One of the chief of them seemed to own what I said against the Antinomian; I had then given me a sense that he was of a corrupt spirit, and told him, I denied his spirit also, as I did the opposer's, for I felt a zeal from the Lord against them both. The Lord's power was over all, in whose service he encouraged me from one meeting to another, insomuch that I was sure the Lord stood by me, and strengthened my spirit in his work and service; and the more I travelled and laboured therein, the more my strength in him increased; for which my soul did often praise his glorious name, and sing praises to him even in solitary places.

A little time after I had another meeting at Thomas Symonds' house in Norwich, on a first-day of the week, and a company of those persons came who were in the spirit of ranterism; also the same person who seemed to take my part against the Antinomian opposer. The power and dread of the Lord God, fell so weightily upon me to bear testimony against sin and wickedness, root and branch—against the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, the pride of life, and the love of the world, that the powerful word of the Lord pierced through the meeting, and so wonderfully struck down the spirits of those ranters, and other loose spirits, that they came to me that evening like men greatly wounded and brought down from their high floating notions of ranterism, so that they questioned their salvation, which before they thought themselves secure of, as if their mountain could never be removed; yet now they were under doubts and fears, and such questioning as, Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?

In compassion to their poor souls, I earn-

estly exhorted them to bear the judgment of the Lord, and his indignation, because they had greatly sinned against him, that they might find mercy from him through true humiliation and repentance; with more such like necessary counsel and warning, as the Lord by his light then showed me was most suitable to their conditions. I never was acquainted with that sort of people before those in Norwich; the most of them were convinced of the truth, and divers of them became reformed in their lives and conversations; though some turned back into their corrupt carnal liberty, through carelessness, and want of watchfulness, not keeping in the fear of God.

We have seen in our day, that where the deadly wound in the beast, or beastly nature, hath been healed, in those who have not gone forward through mortification, nor patiently waited to see judgment brought forth into victory, they have miscarried, and turned from the grace of God into lasciviousness, or to embrace the world, and thereby to sell the truth, and themselves too, even their poor souls, for their own iniquities. "Behold, for your iniquities have you sold yourselves."

Some time after the aforementioned meeting at John Lawrence's, I went to visit him and his family and relations that were with them. His wife, and her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bedwell, and others of the family being convinced, were truly loving to Friends, as were their children. They were glad of the good service I had at that meeting, where the three priests were so greatly disappointed of their designed conquest and so much confounded. Elizabeth Bedwell told me, that the wife of the priest of the town and she having discourse before the meeting, and expecting some dispute between the priests and the Quaker, the priest's wife asked her, saying "Mrs. Bedwell, which side will you be for?" Elizabeth pleasantly answered her, "I'll be for the strongest side." After the meeting was over, the priest's wife told Elizabeth, "Now Mrs. Bedwell, I know you'll be of the Quaker's side, or for the Quakers, for you said you would be for the strongest side."

John Lawrence would often tell of that meeting with great pleasure, remembering the service thereof to the truth, and the disappointment the three priests met with, and how poorly they came off.

Elizabeth Bedwell, who would be for the strongest side, continued a faithful, innocent, loving Friend in the truth, and an example of humility until death; and her husband a loving man, and friend to truth and Friends, especially in his latter years. It is worthy to be remembered, that both John Lawrence's own mother, and his wife's mo-

ther, who were very ancient women, came to be convinced, and received the truth in those times, and continued Friends in their old age to the last.

Also Joseph Lawrence, who was brother to John Lawrence, and his wife, received the truth and Friends in true love, and became very serviceable. Joseph suffered considerably for the truth, by imprisonments before he died. His wife lived not many years after she received the truth, but in her day was a very virtuous, sober, ingenuous, and loving Friend; and by her sober life and good example, left a sweet savour behind her.

Our ancient and faithful friend, William Barber, of Gissing, in the county of Norfolk, and his wife, early received the truth and Friends in great love and tenderness, in 1654. I first met him at Diss, in Norfolk, and declared the truth to him and some others present, and opened something of the mystery of Christ, and of the ministry and work of his spirit within, and also of the enemy's contrary work in man, as the Lord was pleased to open and enable me. William was very tenderly affected, and broken into tears, and his spirit humbled, though he had been a great man and captain in the army; truth was near him, and I felt him near it, and my heart was open and tender toward him, in the love of Christ.

It was some time after before I saw his wife; she was an honest, sober woman, received the truth and Friends in great love and tenderness; and continued a faithful, innocent and loving Friend until her dying day. I observed the Lord endued her with much patience, considering the great and long suffering her husband endured by imprisonment in Norwich Castle, for the space of twenty years, or more, chiefly for non-payment of tithes to an old priest of the parish, who appeared implacably malicious in his prosecution, or rather persecution and revenge. William Barber bore a faithful testimony through patience and long suffering; I know of none who suffered like him in those parts, though many Friends thereabouts have suffered deeply on the same account, and the Lord supported them therein.

After I had laboured and travelled some weeks in that county, in the work of the Lord and his gospel, in the winter of 1654, a weighty concern came upon me to travel into the county of Suffolk, and first into some part of High Suffolk. As we went, Robert Constable, the Friend who went with me, procured an evening meeting at a town called Buddsale, where the people were pretty civil and quiet. The next day we went to Mendlesham in Suffolk, to Robert Duncan's, of whom I had a good account before, and of his being desirous of some Friends to visit them in those

parts; for a meeting of an honest minded people had been some time kept at his house, dissenting from the parish priests and their worship; and yet they had several preachers, or such as esteemed themselves spiritually gifted, in some degree, to preach and pray among them.

When I came to Robert's house, he kindly received me; next day being the first-day of the week, was their meeting at his house, into which I went, and sat in silence for some space, waiting upon the Lord in his holy fear, to see and feel what he would please by his power to open unto me to declare to the people there met, waiting to hear what should be delivered unto them. Some of their teachers seemed a little uneasy with our being silent so long as we then were; whereupon Robert Duncan spake a few words to this purpose, that peradventure they had been too much in words, or depending on men's teaching; and therefore God now might see it meet to bring them into silence, that they might come more to depend upon him for teaching.

Some of their preachers were for putting forward one or other of them to prayer; I let them alone, and patiently bore them in their voluntary devotion. After a little respite, the Lord opened and made way for me to preach the truth unto them, to turn their minds to the true light, that they might know the immortal seed and birth, which is from above, unto which God's everlasting love is; and that seed and birth which he hates, subdued, crucified and slain. It was to the inward work of his Spirit, and to the knowledge of Christ in spirit, and that they might know God's teaching by his Spirit, that I truly desired they might all come.

I was among them really in much humility, meekness and poverty of spirit, wherein the Lord was with me, and by his invisible power helped me, for his own name's sake, yea, and his seed's sake; which I felt among that people. The Lord had a tender seed and people among them, towards whom my soul was truly affected, in the love and bowels of Christ Jesus my Lord and leader, who went before me in his gospel work and service; to him be the glory thereof forever.

The meeting was kept and ended in much sobriety and seriousness, and no opposition made therein to what the Lord gave me to declare among them; they being for the most part well inclined, and convinced of the truth then testified unto. And the meeting remained, and was held in that place, being so well satisfied with the truth and dispensation of the spirit, as professed and owned among the people called Quakers, that the friends thereof were content to wait upon the Lord together

in silence, to know and receive life, power and teaching also from him. And the Lord for many years prospered them, although when that meeting was reduced to know a state of silence, some of their former preachers left it for a time; yet afterward returned, especially one that was most noted, namely Edward Plumsted, senior, who not only came to be a loving Friend in our Society, as his wife and family were, but also a preacher of the truth among Friends, some years before he died.

After my first going to Robert Duncan's, his wife, who was a weakly woman in body, and kept her chamber, as she had done for some time, was convinced, and received the truth, and me also in much love and tenderness. By the Lord's power she was restored to her health and strength, so that she could walk many miles on foot, and continued an innocent, loving and faithful Friend until death.

Robert himself was greatly instrumental in the hand of the Lord in his day, in the support and encouragement of that meeting at his house, as well as by his great love to Friends, in receiving and entertaining them frequently. He was such an overseer as was truly given to hospitality, and the Lord blessed him both inwardly and outwardly.

After that meeting I was again concerned in spirit to return to Norwich and that way, where I had before some effectual service in and for the blessed truth, among the Friends convinced thereof, and other well inclined people; also to visit my beloved friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, as often as I could, he being still detained prisoner in Norwich Castle, where he had but a poor hole to lodge in, upon the end of a cross wall; which being a little old stone arched hole or room, it broke, and fell down not many years after. It was the Lord's mercy it fell not while Richard Hubberthorn was in it. My dear friend, Thomas Symonds, brother-in-law to Robert Duncan, who had a great love to him and desire for his good, was at the meeting at his brother Robert Duncan's house, and I returned with him to Norwich.

A few days after, it being near the end of the tenth month, 1654, there was a lecture at that called Peter's church in Norwich, and I believed the Lord required me to go thither, to bear such testimony as he would please to give me, being endued with a holy zeal against iniquity, and the pride and covetousness even of the high priests in those days, as well as with compassion to the ignorance and blindness of the people misled by them.

When the priest, one Boatman, had ended sermon, I was suffered to say but very little, i. e. a few words against iniquity, &c., when

some of the priest's hearers, came violently upon me to hale me out, some pulling by one arm, and some by the other, contrariwise; some striving to hale me out at the north door, and some out at the south porch. By their violence I got some hurt and inward pain in one side of my breast, being overstrained by their pulling and haling me contrariwise; but it pleased the Lord in a few days to remove the hurt and pain I got by their hard usage. From the steeple-house I was haled to Guild-hall, before Thomas Toft, mayor, who after examination about water baptism, and some other things, committed me to the city jail.

The mayor seemed to seek occasion against me because he had none, by questioning me about water baptism; asking me, if the baptism of John was from heaven, or of men? To which I answered him, if they who now plead for water baptism could prove, or make it appear that they have commission from heaven to baptize, as John had, I would own it. But I supposed he did not intend so, but was for sprinkling infants. However, though he could get no advantage against me, he would send me to prison.

A little while before I was committed, James Lancaster, and Christopher Atkinson were committed to the same prison, though they came some time after me to Norwich; James was committed for calling people to repentance in the market at Norwich, he being an ancient faithful Friend, who preached the mighty day of the Lord, to excite people to repentance in divers places as he travelled into those parts. But Christopher Atkinson, though he was kept orderly in his conversation while James and I remained in that prison with him, yet after we were released, and he left alone, he turned loose and scandalous in his conversation, to the great reproach of our holy profession, among them who desired occasion against us, and the truth professed by us.

In the prison at Norwich, we were hardly treated by the keeper, one Hunt, who demanded for one bed for three of us, four pence a night of each; we thought it was hard measure to demand twelve pence a night of prisoners for one mean bed, for three men to be crowded together in, and that in a cold room, where another prisoner lodged in a bed to himself. Not finding freedom to gratify the jailor in his oppression and covetousness, and afraid to bring any charge upon any of our Friends, to procure us better accommodation in prison, we thought ourselves necessitated to lodge upon the bare boards on the floor, in our wearing cloths and little covering besides; and thus we lodged for eight weeks together

in the cold winter, and though we endured much cold, yet were through the Lord's mercy generally preserved in health. Such hardship I might think the greater to me, having been tenderly brought up by my parents, and then so young, as but about eighteen years old that same winter. Whilst we were prisoners, our dear friend Thomas Symonds was sent to prison to us, only for asking a priest a question in the steeple-house after sermon.

At the next sessions for the city, James Lancaster and I were had into court, before Charles George Cock, then judge; and the great offence he took against us, was not putting off our hats in court, which we could not for conscience sake submit to, nor do such homage to mortal man. This he seemed somewhat highly to resent, as a contempt to the court and to authority, pleading for respect to superiors, as the duty of servants to masters. I signified that servants ought to perform their duties, and to serve their own masters, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart; whereas putting off the hat, and bowing to men, and thereby respecting their persons, is but an eye-service, and men pleasing, and no real service or duty to superiors or government; neither do we know any law broken by wearing our hats, any more than by wearing the rest of our garments, nor do we thereby intend any contempt against authority. After a few words of this import, I bore the judge's threatening and insulting patiently, and stood still in silence.

John Bolton of London, being behind me in court, suddenly plucked off my hat, with the other Friend's, supposing thereby to pacify the judge, and prevent our further suffering, he with another Friend or two being come from London to visit us; howbeit we were remanded back to prison, our cold place of confinement. Suddenly after, on the same day, our friend John Bolton was sorely troubled in his conscience for plucking off our hats, and could not rest quiet in himself until he returned into court again, and made open confession against himself, condemning what he had done in taking off our hats. Upon which, as it was related to me, the judge signified, he thought what John had done, would not hold with the Quakers' principle. Note, the greater injury then it was in him, to urge or impose that practice on us, when he was sensible it was contrary to our principle, and consequently against our consciences.

John Bolton was sincere and conscientious in his public acknowledgment against himself, for what he so suddenly did to pacify the judge; though John had not been long a pro-

fessed Quaker; yet he continued zealous for truth unto his end.

It may be observed, that the judge of the said court of sessions in Norwich, was tenderly cautioned beforehand by letter from us who were prisoners, against that very course which he took against us in session.

As he was esteemed one expert in the law, he might know the law was made against transgressors, and for the encouragement of them that do well; that it was not made to ensnare any man, nor call him an offender for words, or for declaring the mind of the Lord as revealed in obedience to him, either in cities, or other places. And they that revile and persecute his servants for the same, are transgressors of the law of God, which is righteous and equal, and which we desire may be established and practised. Such magistrates as act accordingly in righteousness, are by us honoured and obeyed, though not as the world doth, only to the eye or outward appearance, but in deed and in truth, as in the sight of God.

For our parts, we are cast into bonds by the will of man, without the manifest breach of any law laid to our charge. Such magistrates as pretend justice and the law to be their rule, and act contrary, the Lord never ordained to execute his law; but such as are just in what he called them unto.

Seeing we were in bonds without the breach of any just law laid to our charge, we requested we might be brought before the said judge in court, with our accusers face to face, that we might see what they had to charge against us.

And further in the said letter it is said, we are accused for contemning magistrates. This accusation is utterly denied as a falsehood; for magistrates, who do justly according to the law of God, we own and honour as his ministers; but such as will not do justice, unless they may have the bending of the knee, or the hat put off, which are not given them of God to require, nor is it a contempt of magistracy to refuse them, unless the law of God required the same; but we know not of any such.

I have abstracted the substance of the letter, only these words to the judge or recorder of Norwich, are near the conclusion thereof, viz.

"Thus, Friend, as thou art a judge of the law, mind the Lord in thy place, that thou may exercise judgment between man and man in righteousness."

We could have wished this letter might have taken some effect on the judge, but the Lord required us to clear our consciences therein, to whom we committed our cause, as

believing it was our place to give such timely warning; however, James Lancaster and I were discharged at the said sessions by the judge, yet for some time after detained in prison by Hunt the jailor, pretending he had laid actions upon us for what he claimed as a debt owing for lodging; upon which we were detained, under the same hardships in the cold winter, in all eight weeks or above, until the jailor died. And then we were freed out of prison, so that the Lord delivered us by removing our unmerciful oppressor.

An answer to a Proclamation which came forth soon after our commitment to prison in Norwich, whereby our then persecutors were the more lifted up against us. The title of the said answer was, viz: The Truth proclaimed, and the Innocent cleared from false informations. The preamble being since added thereto.

Many false informations being then gathered up in several parts of the nation, against a harmless, innocent people, by scorners termed Quakers, and they then persecuted by false accusations and slanders, designed to bring them under great suffering, which many of us underwent in those days, notwithstanding the fair pretensions and promises of liberty of conscience, made by some of the chief persons in that government, pretending to be for a commonwealth, as partly appears in the said proclamation, gave us occasion to write in behalf of the said people, as being clear and innocent in the presence of the Lord, and before all men, from those aspersions then cast upon them. But surely, those severe persecutions and imprisonments which were even under that government, contradicted those fair pretensions and promises of liberty of conscience; and as contradictory and injurious, and tending to persecution was it, for any in that government to join the Quakers with the Ranters, and that upon information too, as appeared in the said proclamation; some whereof, with the substance of our answer, are recited as followeth, viz:

"That a free and uninterrupted liberty is granted to every man to exercise and practice the grace dispensed to him from God; and that every one by the powers is to be protected in their just liberty, to dispense according to the measure of light and knowledge they have received from God, without interruption; and to have all just and due encouragement and protection therein; this liberty and mercy being purchased by the price of much blood. And therefore freedom and liberty to all persons in this commonwealth fearing God, is to be protected, answerable to the mercies receiv-

ed, being delivered and set free from the outward enemies of this commonwealth.

"And the things proclaimed against, are, viz.

"Imposing upon the consciences of their brethren, offering violence to their persons, or any otherwise seeking to hinder their liberty therein; and to be kept within the bounds of the royal law of love. But they who openly and avowedly, by rude and unchristian practices, disturb both public and private Christian meetings, in their religious exercises in the worship of God, whereby the liberty of the gospel, the profession of religion, and the name of God is much dishonoured and abused. And many informations being given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters, and such practices are disliked in all, and proclaimed against, which be contrary to the just liberty and freedom which the people of this commonwealth are to be protected in, &c.

"Answer 1. The power which from God immediately is received, brings into the true liberty and freedom as pertaining to conscience; and the pure law of God, which came from the same power, takes hold upon that which oppresseth the good seed and conscience also.

"2. Laws made in the will of man, and man by his own power and will ruling, do keep in bondage.

"3. And though liberty of conscience and liberty of godliness, have been long pretended and promised, yet the same is not yet performed nor fulfilled to those who have been free to lay down their lives, i. e. for this liberty of conscience promised and professed. Now when the Lord enlightened us by his true light, and brought us to walk with a pure conscience toward God and man, we find more tyranny, cruelty, and plotting mischief against us, than ever those accounted enemies of the commonwealth invented to take away our lives; though no man can lay any evil to our charge, done or acted, or law broken by us.

"4. But for declaring the truth freely, as it is made manifest in us, from the Lord, against all deceit and unrighteousness of men, we are shut up and kept close in holes and prisons, among thieves and murderers. This is the reward and liberty we receive from the world, for declaring to them in love to their souls, the eternal truth of God who hath called us, whom we cannot deny for the world's advantage.

"5. For witnessing forth in life and power that, which protection is promised to, many now suffer in England, and have not their just liberty in the exercise of godliness, though

not found guilty of any of those unchristian practices proclaimed against.

"6. The people called Quakers do not impose upon the consciences of their brethren, or any others, any thing which may embondage their just liberty or freedom in the things of God, but do desire that liberty; that all bondage and ties may be taken off the consciences of all people in matters of the worship of God; and for the purchasing of this liberty, do we suffer bonds and imprisonments, beatings, stonings, stocking, and other cruel usage, from those who profess themselves Christians, magistrates and rulers in this commonwealth, as it is termed: and these things we suffer without resistance, waiting for that liberty from the Lord to be freed from their bonds, who impose upon us things contrary to the light of Christ in the conscience.

"7. As to offering violence to any man's person, that is far from us, for Cain's nature in us is crucified, from which all murder, enmity and violence proceed, and from that we are clear before the Lord; our consciences also bearing us witness, how free we are from doing any violence to any man's person; but by violence we suffer imprisonment, without the breach of any law proved against us; so that the liberty proclaimed, is denied us by our persecutors.

"8. The royal law of love we sincerely own, and its bounds we do not pass; and we do love our enemies, who despitefully use us; and this against them shall bear witness, when in the sight of God we shall be cleared and justified, from all slanderous and lying informations formed against us, and from all bitterness of spirit, rude and unchristian practices, as biting and devouring one another, hateful and hating one another; all such practices we testify against, from the spirit of the living God. And to the light of Christ Jesus in men's consciences are we made manifest, desiring that their minds by it may be guided up unto God, out of all malice, envy, deceit, debate, malignity, whisperings, backbitings; and from all false informations and slanders, which wicked and ungodly men cast upon us.

"9. They who are in the pure power of God, in whom the life of God is made manifest, though by the scorers of the world called Quakers, are no fighters nor strikers, nor revilers, nor scorers, nor truce breakers, nor incontinent, nor despisers of those that are good; neither biting, nor devouring, nor coveting, nor oppressing; and all fraud and guile are put far from them, who in the measure of the eternal Spirit do walk up in obedience to what they have received from God; and such are no drunkards, nor swearers, nor

liars, nor whoremongers, nor idolaters, which must never inherit the kingdom of God: but the day of redemption in Christ Jesus we do witness, and the eternal judgment, through which the defiled nature cannot pass, but must be purged and washed from that which defiled; as many others are defiled whose minds are turned from the pure light of Christ in the conscience, and are not come to witness the pure judgment set up in the earth, through which redemption is witnessed by the righteous seed and generation.

"10. And as touching the many informations said to be given forth of such practices, by those under the names of Quakers and Ranters; i. e. of rude and unchristian practices which are disliked,

"We answer, We do utterly deny the principles and practices of Ranters; who from the light of Christ, which is pure in the conscience, are turned into the liberty of the flesh, and into all uncleanness, having their wills at liberty to act uncleanness, and to practice those things to which the plagues of God are due. The vials of the wrath of God are to be poured out upon that filthy nature in which they live, who have crucified the just in them,—and with the unclean nature which rules in them, have we no unity nor fellowship: for our unity and fellowship is with them, who in the light of Christ do walk, and keep out of uncleanness and corrupt lusts. For neither with the priests of the world, who keep people ever learning, led about with divers lusts, nor with the Ranters, who take liberty to fulfil their ungodly lusts, have we unity; but are clear and free from all such; and separated by the eternal Spirit from them who turn the grace of God into wantonness. But with such our unity is, who dwell in the pure power and dread of the living God, and in his presence; where no flesh can glory, nor uncleanness stand, but is judged and condemned by the light, which doth justify the righteous, and condemns the wicked world.

"This our answer and serious testimony considered, how unjust and injurious was it to rank the Quakers with the Ranters, and that in things scandalous and irreligious, and that upon informations too! Where was any justice or equity, or judicial proceedings, thus to compare an innocent people with the scandalous, and thus to reproach or criminate them upon informations and evil reports. O justice! O equity! O moderation! O Christian liberty! Where were you all in those days?

"And, O commonwealth! how common, how universal wast thou! What common weal, or what common welfare—what common good didst thou afford us, thy peaceable, innocent subjects, and free born English peo-

ple, when under thy power and government, we were not allowed to breathe the common air?"

Now I proceed with the recital of our answer aforesaid.

"11. How contrary to this liberty and protection universally promised and proclaimed, our (viz: six persons,) unjust imprisonment in the castle and city of Norwich is, may plainly appear to all persons of understanding, we being by the eternal Spirit of the living God, called from our earthly habitations, freely to declare and make manifest the eternal Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, as made manifest in us by the eternal Spirit, coveting no man's silver nor gold; but freely declaring what we have freely received from God, in love to the souls of all people, that they might also be partakers with us of the powerful truth of God, that their souls might live in it and know the pure God, whom all the world in their first state are ignorant of and enemies to.

"12. One of us, viz: Richard Hubberton, in the Lord's work and service, being moved of him to go to one place where a people were met together; and when their public exercise was ended, did speak among them what the Lord had made manifest unto him. And the people being willing to hear the truth, some were convinced, and brought to know that which they had been ignorant of.

"13. But one called a justice being there, whose envy appeared against the truth, sent our friend Richard Hubberton to prison, because he would not promise him not to come there any more; and so from that time hath he been kept in prison twenty weeks, that was until the date hereof, and detained prisoner a considerable time after, contrary to law, and to the liberty and protection promised and proclaimed.

"Another, a Friend of ours, who came to the city of Norwich, and upon the first-day of the week, being with some Friends met together to wait upon the Lord; as they were quietly together in his worship and service, in came the mayor of the city, and a rude multitude with him, and fell into dispute and contention with the Friend, disturbing their peaceable meeting; and when he could find no advantage against him, went his way. But the next morning he sent a man to desire the said Friend to come to him under pretence of love; yet when he came before him and other magistrates of the city, he committed him to prison; without showing any law broken by the said meeting or Friend; for it was not the quiet meeting, but the disturbers thereof that broke the law and the peace.

"Two other Friends being moved of the Lord to declare in the street against the wickedness and ungodliness among the people, and exhorting them to repent, for that cause they were by the mayor sent to prison.

"Another, i. e. George Whitehead, having a concern upon his spirit, on a lecture day, to go to that place improperly called St. Peter's church, in Norwich, and when their public worship or exercise was ended, beginning to speak among the people what the Lord had made manifest unto him, was not suffered, but violently haled out, and by the mayor sent to prison.

"And another Friend, who is a citizen in Norwich, coming into a public place termed the church, upon a lecture day, when public exercise was ended, and asking the priest a question concerning what he had been declaring amongst them, he was violently pulled out; and because he had not freedom to put off his hat in the time of the priest's prayer, was by the mayor committed to prison until the next sessions, and from that sessions he was bound over to the next.

"Thus people may see what liberty those that fear the Lord have, under this professed commonwealth, when such who for tenderness of conscience toward God, cannot respect persons, nor bow to the proud will of man, are imprisoned, and some indicted, because at the illegal command of proud men they cannot put off their hats, though otherwise they walk in all good conversation toward God and man.

"Now it is manifest that the said people called Quakers, and we the sufferers, are not justly charged with those crimes or offences; but the informers are guilty of great injustice and injury against the innocent, who are clear in the presence of the living God, and by his Spirit. So that shame and confusion of face may fall upon our adversaries and persecutors, who cannot clear themselves from being guilty of the blood of the innocent. To the light in their consciences we speak; that is, we appeal against them, who are found enemies to the truth, and fighters against God.

"Given forth for the clearing and informing of all simple and tender hearts, in the pure truth of God, that they stumble not because of reproaches, which do always accompany the truth wherever it is made manifest, to the torment of its persecutors, who speak all manner of evil against us falsely, for the truth's sake; but this is our rejoicing, even the testimony of a good conscience, which all our persecutors cannot cause, or force us to deny. But all their tyranny or cruelty against us, and Him that sent us, for whose name's

sake we suffer, doth add to our crown of rejoicing, being made partakers of his sufferings, who suffered the contradiction of sinners; the same Christ as ever was, is now witnessed in suffering and in joy, of whom we are witnesses, who are now sufferers for the testimony of Jesus:

RICHARD HUBBERTHORN,
GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
JAMES LANCASTER, &c.

Prisoners of the Lord in Norwich.

"From the castle and jail of Norwich, the }
24th day of the Twelfth month, 1654." }

Besides our hard usage, and the severity of our confinement, to add affliction to our bonds, one Sampson Townsend, by trade a weaver, who had taken upon him the habit and place of a priest in Austin's parish in Norwich, to make himself famous, published a pamphlet to defame us, after we were committed to prison, as being in Norwich jail for errors and miscarriages, as deniers of the Word of God, and the Scriptures, &c., for which his envy and falsehood were publicly detected. And as he appeared malicious and of a persecuting spirit, endeavouring to incense the magistrates and people against us, by defaming and reproaching us, thereby making himself infamous; so he appeared as ignorant and shallow in disputing against us, at sundry meetings afterward, both in Norwich at Joseph Whitlock's, and at Repham in Norfolk, where I detected and laid him open, about his pleading for sprinkling infants as Christ's baptism. After Townsend removed to Repham, I having a meeting in that town, he came to oppose me, but made little work of it; for he was manifestly confounded, not acknowledging the Word to be before the Scriptures, but asserting them to be the only Word of God, or the only Word, which was his old objection against us when in Norwich prison, for our testimony to Christ being the Word, which was in the beginning. At that meeting I told him, the word of the Lord came to the prophet, saying, &c., and these are the words of Jeremiah to whom the word of the Lord came. By these, the word which came to the prophets, and the sayings or words that came from the Word, are distinguished. For to say the word of the Lord that came to the prophet saying, is not all one as to say the Scriptures came to the prophet saying, or that the Scriptures came so often unto him, and uttered those speeches, sayings and prophecies, which the living Word did, and which were not written in the Scriptures before the Word said them to the prophet. The holy Scriptures or Writings, are or contain the sayings or words of the eternal Word, that is, of God

and Christ, as given and revealed unto his servants, his prophets and ministers; holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. What John was commanded to write, were the true sayings of God. But of Christ he saith, his name is called the Word of God. And I think it is not slighting, much less contempt of holy Scriptures, to own them either as the words or true sayings of God, without giving them the same name or title, which more properly belongs to Christ or God.

After our discourse at the said meeting at Repham, as I was riding out of the town, the word of the Lord came upon me, to warn the people in the street to repentance, who for no other cause evilly entreated me, by stoning me in a furious manner; insomuch that I could scarcely get my horse to stand, or abide the place where I declared the truth to them, until they became more calm and quiet. I cleared my conscience to the people; for the Lord stood by me, and so preserved and defended me by his power and merciful providence, that I got very little harm by all their stoning me; but thereby they showed what fruit their minister, my opposer, had brought forth by his busy envious opposition against us.

And now to return to my narrative, when James Lancaster and myself were freed out of Norwich prison, which was in the first month called March, 1654-5, the jailor being removed by death, and his wife more tender than he was: I believed the special hand of the Lord was in our deliverance, and I was very thankful to him that we were so well freed, but we left Charles Atkinson still there. In a short time after I was released, I went to see two prisoners there, whereupon I was apprehended, and had before Thomas Toft, mayor, and again committed, and there detained about three weeks, without any proof, or colour of transgression, or law against me, but only the arbitrary will and prejudice of the mayor. However, the Lord did not suffer him or them then to detain me long, having other work for me to do for his name and truth sake.

The reason of Charles Atkinson's remaining in prison after the rest, was partly an action, or an attachment laid upon him by an attorney, for speaking some rash or hard words to him, which he supposed were actionable; also the priest who then used to preach to the prisoners, took occasion to complain against him, if not to lay another action upon him, for some words spoken, whereby the priest was affronted. However, Charles Atkinson was not altogether so prudent or gentle in his conduct as he ought to have been; and that was not all, but worse befel him after he was

left alone in prison; for though he got more liberty, and better accommodation than we had in prison when together, yet he falling into too much familiarity and conversation with some inclining to a spirit of ranterism, he grew loose, and waxed wanton against Christ, his light and truth. And at a certain time having a little liberty granted him out of prison, Richard Clayton and I met him at a Friend's house in the country, and perceiving he had got into too much lightness and liberty, we met with him alone in the field, and seriously admonished and cautioned him, which he could scarcely bear, without appearing offended and in passion. I was jealous what might befall him, or become of him, insomuch that a stop came upon me secretly, that I had scarcely freedom afterward to visit him in prison. He had been overmuch affected by some weak, indiscreet persons, and set up above his place, to his hurt, and some young men have been hurt thereby.

After some time his iniquity broke out, which my dear brother Richard Hubberthorn gave me notice of, I being about that time in High Suffolk and other places, labouring in the work of the Lord. And when R. Hubberthorn and Thomas Symonds went to Charles Atkinson's, he told them there was no redemption for him. Thus he was tempted to despair, by the enemy that had prevailed over him, yet he gave out a severe testimony in condemnation against himself. When I heard of his foul miscarriage, it brought deep sorrow upon me, even to solitary mourning and tears, for truth sake, and our poor innocent Friends, who had lately received the truth, being sensible that both would greatly suffer, and be reproached thereby. However, the Lord relieved me after a little while, and laid it the more upon me to labour and travel about in those parts, to strengthen the weak, to help and comfort the feeble, to vindicate the blessed truth and way thereof, and to exalt and set the same over the head of all deceit and wickedness, and backsliders, and such as turn into the pollutions of the world, well knowing and reminding Friends and others, that the truth is the same, and never changes, and ought not to be blamed; but such who turn their backs on it are condemnable, and judgment follows them. The Lord stood by me in that service, and by his power helped and strengthened me, to strengthen and help many others; so that the scandal took the less effect to do hurt or mischief in those parts; glory and dominion to our God, and the Lamb forever and ever.

After my release out of prison the second time, I travelled in Norfolk and Suffolk to Ingworth, Lammas and those parts, as well as Windham, Wramplingham, New Bucknam,

Gissing, Dysse and Sylam. And my dear friend and brother Richard Clayton was with me at some meetings in Norfolk, on that side of the country near Aylesham and Lammas, where there was an honest minded people inquiring after the Lord and his living truth, whose hearts he had prepared to receive the love of the truth. And I well remember in what manner the Lord opened my heart, and enlarged me in the gospel testimony toward those people; it was much in testimony to the universal love and grace of God, the light of Christ in every man, to turn their minds to it, therein to wait to know God's teachings, and to come into the new covenant dispensation, where all the Lord's people are taught of him, and know him, from the least unto the greatest, and witness his law written in their hearts, and his spirit in their inward parts, according to his blessed promises, and this his new and everlasting covenant, as prophesied of by the holy evangelical prophets.

In this new covenant, not only the house of Israel and Judah may have a share, and be partakers of Christ, but all truly believing Gentiles also, to whom Christ is given for a light and for a covenant, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; for God is not only the God of the Jews, but of the Gentiles also; and they are the true Jews and Israel who are spiritually such; Jews inward, by the spiritual circumcision of the heart unto the Lord by his holy Spirit.

And in order to come under this new covenant dispensation and ministry, therein to know and experience Christ to be their minister, their teacher, their high priest and prophet, the people aforementioned, were persuaded to cease from man, and from all their ministers and priests, made by the will of man; and mercenary ministers, who preached for filthy lucre and gain, making a trade of the holy Scriptures, adding their own divinations, meanings and notions thereto, having no divine revelation, or commission given them to preach, much less to make a trade of the words and testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, or his apostles; but walking contrary to their steps and practices, in pride and covetousness.

The Lord often laid a pressure upon me, and others of his servants, to testify against the pride and covetousness of the priests, and their preaching for hire, for tithes, and forced maintenance, contrary to Christ's command, and his ministers' example. For this cause they were the more envious against us, and in their pulpits exclaimed and made a great noise, to incense the people and magistrates against the Quakers, so called, even to severe persecution and imprisonments. And the

greater necessity was laid upon me, and others of the Lord's servants, to testify against those proud, covetous and envious priests, sometimes even in their public places, improperly called churches, to undeceive the people, that they might not still be led captive, nor incensed against truth by them.

It is still a matter to me very memorable, that by preaching livingly, the light, the new covenant, the word nigh to people in their hearts, yea, the gospel of the free grace and love of God in Christ to mankind, many were really and effectually convinced and persuaded of the blessed everliving truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, both in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, where the Lord led me early to travel, and helped and prospered me in his service; blessed and praised be his name forever.

When I was at Mendlesham meeting, at Robert Duncan's, A. D. 1655,—George Fox the younger, a Suffolk man, was effectually convinced, and received the truth, being then lately come out of the Parliament's army in Scotland.

One remarkable passage I may not omit; John Lawrence having been a member of an Independent congregation, or church in Norwich, and because he left them, and received us and our friends, their pastor, one Timothy Armitage and their elders, called him in question, and were minded to excommunicate him. The same year 1655, about spring time, he was summoned to their meeting in Norwich, at their parish church, called George's of Tombland; I went with him thither, and Edmund Bedwell, his brother-in-law, who had not then left off his sword or falchion, which I blamed him for, thinking they would take occasion against him and us for it, as some of them did afterward. There was a great concourse of people, men and women met together, with their pastor and elders, and they repeated their allegations against John Lawrence, to this purpose: his forsaking their communion, entertaining strangers, or dangerous persons, or holding dangerous doctrines. I could not perceive any fact or error they could prove against him.

And in giving his reasons why he left their church, whereof he had been a member, he answered according to the apostle Paul's doctrine, who exhorts, to turn away from such men as have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; such as are proud, heady, high minded and covetous men, though they may have a form or profession of godliness, yet denying the power thereof, from such we are to turn away. John Lawrence gave the same for his reason, why he turned away from them; though they had a form or profession of godliness, yet they denied the power

thereof; and therefore he might justly turn away from them.

After which, in the fear and dread of the Lord, I stood up to declare a few words among them, but they quickly pulled me down, and by force held me down in the pew where we were; and some of their proud women that were near us, expressed their rage and envy against me in particular. Some of their church forcibly haled and pushed me out of the steeple-house, and exposed me to a rude multitude, who stood ready to lay violent hands on me, and they pushed and haled me away through the streets and market place of the city, sometimes throwing me down upon the stones, whereby I was bruised and hurt; though the hurt I got thereby, the Lord was pleased to remove in a short time. They followed and encompassed me, pushing me along, roaring and shouting, until I came near to the city gate, called Giles' gate, next to a little pasture ground; at the upper end of which I saw a great house, where the lady Hubbard dwelt, as I understood afterward. Upon the sight of it, I was in a great strait, and at a stand in my mind, the tumult being great about me, whether I should then go out of the city, in order to go toward Wramplingham to John Lawrence's, which I desired, or whether I should turn up toward the said great house, desiring the Lord to direct me at that instant. I considered that if I should turn out of the city into the high-way, toward Wramplingham, I might be in danger of loosing my life in the high-way or field, by that violent tumultuous company that were then about me, and it would be the less taken notice of. If I must loose my life, it would be better to die where my testimony was to be borne within the city of Norwich, and where my persecution was begun because thereof, rather than lose my life more clandestinely by the tumult without the city, or abroad in the field; for I was given up to suffer what violence the Lord might permit them to do unto me.

On due consideration, I immediately turned up to the lady Hubbard's house, the raging company continuing still about me, by whose noise and shouting, the lady's chaplain, Dr. Collins, as he was afterward termed, and most of the family, came out to see what was the matter, and why such a mob came before the house, and they saw that I was the person beset and persecuted.

The chaplain understanding what I was, undertook to discourse me, concerning the spirit which the apostles of Christ had; If I had the same spirit? I owned that in measure I partake of the same spirit, though I would not equal my degree of attainment to theirs. If I had that spirit, the chaplain would have

me prove it by some sign or miracle, as the apostles did? Or, if I could speak with tongues by a gift of the Spirit, and not by acquirement, as by human learning. I answered him, according to the apostle Paul's words in that case, speaking of the diversities of gifts, given by one and the same spirit; as I told him, all who had the spirit of Christ, had not all those gifts, as that of tongues and miracles; for to one is given the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge; to another faith; to another working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues, yet all by the same spirit, the spirit and power of Christ.

It is evident that these gifts of tongues and miracles, were not common to all who had the spirit of Christ in the primitive church, but peculiar to some, as these questions import: Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? Implying that all the ministers and members of the church were not so gifted in all these respects, though they all had one and the same spirit, from whence these gifts came. And I may have the word of wisdom, knowledge and faith, by the same spirit, and yet not the gift of tongues and miracles. It no ways follows that none have the spirit, but they who have those gifts. I then clearly saw the chaplain's way of reasoning in this case would not hold.

When he perceived how tumultuous and rude the company about me had been against me, he questioned why I did not quiet or quell them, or supposed I might, if I had the same spirit or power the apostles had? I answered him, that the apostle Paul himself desired the church of the Thessalonians to pray for him, that the Lord would deliver him out of the hands of unreasonable men, for all have not faith. He was therefore sometimes in the hands of unreasonable men, when in tumults, and the Lord delivered him out of their hands. While we discoursed, my persecutors stood silent, as in a ring, and heard us on the subjects before related; our discourse held but a little while, I suppose about half an hour.

In the mean time came a soldier or trooper, with his sword by his side, and perceiving me to be the person persecuted and watched for by that rude company, as I withdrew he came to me, and said he would go along with me, and guard me to my quarters, or lodging; and laying his hand upon his sword, commanded the mob to stand off, to make way. So I was quietly rescued, and he went with me to my dear friend, Thomas Symonds' house, in the city.

I saw it was of the Lord I was put in mind to draw toward the lady Hubbard's, when I was in such a strait in the tumult as before related, and that a stranger should be at last stirred up to rescue me out of the hands of such unreasonable men, as had beset and abused me with violence. I have often been thankful to God for his merciful providence in that deliverance.

The soldier who took such care to rescue me, afterward became a Friend, and came into society with the people called Quakers, wherein the Lord showed mercy to him; his name was Robert Turner, of Lynn, in Norfolk. I knew not that he was the man that rescued me till twenty-five years after, when I was again prisoner in Norwich castle, with many more Friends, in the year 1680.

In those days prisons and jails were made sanctuaries, and places of refuge and safety to us, from the fury of the tumultuous mob, although we met with but mean treatment and hard usage in those places of severe confinement, many times among notorious criminals; and although I suffered both in tumults and imprisonments, by hard usage in them, the Lord helped and sustained me by his divine power and goodness, so that I was not weary of his service, nor my spirit faint in suffering. The grateful remembrance of his goodness, and lively sense of his love to my soul in those days, still live and remain upon my spirit; praised be our God forever and evermore.

My dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, being somewhat longer detained prisoner at Norwich castle, than I was in the city prison, in the year 1654-5, I had not his company at meetings, which I had both in Norfolk and Suffolk, until after he was at liberty, so that for some time I wanted a suitable companion to travel with me in the work of the gospel ministry in those parts, except as before related, Richard Clayton travelled with me in some parts of Norfolk, and Thomas Bond for a short space, at a few meetings, where I laboured in the Lord's work and service.

The Lord greatly assisted me, and gave me living encouragement and comfort, when I was much alone, in his gospel ministry, and I was the more comforted, enlivened and animated in spirit by his divine power and presence, in feeling and perceiving his blessed work to prosper, and the truth of the gospel of Christ to take effect upon the hearts and spirits of many, both old and young, tendering them, opening their understandings, convincing and converting them to Christ the true light, and turning many from darkness, and the works thereof, to light, and from satan's

power to God, to know his divine power to make them his dear children and people, as many were in those early days. And how diligent were many, in going many miles to Friends' meetings, both ancient and young men and women, maidens and children. And what love, what brokenness and tenderness, would appear in meetings in those days of their first love and espousals, wherein many, as chaste virgins, were espoused unto Christ Jesus, in his light, life and spirit, and wherein many of those loving and tender Friends who were of the first fruits among us, continued and ended their days.

After Richard Hubberthorn was delivered out of Norwich castle, we had some comfortable meetings together at Sylam, at Joseph Lawrence's, near Hoxen in Suffolk; at Gissing, at William Barber's, and some other places in Norfolk, and were comforted together in the work and fellowship of the gospel of Christ Jesus; and particularly at Pulham, at William Grudfield's in Norfolk, who was an ancient, honest-hearted man, who received the truth and Friends in much love and tenderness. Also at Matthew Elmy's, at Margaret's of Ilkisson, in the Nine Parishes, not far from Beccles, in Suffolk. He and his wife and family received the love of the truth, and were very honest, loving people.

On that side the country were gathered a few Friends who were truly convinced and turned to the Lord, and to his light and spirit in their hearts; among whom was William Bennet, whom the Lord endued with his heavenly gift, so that he became a living minister of the gospel of life and salvation, being also of an innocent and holy conversation; and afterward, for his faithful testimony, was a great sufferer in Edmundsbury jail, as many other Friends were, after king Charles the second came to the crown.

Richard Hubberthorn, and I also, had a considerable public meeting at Beccles in Suffolk, without doors in an orchard, where several sorts of professing people came, and some of them opposed; others questioned our testimony, concerning the light of Christ in men, or his enlightening every man that cometh into the world. Our doctrine of the light within, was chiefly questioned and stumbled at in those times, even by many great and noted professors and teachers, as if it had been some new doctrine, though it be both as ancient and Scriptural, as any other divinity taught by the holy prophets or ministers of God or Christ.

Among the opposers and questioners of our doctrine of the light at that meeting, was Richard Townsend, who behaved himself more mildly and gently than some of the

company, seeming to be more upon the inquiry, than anywise prepossessed with prejudice. Though he stumbled about the light, yet upon our demonstrating the truth thereof, and how the light shows to man, and reproves him for sin, and would instruct him to repentance, and lead him out of sin and evil, if obeyed and followed; and that when the gospel is truly and livingly preached to men, this light in them answers and bears witness thereto—convinces them of the truth of what is preached and declared in the demonstration of the Spirit; and by this light in them, they are made capable truly to receive what is so preached and testified unto them, which otherwise they could not of themselves, by their mere natural capacities. On this wise, or to this effect, the light within, and the doctrine of the light, being argued for on our parts, the said Richard Townsend confessed, that there is an echo in men's consciences, answering to the ministry of the gospel; and this echo he somewhat insisted upon, but could not absolutely oppose the principle of light in men being spiritual.

After our meek and gentle discourse, with our Christian instructions then given him and others present, he took these things into further and deeper consideration, so that truth took such place in him, and bore that weight, that some time after he came into society with our Friends, not only to profess the truth he had questioned, but also to bear witness to it in conversation and public testimony.

In the fore part of the summer, in the year 1655, I had a very memorable meeting in High Suffolk, at Charsfield, a few miles from Woodbridge, where George Fox the younger then lived with his father, and it was the first meeting of Friends on that side of the country, and the largest that I had before in High Suffolk. I had no companion then in the ministry with me, but some Friends from Mendlesham side. To that meeting there came a very great concourse of people of divers sorts; and the Lord having prepared the hearts of many of them to seek after and receive the truth, they came with good intentions and desires.

We had the meeting in an orchard, and it began about the eleventh hour. After I had waited upon the Lord a little space for his power to arise and give me strength to stand up in testimony, the people being in great expectation to hear what might be declared, the Lord was graciously pleased by his immediate power to give me strength in his name to bear a living and faithful testimony, according to the openings and discoveries of his free spirit, and the gift received of him to preach the everlasting gospel, in the name and power of our Lord

Jesus Christ, and agreeable also to the Scriptures of truth, the testimonies of the holy prophets, Christ Jesus and his apostles, his living, divine presence being with me. I was wonderfully assisted and enlarged in my testimony for him and his blessed gospel truth, insomuch that I was enabled to stand nearly five hours that day, (as many reckoned,) preaching the truth, and opening those things which concerned the kingdom of Christ and of God, and men's everlasting salvation. Many were livingly touched in their hearts, and effectually convinced in their consciences of the truth then declared unto them, in the power and demonstration or plain evidence of the holy Spirit.

After I had declared for some time, one John Burch, a preacher among the Baptists, appeared to make some objections about their ordinances, as water baptism, and also the coming of Christ in person. And I being called to a spiritual ministry, in order to bring people out of shadows to the substance, to know Christ in spirit, and not after the flesh, nor to rest only in a literal knowledge of Christ, but that they might know him livingly and inwardly after the spirit; I gave answer to him in the spirit of meekness, for his better information, and instruction in the way of God more perfectly, than either John's baptism, outward shadows, or mere literal knowledge could bring any one to. In a little time John was silent and seemed somewhat satisfied, and after further and serious consideration, came to receive the truth in an inward sight and sense of the power thereof, so that he laid down his former preaching and profession, and became willing to wait upon the Lord among Friends in silence. After some years, he was raised up to bear testimony to the light, the spirit and power of Christ Jesus, and to be a minister thereof, in order to bring people to the knowledge of Christ, and his spiritual baptism in them. In his ministry, John Burch was very serviceable, especially in his latter days: he kept the faith, and in the faith of Christ, in love and unity ended his days in peace.

But to return to this memorable meeting; in the latter part came several noted priests, who were pastors and teachers among the Independents; Francis Woodell, and one — Habergham, with some others, and made some objections and questionings. Both the people and John Burch and company, were very attentive and observant to see what they would make against us, being wrongfully prepossessed and prejudiced against us, that we denied the holy Scriptures, Christ, his ordinances, church and ministry, &c. But in a little discourse with them, I perceived they were ignorant of our Christian principles

and doctrines: what they had against us, seemed to proceed chiefly from the false reports of our adversaries, whereby we had been rendered so anti-christian and anti-scriptural in religion and profession, that they thought they might easily run us down. Such prejudging and condemning persons before hearing or due examination, caused those opposers, and many others, to go but lamely to work against us; and the clearness of our Christian confessions and scriptural vindications, has many times daunted such, and put a damp upon their spirits when they have come upon trial face to face. So it appeared at that time with those Independent ministers, and as I have known in many disputes which I have been concerned in, with opposers and adversaries, how quickly their charges have been quashed, when they have appeared against us upon false reports, and the authorities of envious adversaries; which they who are credulous will gain no credit by, especially when they judge or condemn others upon such reports and misrepresentations. I have often observed in religious controversies, that my opponent could give me no greater advantage against him, than by making use of false reports, or the authority of malicious persons or their books; or giving way to passion, which blinds men's minds, and clouds their reason and understanding.

But those ministers, however prepossessed, carried themselves moderately towards me and our friends, and made no long stay after they were clearly and plainly answered, and their expectations of getting any advantage against us or our doctrine frustrated; but soon went quietly from our meeting, and the truth greatly gained ground that day, and many were truly convinced and their hearts turned to God, his grace and truth.

That was the first and foundation meeting which we the people called Quakers had on that side of High Suffolk, and which has been continued ever since in those parts; as after that, for a long time at Dalingoo, at Robert Mann's; at John Bennet's at Bradfield, and at William Feddeman's, and sometimes at Arthur Goddard's, all on that side the country, a few miles from Woodbridge. These were honest, loving Friends, who thus early received the blessed truth and Friends, and continued so to the end of their days, and had meetings at their houses. Some years after, the meeting was settled at Woodbridge, where it has continued many years.

A little while after, in the same year, Richard Hubberthorn met me in High Suffolk, and we had a good, large, and quiet meeting at the same place, whither came some of the ministers and other professors. Then we met with

no great opposition from them, some being more inquisitive than others; they could not tell what to make of the light within, or immortal seed in man, which we preached, or our doctrine thereof, though scriptural; yet in those days these Independent ministers were in high esteem, and divers of them parish priests.

Things then were quietly managed to the end of the meeting, and the truth still gained ground; many grew weary of the priests, and more and more left them and their formal worship and resorted to our meeting, both in that county as well as in Norfolk, and many meetings of our Friends were settled in those places.

After considerable labour and service in testimony for the truth and gospel of Christ Jesus, in Norfolk and Suffolk, in the years 1654 and 1655, besides the imprisonment in Norwich before related, my dear friend Richard Clayton and I meeting again in High Suffolk, in the fifth month 1655, travelled together into Essex to Colchester, where James Parnel, that early servant of Christ, was prisoner in the castle, he being committed but a little time before. We visited him in prison; he was given up to suffer for his faithful testimony—was comforted in our visit, and we were glad to see him so well under that confinement. We travelled forward on the road towards London, being desirous to see our brethren and friends in that city, if the Lord had permitted. We went that day from the White Elm, near Ipswich, to near Chelmsford on foot, being nigh forty miles; and in the road meeting with our dear friend and brother George Fox, and Amos Stoddard, coming from London into Essex, were very glad to see them. Our desires of going forward were in part answered for that time, and we were willing to stay with them at some meetings in Essex, which we did, as at Great Coggeshall and Lexden, near Colchester, where George Fox gave large testimony to the truth of Christ, and against the world's corruptions.

On the first-day of the week following, being the 29th day of the fifth month 1655, I had a very good meeting at South Halsted, at John Isaac's, in his barn, Richard Clayton being with me; and John Harwood, a Yorkshire man, having met us in Essex, was minded to travel a little with us. At that meeting at Halsted the Lord greatly enlarged my heart in his gospel testimony toward that people; for the hearts of many of them were well disposed and inclined toward God and his blessed truth. By his invisible power he had opened a door of entrance among them, as well as a door of utterance unto them. James Parnel had been instrumental to convince

many in those parts that summer, before his imprisonment at Colchester; and by his testimony and living ministry various professors were shaken, and at a loss in their professions and notions which they had gathered in their heads, without the experience of a true heart work by the power of Christ. For profession and talk of religion and church, did greatly abound in those days among many, as well as pride and self conceit, which the Lord was about to abase, as he manifestly did in a short time after; for those summer shows of religion would not endure a stormy winter.

I must confess to the glory of God in my own self abasement, and his bearing sway over my will and affection by his own power, wisdom and providence, I was at that time prevented from going to London to visit my brethren and friends there, according to my own desire and affection; the Lord having then more work and service as well as suffering for me to go through in the country, and particularly in the county of Suffolk, before I might obtain my desire of going to London. Having had blessed and effectual service by the special assistance of the Lord's power, in Norfolk and in High Suffolk, I must now be a sufferer in Low Suffolk, and bear my testimony for him, in a hard confinement and inhuman treatment in prison. In those days, among the exercises which befel several of us, whom the Lord so early called and sent forth to preach the gospel of repentance unto life and salvation, we were led and moved one while to run to and fro, that knowledge might increase among people, in the ways and dealings of the Lord; another while to be taken and imprisoned, strictly confined, and severely used, and many times inhumanly and barbarously treated; as the subsequent accounts may in part show; also what manner of spirit ruled and actuated some men under high professions and pretensions of religion and Christianity; and how unchristian they were in practice.

The case of those called Quakers, who were sufferers in Edmundsbury jail in Suffolk; one whereof was myself.

Upon the 30th day of the fifth month, 1655, being the second-day of the week, George Whitehead and John Harwood, with Richard Clayton, passing through a town called Bures, in Suffolk, Richard Clayton was moved to set a paper upon the steeple house door in that town, wherein was nothing contained but what was agreeable to holy Scripture. We two, being gone a little before while he set up the paper, and looking back and seeing some people about him, were moved to

speak a few words to the people, exhorting them in the name and fear of the Lord, to fear God and to return from the evil of their ways. While we were speaking, there came a constable, Richard Humm, and carried George Whitehead and John Harwood before Harbert Pelham, called a justice of peace, being then in Bures, though his office of justice was not for the county of Suffolk, but for Essex. Nevertheless he examined us, one after the other, and in the meanwhile Richard Clayton was kept from us, and not examined there; neither when he had examined us, could he lay the least breach of any law to our charge, nor show any thing contrary to the Scriptures in the paper which Richard Clayton had set upon the steeple house door. But forthwith he sent us with the constable and some others, to Thomas Waldgrave, a justice of peace at Smallbridge, near Bures, who also when we came before him, examined us in some few particulars; and when he had so done, could lay nothing to our charge to merit suffering, nor show us any law that we had transgressed, though we demanded it. He threatened, and would scarcely hear us speak for ourselves, but caused us to be turned out of his house, until he and the said Pelham had consulted together against us, as it appeared; so the same day Richard Clayton was whipped in Bures, though not severely, by command from the said Waldgrave, as was pretended, for the paper which he set upon the steeple house door, and sent out of the town the same day by a pass. Next day he sent John Harwood to Edmundsbury jail, and the day following he also sent George Whitehead to the same.

On the 2nd day of the seventh month, 1655, George Rose was also taken, and sent to the same prison the 4th day of the same month, by John Gurden, a justice of peace for the county of Suffolk. The cause of the said George Rose being taken and committed to prison, was for asking a question of one called a minister of Stoak, after he had ended his sermon and exercise.

We three who were committed to prison, were continued prisoners till the next general quarter sessions, holden at Edmundsbury, the 9th day of the eighth month following; and then were called before William Blumfield, one of their justices of the peace for the said county, who sat judge of that sessions; but no more justice than before could we have there. For John Gurden and Thomas Waldgrave being both on the bench, our adversaries and accusers informed the judge against us, and would scarcely suffer us to speak. Thomas Waldgrave threatened the jailer to fine him forty shillings, if he did not silence

us when we desired to answer an indictment which was preferred against George Whitehead and John Harwood; which indictment was groundless and false. For therein we were termed labourers of Bures, and accused of several times disturbing the magistrates and ministers, and with having been several days at Bures before we were taken prisoners. Whereas, John Harwood was never in that town or county before that day we were taken prisoners; neither did we disturb magistrate or minister, as falsely charged; neither did we speak to any magistrate or minister in that town before they took us prisoners; neither did Thomas Waldgrave bring any to prove the indictment, or any thing in it, but that we owned the paper for which he caused Richard Clayton to be whipped, which we read and owned publicly in the open sessions. So without any proof of the indictment, the jury which they had prepossessed and caused to pass upon us, brought in their pretended verdict against us,—that we were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment; both which were false, as well as without colour or proof.

A false indictment was likewise preferred against George Rose, without any appearance of proof also; wherein they accused him for a common disturber of the peace, and that he had been several times before and after at Stoak, though he was never there before the day he was taken prisoner; and so unjustly proceeded against him as they had against us, whom the jury had given their judgment against. And he that sat for judge, complied with the enmity and injustice of the rest of our adversaries there present, and imposed a fine of twenty nobles upon each of us, viz: George Whitehead, George Rose and John Harwood, for which we were detained in prison under great hardships, for above twelve months after sessions.

Upon the same day before mentioned, when John Gurden had gotten his envious design against us three, as he came out of the sessions house door, George Fox, jr. was stirred in spirit to speak a few words to him on this wise, viz: "Repent of thy unjust actings this day, for otherwise thou canst not escape the just judgments of God." For which John Gurden took hold of him, and caused him to be haled before the bench; and accusing him, said he should go to prison except he would find sureties to appear the next sessions, but showed no law transgressed by him; nevertheless he forthwith caused him to be sent to prison, where he remained with the rest of us, and partook of the same hardships in the common jail, for above twelve months after, until we were released together.

Upon the 22nd day of the ninth month, 1655, Henry Marshall, a Cambridgeshire Friend, was sent to prison by John Gurden, for speaking a few words to one called a minister, at Boxford, after he had ended his sermon, or devotion; but before he was sent to prison, John Gurden caused him to be put in the stocks, and there kept about an hour.

At the next general quarter sessions held at Edmundsbury, the 14th day of the eleventh month, George Fox and Henry Marshall, were called to be tried; where one called Justice Colthrop, for the county of Suffolk, sat as judge, who followed the same course of persecution against them, which before was taken against the three of us before mentioned; for a false indictment, according to the form of the other, was also preferred against Henry Marshall, without any proof thereof; and a fine of twenty marks was imposed upon him; for which he was kept in bonds with the rest of us. Here were three punishments laid upon a person, viz., the stocks, the prison, and the fine, for one pretended offence.

But there was no indictment brought in against George Fox, jr., neither did John Gurden, who caused him to be imprisoned, appear there, nor any witnesses come in against him; so that according to the national law, he ought to have been cleared and set free; nevertheless he was sent back again to prison, and in the calendar noted, that he must remain in jail until the next quarter sessions, except he found sureties for his appearance then and there. And though detained till that time, yet was not then called, neither set free; neither would the jailer show any order or warrant for his detention in jail, though demanded.

So arbitrary against us were these our persecutors in their proceedings, though professors both of the Christian religion and justice; pretending to act what they did against us, in the name and behalf of his highness, the Lord Protector, as they then styled him. Thus their imprisoning, straitly confining, and fining, were done in his name, and under pretence of his power. But the power of the Lord our God, sustained and supported us patiently and innocently, to bear all those persecutions and severities inflicted upon us, knowing that it was for his sake, and for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we suffered in those days, and that the cause was His, which we were engaged in, and he would plead and defend it, as he hath done; blessed be his worthy name and power for ever.

The foregoing case, as to matter of fact, was fully written and dated in Edmundsbury common jail, the 31st day of the third month,

1656, and subscribed by us who were then prisoners; therein declaring ourselves willing to seal to the truth with our blood, if required.

John Watteridge, an honest friend of ours in Edmundsbury, was sent to prison to us, from their quarter sessions held for that town, the 12th day of the second month, 1656, for refusing to swear to the office of a constable, though he refused not the office, but the oath, for conscience-sake to Christ's command, "Swear not at all;" for which he was fined forty shillings, and so committed. Thomas Smith, John Clark, with some others being his judges, the first said, he punished for swearing, and for not swearing.

John Watteridge, when sent to prison, was put in a nasty room, full of fleas, and lodged upon the floor, not in a bed. He was detained prisoner about fourteen days, by his own account; although his cloak was taken from him, at the jailer's command, for four shillings and four pence, demanded for jail fees; but no law showed for it, no more than for their robbing him of it for the same.

The paper for which Richard Clayton was whipped at Bures, runs after this manner, viz:

"If you set up such ministers as seek for their gain from their quarters, who are greedy and covetous, you set up such as the prophet Isaiah cried against, Isa. lvi. 11.

"If you set up such priests as preach for hire, and divine for money, you set up such as the prophet Micah cried against, Micah iii. 11," &c.

With other Scriptures to show the evil fruits, covetousness and corruptions of false teachers, and leaders, &c.* Which paper Thomas Waldgrave produced against us at the sessions, but could not produce or show any law broken thereby, no more than he did against me, for my giving him the title of T. Waldgrave, in my letter to him, according to his own subscription to his warrant of commitment, as is hereafter shown. A poor pretence for detaining me fifteen months in prison!

The substance of a letter which I sent to Thomas Waldgrave, after he committed me to Bury jail.

T. WALDGRAVE,

To thee who art called a justice of peace, am I moved of the Lord to write against thy unjust dealings. Before thou sent me to prison, thou told me I might stay under the constable's custody at Bures that week, till an-

* I have not the entire paper, if I had, I would have inserted it here.

other justice came home, that I might be examined before him; but instead thereof, within two days time, sent me to prison; where I and my fellow-prisoner are put among the thieves, and not allowed the privilege they have; our friends not being suffered to come in to speak to us, but are violently haled from the inner door.

And here we are confined as if not worthy to breathe in the common air; and the jailer acts in rage and tyranny against us, worse than against thieves and murderers; and to cloak, or excuse himself therein, alledgeth, that surely thou wouldst not have sent us hither, unless thou couldst have proved us transgressors; though thou couldst not charge us with the breach of any law.

Know, that although thou mayst be at ease in thy unrighteousness, and dost not lay to heart the sufferings of the innocent, who suffer by thee, yet remember that the judgments of God for this thy cruelty, slumber not.

Remember the end of the persecutors of the true prophets, Christ and his apostles; of whose sufferings and testimony against all unrighteousness, we are in measure partakers.

When we demanded of thee, to show us what law we had transgressed, thou causedst us to be haled out of doors, and consulted with him called Justice Pelham, against us; though his office is for another county. When did ever any godly magistrates punish transgressors without showing them their offence? But thou hast not convinced us of any.

In thy warrant, I am unduly charged to be a common disturber of the public peace, but no such disturbance is proved. Therefore be ashamed of thy injustice against the innocent, and of making these lies thy refuge therein against us; for know that the righteous God, who judgeth righteously, will be avenged of such unjust dealings.

We are free that all the world should know the cause of our suffering, wherein we are in innocency and peace; and that the truth which we profess and own, shall not lose by our suffering for the name of Christ; having a cloud of witnesses of the truth for which we suffer. But as thou art found in the steps of them who persecuted and imprisoned the saints, and among them that conspire and take counsel together against the Lord and his anointed, unto such the Lord will speak in his wrath, and vex with his sore displeasure. Therefore repent of thy cruelty, lest the Lord cut thee off, and give thee thy portion among the persecutors and uncircumcised.

Remember that now thou art warned, while the Lord doth not speedily execute his judg-

ments upon thee. To the light in thy conscience I appeal, which bears witness against all these practices that are contrary to it, and is the condemnation of such who live in them.

An answer to these things, and of the cause of our detainment in these unjust and cruel bonds, I do demand of thee speedily, thou having caused them to be laid upon us.

From an innocent sufferer for the Truth,
GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

Edmundsbury Jail, the 15th
of the Sixth mo., 1655.

This letter Thomas Waldgrave produced in court at the aforesaid quarter sessions, and the only exception he made against it was, my giving him the title of T. Waldgrave. I told him I followed his own subscription to his mittimus, whereby he committed me, having therein so subscribed himself, T. Waldgrave; but he concluded, it was not for me to do as he had done; whereby he proved no crime at all against me.

Copy of the mittimus. To the constables of Bures, and to the keeper of the jail of Bury.

"I have sent you herewithal the body of George Whitehead, of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland, being an idle wandering fellow, and a common disturber of the peace of this nation; requiring you, in the name of his highness the Lord Protector, &c., to receive him into your jail, and him there safely to keep, that he may be forthcoming before the justices at the next sessions for the peace, to be holden for this county at Bury, then and there to be proceeded withal according to law; and hereof I require you not to fail; this 1st day of August, 1655."

Observe, an idle wandering fellow; this is false in fact, as well as scurrilous and disdainful; for,

1. I am well known to be no such person; for after my parents took me away from that noted school at Blencoe, in Cumberland, at the request of some Friends, I taught first a private, then a public school.

2. After that I was at my father's house part of a summer, and then was not idle, but industrious in what was proper for me, not being educated either in idleness, nor willing to eat the bread of idleness, that I might prevent all reflection and reproach against me on that account.

3. And when it pleased God to call me by his Word from my father's house, and out of my native country, to preach the everlasting gospel, therein I laboured faithfully, and travelled in the service thereof, according to the grace and ability given me of God, in his dear Son Christ Jesus.

4. A common disturber of the public peace of this nation, is also unjustly charged against me; for I was, and am of a peaceable conversation, being also a minister of the gospel of peace.

5. How came I to be termed an idle wandering fellow, in the warrant of commitment, seeing in the indictment at quarter sessions I was called labourer? Thus self-contradictory was this our prosecutor; where envy is, there is confusion. Could he reasonably think himself more dishonoured by my giving him his own title of T. Waldgrave, than he did by his injurious and illegal proceedings against us?

And that it may further appear what kind of warrants these justices made against us, here follows also a copy of John Gurden's warrant of commitment against George Rose.

SUFFOLK.—To the keeper of the Common jail, at Bury, St. Edmunds, and to his deputy, and deputies there.

"Forasmuch as upon examination of George Rose, late of Halsted, in the county of Essex, glazier, and upon examination taken upon oath before us, against the said Rose, sufficient cause appears unto us, whereby to enforce Rose to find two able and sufficient sureties for his personal appearance at the next sessions of the peace, to be holden for the Franchess of Bury, St. Edmunds, and thence not to depart without license of the court. And forasmuch as the said George Rose refused to find sureties, we therefore herewithal send you the body of the said George Rose, requiring you in the name of his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, to receive him into the said jail, and him there safely to keep until the next sessions; if in the mean time he the said George, being by his own confession, one now usually called a Quaker, shall not in the mean time find such able and sufficient sureties for his appearance as aforesaid. Dated at Affington, the third day of September, 1655."

Observe. 1. What legal precedent could they have for such a warrant of commitment, when they neither assign cause to require such sureties, nor any matter of fact, as a breach of law deserving imprisonment?

2. Though his confessing himself one called a Quaker, seems to be made the reason of his commitment, we cannot think it was either a legal or valid reason, or cause of such severity, as these persons were bent upon against us. How evident is it therefore, that their own invidious wills were their only laws therein?

The substance of a letter to William Blumfield, who sat for judge at the Quarter Sessions aforesaid.

"To thee who art called a justice, am I moved of the Lord God to write; therefore in moderation read and consider, that thou mayest be informed for whom thou hast acted. Friend, in the judgment seat at sessions, thou wast set to judge of causes, according to justice; but the cause of the oppressed, who suffer for righteousness, thou hast not regarded, in joining with the persecutors against us who so suffer. They preferred a lying indictment against us without evidence of fact, and caused a company of poor ignorant men, who knew us not (i. e. a jury,) to give a verdict, so termed, upon oath, which was, that we were guilty according to the manner and form of the indictment, which in neither was true, wherein they did forswear themselves. And then by thy fining us, thou hast joined with our persecutors who imprisoned us, namely, those called Justice Waldgrave and Justice Gurden, whose injustice many took notice of, in their standing to be both our accusers and judges. In consenting to act according to their wills, which are cruel and envious, thou hast acted contrary to the just witness of God in thee; and in lending an ear to them and their council, thou hast not taken counsel of God: and wo unto them that take counsel, but not of me, saith the Lord; that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin unto sin.

"The swift witness of God will pursue thee, and judge thee for partaking with the wicked. Thy conscience is defiled, and thy profession, held in unrighteousness, is stained; all thy profession of God and Christ will not cover or hide thee, from the righteous judgments which will come upon all them that join in iniquity: and though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished.

"Therefore consider what, and for whom, thou hast acted. Own the light of Christ in thy conscience, and it will let thee see, how thou canst not have peace with God in these things, and how forwardly and unadvisedly thou hast acted against us, as thou wouldst not be done by. Consider, wouldst thou be taken passing on the highway about thy lawful occasion, examined and imprisoned, contrary to the law of God, and of the nation, and in prison suffer ten weeks, and then be fined and sent back to prison again, as we were, contrary to the laws of justice and equity? Honestly deal with thyself, and see if thou hast done to us as thou wouldst be done by.

“When did ever any godly magistrate act such things? Let the witness of God in thy conscience judge whether these things be of God or no; whether persecution and cruelty become them that profess Christianity and godliness, yea or nay.

“Consider thy ways, and come out from among the persecutors, and repent of these unjust actions, that thy hands may be washed from the guilt of their blood, who suffer for righteousness’ sake, lest thou have thy portion among them who are in the offences against Christ’s flock, who suffered persecution by the seed of evil doers; for he that offends one of the least of them who believe in him, ‘It were better that he had never been born, or that a millstone were hung about his neck and he cast into the sea.’

“Therefore, now from the Lord thou art warned, before whom thou canst not excuse thyself in these things before mentioned, and declared in love to thy soul. Whether thou wilt lay them to heart or not, I am clear; having peace and consolation by Christ Jesus in my sufferings for righteousness’ sake; not being convinced of the breach of any known law. Glory to the Lord God for ever.

“GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

“Edmundsbury common jail, the 20th day of the Eighth month, 1655.”

Our persecutors having confined five of us in prison, by their warrants before recited, and by their quarter sessions, passed judgment of fines upon most of us, it is meet that some account should be given of our treatment and usage in prison.

After two of us were first sent to prison, we had a lodging in an upper room two or three weeks, and then understanding that the jailer would exact upon us for rent, and expecting our confinement might be of long continuance, we desired a free prison, upon which we were turned into the common ward among felons. After continuing a few weeks, a Friend, Samuel Duncon, in compassion to us, privately gave the jailer some money to let us lodge above again from the felons. But when the time for that money was ended, the jailer insisted upon his old exaction of four pence a night from each of us, which we were neither free to yield, nor to suffer any of our friends to be charged with, but desired a free prison, and we were again turned into the common ward. Whilst we lodged above, after the Friend gave the money to the jailer, two notorious robbers, who were of that company that had robbed sir George Wyninif’s house, and were condemned at the assizes before, broke prison and made their escape, leaving their irons and shackles behind them.

We were glad that we were not present in the common ward at the time they broke out, for they were desperate fellows, and made their escape for their lives. We esteemed it a providence that the said Friend had for that little time procured our lodging apart from the felons.

Now we were settled in the common ward among felons, in a low, dungeon like place, under a market house, our lodging being upon rye straw, on a damp earthen floor, though we were therewith content, and the place sanctified to us. But not being willing to contribute to the jailer’s extortion, nor free to buy any of his beer, he keeping a tap house, and divers of his prisoners often drunk, his rage arose very much against us, after we were so many as five, sent to prison successively, and all in the common ward, and in the time of our confinement drinking only water.

That for which he appeared most enraged against us, was because we frequently testified and cried against the foul and horrid sins of drunkenness, swearing, and other disorders and abuses among the prisoners, and which the jailer’s servants occasioned by suffering their excessive drinking strong beer for his ungodly gain.

But the Lord stirred us up the more zealously to cry aloud against the wickedness of the jailer, his servants and prisoners for these gross evils and disorders; because the jailer made a profession of religion and piety, being member of a Presbyterian church in Bury, and calling in the prisoners on first-days toward evening, to instruct them and exercise his sort of devotion among them. Because I told him of his hypocrisy therein, his fruits being so much contrary, his daughter was offended, saying, “What! call my father a hypocrite, who has been a saint forty years?” Now to evince some of his fruits, and of our treatment by him and his agents, observe what follows.

On the 21st day of the tenth month, 1655, the jailer smote George Rose on the face till he drew blood; and on the 28th, he smote George Fox and John Harwood on their faces before several witnesses. On the 21st of the eleventh month, he smote George Whitehead on his face till the blood came out at his mouth, only for reprehending and detecting some falsehoods he had uttered against us, which some present heard; whereupon a woman of his own society or profession, seeing his fury and violence, told him he dishonoured the gospel. It seems she was more tender and conscientious than he.

Many other times he shamefully abused us both in words and actions, whereby his servants, tapster and turnkey, and some of his drunken prisoners took the greater encouragement to

follow his example; for his tapster often grossly abused us, and not only threatened us, but cast a stone violently, whereby he hit one, and in his rage took up a stool to have smitten or cast at some of us, but was prevented by one present taking hold of it. He often slandered and beat some of us on the face, and also violently buffeting with his fists, for no other cause but reprehending his and their wickedness.

Some of the prisoners also have often abused us, by taking away our food, alledging the jailer gave them leave to do so, and thereby taking occasion to do us mischief, several times beating some of us, stoning, despitefully using us, threatening to kill, and to knock some of us on the head.

One said if he did kill us, he should not be hanged for it, and that there was no law for us if he did kill us; and being drunk with the jailer's strong beer, he kicked and wounded some of us on the legs, and greatly abused us, knowing it was against our principle and practice to fight or beat him again; which we could easily have done to him and the rest of the jailer's drunkards that abused us, if our principle would have allowed, being five of us, mostly able and lively young men. But we esteemed it greater valour and more Christian, patiently to suffer such injuries for Christ, than to fight for him, or avenge ourselves; and rather, when smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, than to smite again. The said drunken prisoner who had so abused us, when he was a little sober, confessed that the jailer made him worse than he would have been against us. But by such inhuman usage, the jailer could not force our compliance with his covetous designs, or corrupt practices for gain.

On the 19th day of the second month, 1656, he came into the common ward, and asked if we would pay him for keeping us here? We asked him what we owed him. He said; "Fourteen pence a week, each of you;" though some of us had been thirty-one weeks in that common jail, and none of us did then lie in any bedding of his; but when some straw was brought us to lie on, which was allowed by the county for the prisoners' use there, we paid for bringing it, or we might not have had it. We told the jailer, that when we demanded a free prison, he turned us into this place; upon which he commanded the turnkey to take away our bed clothes, saying, "Take away their clothes, and leave them nothing but the straw to lie upon, and take away their boxes." So the turnkey and tapster took them all away, and left us not so much as our night caps, which were hung up in a basket by the wall.

And moreover the jailer threatened to take away our coats from off our backs; we told him he might do so if he would, for he might as well take them as our other goods, viz; our bed clothes, a coat and a cloak, and our boxes, wherein was our food, i. e. bread and cheese, linen and other things. "Then," said he, "I will not take your coats till warmer weather." We told him he would shame his profession. He said, "That's no matter, you are all heretics." After the above said goods were taken away, the jailer's daughter said, "They have robbed you of all."

Those goods were detained from us about twenty-four weeks, in which time we were forced to lie in part of our wearing clothes, upon the straw; yet the Lord gave us patience and comfort in our sufferings, as he did his servants of old, who suffered the spoiling of their goods joyfully; being also made willing not only to suffer such spoil, but to lay down our lives for Christ's sake: glory to his name for ever, who thus supported and comforted us in our tribulations.

On the 28th, Mary Petche, an honest, poor Friend, who was employed to bring us necessities, coming to prison with some linen for us, viz: two shirts, two caps, two bands and four handkerchiefs, we having been robbed of the rest as before, the jailer caused the same to be taken from her, and would not suffer her to deliver them to us. And the same day the turnkey took away George Rose's coat, which he usually wore; at other times not suffering our provision to be delivered to us, until he had stopped the woman that brought it and searched into her basket, to see what she had brought for us.

Not complying to take lodgings of the jailer, at 2s. 4d. a week each of us, nor to pay him 1s. 2d. each, demanded by him, for the time we had been in the free prison, the common ward, he proffered us some privileges if we would submit to his terms; which we refusing, his anger still continued against us, insomuch that on the 3rd day of the third month, he commanded his tapster to take away George Fox's hat, which the tapster took from his head; but the same day the jailer's wife, being more compassionate than her husband, brought him his hat again, and said she did not know that her husband commanded the tapster to take it from him.

Having shown such examples of malice and abuse to us, some of the prisoners when almost drunk, still took the more encouragement to repeat their violence against us, especially one, who was often most base and abusive, beating and kicking us, and smiting some of us on the face, without reprehension by turnkey or tapster, when they have been

present and known us so abused; but instead thereof, the tapster then also beat one of us on the face, though when they were out of drink, and not incensed by the jailer, we had them generally under and quiet.

But on the 19th of the third month, two of the prisoners so violently smote George Fox on the face, that the blood came out at his mouth and nose. On the 21st day following, one of them shamefully spit upon George Rose and George Fox's faces, pulling them by their noses, as they have done by us several times; and on the 22nd day of the same month, George Fox standing at the inner door, a pot of coals and ashes were thrown in his face by one of the prisoners.

Thus, day by day for a time we were abused, beaten, buffeted, kicked, spurned at, and despitefully used, for no other cause, but testifying against the frequent drunkenness, swearing, wickedness and ill government in that prison; and against the tyranny, cruelty, and bad example of the jailer, his turnkey and tapster. It is too tedious to enumerate all their abuses and acts of violence and cruelties against us; and being therein conscious to themselves, lest they should be exposed, the turnkey threatened to take away our inkhorns, and did take away one, with several papers, saying we should write no more, and often watching to hinder us from writing.

Having often threatened to lock us up in the women's ward, a low, filthy room, because of our constant testimony against their gross disorders, as also against allowing the tapster to let the prisoners have so much strong drink as to drink to excess, and the abuse of themselves and others; the jailer, instead of reforming, proceeded in his unwarrantable allowance of such excess, and in punishing us for our righteous testimony.

On the 26th day of the third month, he caused George Rose to be put into the women's ward; upon which George Whitehead bade the jailer take notice, that it was for declaring against drunkenness and swearing, which he himself connived at, that he caused him to be put there. For which words the jailer caused him also to be forthwith shut up in the same ward; and likewise George Fox and Henry Marshall, we being one in our testimony; so we four were there locked up and confined near two hours; and when we asked but for a stool of our own to sit upon, they would not suffer us to have it.

After they had let us all out, they put George Rose into the said ward again, and there confined him about four hours, and stones were cast in at the window, some of them striking him; the tapster also taking

strong drink in his mouth and spirting it in his face as he looked out at the window.

But our punishment from the jailer did not end here. Whilst George Rose was shut up in the women's ward, the jailer came to George Whitehead and George Fox, and said, "If ye will persuade George Rose to be quiet, he may come forth. George Whitehead told him that he would not persuade him from crying against wickedness. Whereupon in his rage, he threatened to put us three into the dungeon, and caused George Rose to be brought out of the women's ward, and threatened to let us down into the dungeon with a cart rope; but he and the turnkey put us, i. e. George Whitehead, George Fox, and George Rose, down a ladder into the dungeon, where they seldom put any, except some very quarrelsome, murderous persons; for it is about four yards deep under ground, and very dark, and but a little compass at the bottom, and in the middle of it an iron grate, with bars above a foot distant from each other, and under the same a pit or hole, we knew not how deep. But being warned by a woman that saw us put down, and pitied us, we kept near the sides of the dungeon, that we might not fall into the pit. There we were detained nearly four hours, singing praises to the Lord our God, in the sweet enjoyment and living sense of his glorious presence, being nothing terrified nor dismayed at their cruelties, but cheerfully resigned in the will of the Lord to suffer for his name and truth's sake, if they had left us to perish in that dark, dismal, and stinking dungeon; though the Lord would not suffer that, besides the jailer might fear being hanged if he had detained us, and we had died in the dungeon.

When we were let out of the dungeon, the turnkey, at his shutting us up in the common ward, suffered a malicious prisoner to come in and smite George Rose violently on the head, without reprehending him for it; but that was a common practice among these persecutors, especially when drunk.

While we were in the dungeon, several of our friends came to visit us from Norwich, Colchester, Halsted in Essex, and other places, but were not suffered to come to us, nor we to speak to them. At other times they have thus dealt by us and our friends, when they have come many miles to see us; and when kept out and they have come to the prison door or window, they have had water cast upon them by some of the jailer's company, pretending that he had order from the justices that none of our friends should come to us; yet he and his wife told them that if they would pay the turnkey, they might come to

us; and he told them that if they would give him 6d. or 4d. a-piece, he would let them come to us; but they refused to gratify his covetousness therein. Our friends have been many times unjustly kept out from us; yea, when some Friends of Norwich have waited long without doors to come in and see us, both they and we have been disappointed and prevented from seeing one another. Thus our friends have been kept from us without doors, and we daily abused within.

The prisoner who was most abusive to us, being one of the jailer's drunkards, threw a naked knife fiercely at one of us, and it missing, he threatened to kill some of us, saying he could but be hanged, he had but a life to lose. He also having taken away some of our things, we acquainted the jailer therewith, and told him if there was any more blood shed by this prisoner, it would lie at his door; and if he did not allow him in what he had done against us, we wished him to command him to restore us our things; but instead thereof, his answer was, "Let him do what he will," in the hearing of this most abusive prisoner; whereby he took the more encouragement to abuse us, and the woman Friend also, who brought in our necessities; on whom he laid violent hands, pushing her backward. The turnkey also that night smote two of us for refuting some of his aspersions cast upon us; and said he could not use us bad enough.

This abusive prisoner, who had threatened to kill some of us, taking encouragement from the example of the jailer, turnkey and tapster, one night being furiously drunk, after we were locked and bolted close in the common ward, resolved to kill one or other of us that night, as with curses he threatened over and over; nothing must serve him but he must be the death of some of us. But in faith in the name and power of the Lord, we stood over him, believing he should not have power to hurt any of us, though he attempted it, taking up a fire brand; but we saw his power was limited, that he could not harm, much less kill any of us.

He had a boy in the same ward, about ten years old; and as the boy was kneeling by the wall, frightened to see his father in such a rage, the father presently took up a stone bottle, and violently threw it at his poor boy, but missed him, and broke it to pieces against the wall, the poor boy narrowly escaping with his life. For if it had hit him on the head he had probably been killed. Still the drunken, outrageous man continued in his fury; he must needs kill somebody that night, either his poor boy, or some other, or else he would not be pacified. Seeing him

thus murderously resolved, it immediately came upon me with great weight, as I believed from the Lord, let us not see murder committed in our presence; whereupon I said to my fellow sufferers, let us seize him, and hold him hand and foot, till he will be quiet; and they presently took hold of him, laid him gently upon his back, and held him fast, hand and foot, as I think, above an hour's time, in which he made a roaring noise, but to no purpose; for we were all closely warded up in a low, dark place, hard to be heard in other parts of the prison; nay, I am persuaded, if any of us had cried out murder, we should scarcely have had one come to relieve any of us.

However, we prevented the intended murder, by holding the drunkard's hands and feet, till he was quiet and went to sleep, as we made him promise before we would let him loose, having a strict eye over him, to prevent his doing any mischief; for though we had not cords to bind him with, yet we were sensible he needed to be bound or restrained from doing mischief, as much as any outrageous mad person.

Although the Lord enabled us patiently to bear and suffer gross abuses and despicable usage, much more than here related, without any retaliation or revenge, yet murder ought to be prevented, if possible, by any lawful means or restraint. As the prophet Elisha said, concerning the king's messenger sent to take him; "See how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away my head; look when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door," &c.

William Dewsbury in true love, came to visit us in Bury jail; and understanding something of the jailer's cruelty, wrote him a letter as followeth, viz:

"For Robert Newton, keeper of the jail in Bury.

"Thy cruelty and oppressing the innocent, is come up in remembrance before the pure, eternal, dreadful God; and if thou do not repent and speedily return to the living God, and diligently attend to his pure law in thy conscience, that it may guide thee to cease from thy cruelty, and restore to the servants of the Lord what thou hast taken from them, and no more offer any violence to them—which if thou so do, thou knowest not but that the Lord may show mercy; but if thou continue in thy pride and stubbornness, thou had better never have been born: the eternal, dreadful God will stretch out his hand against thee, and render vengeance upon thee, and will wound thee in thy inwards, that anguish and pain shall take hold upon thee; that thou

shalt be tormented day and night, in the presence of God and his holy angels, and thy portion shall be with all the unrighteous, whose worm never dies, and fire never shall be quenched; for such as thou sowest thou shalt reap; and thou shalt know this is the word of the Lord God. 'The day draws nigh,' what is declared the Lord will bring upon thee; remember thou art warned in thy life time—if thou perish thy blood will be upon thy own head.

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

The jailer was greatly tormented and enraged at this letter.

Some of the abuses were examined by the magistrates in Bury, and clearly evinced to them before the jailer's face.

After we had suffered such hard usage by the jailer, his turnkey and tapster, and some of the drunken prisoners, an account thereof was sent to some of our friends at London, which they put in print, and acquainted Oliver Cromwell the Protector, so called, and his deputy Fleetwood therewith, whereupon order was given to have the matters complained of inquired into. I was first called out and examined, the 22nd day of the third month, 1656, before John Clark and Thomas Chaplain, called justices, the jailer being present; and upon the 22nd, George Rose was also called before some of those justices, the jailer present; and his and his agents' abuses proved against him at both times, concerning his smiting George Rose and George Whitehead on their faces, until the blood came out at their mouths. The jailer to excuse and lessen his violence, would have them believe he only chucked us under the chin, and that he took me by the nose.

Upon the 6th day of the fourth month, I being again had before the said John Clark, Thomas Chaplain, and one called Justice Moody, and Major Sparrow, to be examined on the said complaint, John Clark, who first took upon him to be our chief interrogator, or examiner, appeared very much to favour the jailer, tearing a note sent by a Friend to warn them to examine matters, and do justice without partiality; which when I delivered, he presently tore in pieces without reading, or suffering the rest concerned to read it. I told him he should have seen what was in it before he had rent it. He said, that was all he would do with it. I then warned them to see justice done. But as our paper was reading, and I questioned about the abuses related, John Clark would not have me to answer matters particularly as read, but said, read it, and then let him answer to it. But

as it was read, I answered the particulars, and gave them a clear account of matters of fact of the jailer's cruelty. Some of which he confessed when I put them home to him, particularly the taking away our goods, or necessities, which he commanded the turnkey to take from us, with other injuries and violence done to us. Some of the justices present, confessed the jailer was to blame, and warned him not to suffer us to be abused by his servants; for if they did, they would send them to Ipswich jail, and commended G. W. for a moderate man.

On the same day George Rose was also again examined, and again made it appear how the jailer had abused us, and used violence to us, such as smiting him and George Whitehead on their faces, until the blood came out at their mouths; and his tapster's smiting him more than ten times, and spitting beer in his face. The jailer confessed that all that was written by us of his taking away our things was true; but because George Rose reproved him for his cruelty, Justice Clark bade the clerk write down, that it was for assaulting the jailer; partially pleading to extenuate his offence. Seeing such partiality, we could not expect a full and true account would be returned to Oliver Cromwell, Protector, but that our sufferings would be prolonged, as they were, for some time after these grievances were clearly made manifest to the justices.

However, our discovering the jailer's cruelty, had some effect upon him, though he was sorely vexed to be thus exposed, yet it brought some fear and restraint upon him; and for some time before we were released out of prison, we enjoyed more quietness, although drunkenness and much disorder, and ill government, was suffered and continued in that prison. When I have in the fear of God told the jailer thereof, and testified against him, for suffering the same for his own lucre, his answer often to me was, Away devil, away devil, &c. And to George Rose, for the same cause, he would cry, when he went toward him, Now comes wide mouth, now comes wide mouth; because George Rose spoke somewhat louder to him, against permitting so much drunkenness in his house as he did; he being a professor of religion, a member of a church, and instructor of others, and by his daughter esteemed a saint forty years; and doubtless he was the more favoured in the examination, by his neighbour, John Clark, because of his religion, membership and fellowship.

When the barbarous treatment and hardships which we endured in the said jail, were much noised abroad, our Friends at London

were compassionately concerned for our relief, and thereupon Oliver Cromwell was several times applied to, particularly by Mary Sanders, a friend of ours, who was a servant, a waiting gentlewoman in Cromwell's family. She often took opportunities to remind him of our suffering condition, and of other Friends also being confined in prisons, as she has often told me. She afterwards married our beloved Friend Henry Stout, of Hertford. She was a good example in that family of Oliver Cromwell's, while she lived there, and continued in her integrity in true Christian faith, and love to Friends unto the end.

Anne James, of London, who afterward married our dear Friend Robert Duncon, was tenderly concerned for us, when we were in Bury jail; and she also acquainted Oliver Cromwell with our case, and sought our relief, which was at last obtained, after I had suffered fifteen months, or above, in the said jail, and the rest of my fellow-prisoners above a year, except Henry Marshall, who suffered nearly a year; all of us, God knows, under severe restraint and great hardships.

Yet I am still truly and humbly thankful to the Lord our God, in remembrance of his great kindness to us,—how wonderfully he supported and comforted us through and over all these our tribulations, strait confinement, and ill usage, and preserved us in bodily health. In the comfortable enjoyment of his glorious divine power and presence, several of us have often been made to sing aloud in praise to his glorious name; yea, his high praises have been in our mouths oftentimes, to the great amazement and astonishment of the malefactors shut up in the same ward with us. When walking therein, our hearts have been lifted up in living praise to the Lord, often for several hours together, with voices of melody. Oh! the sweet presence and power of the Lord our God, how precious to be enjoyed in prisons and dungeons, and strait confinements. O my soul, still bless thou the Lord, and for ever praise his excellent name, for the true inward sense and experience thou hast often and long had, and still hast, of his divine power and unspeakable goodness. Glory and dominion be to our God, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, for ever and ever. Let the praise be unto him in whom is our help, salvation and strength.

Although we were confined to a noisome common ward, and strait, stinking yard, without any accommodation, yet the Lord by his power so sanctified the confinement to me, that I had great peace, comfort, and sweet solace, and was sometimes transported and wrapped up in spirit, as if in a pleasant field,

having the fragrant scent, and sweet smell of flowers and things growing therein, though I was not in an extasy or trance, my senses being affected therewith. The Lord made bitter things sweet unto me, and hardships easy; although we were sensible our persecutors and oppressors were so cruel toward us, that they cared not if we had all perished in that jail. But our trust and confidence was in the name of the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength and safety: to whom be everlasting glory, dominion and praise, world without end.

I humbly hope and trust in the Lord, I shall never forget his loving kindness and mercy shown unto me, in those cloudy days of distress and affliction.

A COPY OF OUR RELEASE.

"Thursday, the 16th of October, at the Council at Whitehall.

"Ordered by his highness the Lord Protector, and the Council, that the Quakers imprisoned at Colchester, in the county of Essex, and Edmundsbury and Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, be forthwith released and set at liberty: and it is referred to sir Francis Russell, to take care that the same be done accordingly; as also to consider how the fines set upon them, or any of them, if any, may with most conveniency be taken off and discharged: and likewise to take order that upon their being set at liberty, as aforesaid, they be forthwith sent to their respective homes.

"W. JESSOP,

Clerk of the Council."

Pursuant to this order, sir Francis Russell took special care to put it in execution. He sent his clerk to the prison to see us set at liberty, which was done accordingly; and in kindness to us, gave us an order or warrant to produce in our defence, if there should be occasion, that we might travel without molestation or interruption; not confining us to go to our respective homes. He was a considerate and tender spirited man, and showed compassion toward us and our friends, who were sufferers for conscience sake toward God; he appeared clearly against persecution. From the good character which I had of him, and the kindness he had shown us in our suffering, I went to visit him in the year 1659, as I travelled near that way, which he took kindly, and entertained me with religious and friendly discourse. One part of it was, he intimated his having been very much against the severity James Nayler had met with when prosecuted before the House of Commons, in the year 1656.

Being set at liberty without being sent to our respective homes, we could then travel where the Lord pleased to order us, to visit our friends and meetings: and the Lord laid a concern upon me, especially to visit our friends and meetings in Norfolk and Norwich, where I had laboured in the gospel, and had suffered before, and also in High Suffolk and Essex, and some other parts, where the Lord did greatly strengthen and assist me by his power in his service; and made the same effectual to his praise, and his people's comfort and confirmation in the living faith, which is in Christ Jesus, his light and grace.

Although our hardships in Bury prison were extreme, as before related, yet the Lord caused all to work together for good to us; our faith and strength in Christ came to be greatly increased, the blessed truth promoted, many convinced thereof, and added to the church, and gathered into our spiritual communion and Society, through the great sufferings of those times, and our faithful testimony borne therein. The great persecutions then against us, caused great inquiry among the unprejudiced and well disposed people, who could not but think, that persecution and cruelty against us for religion, was no sign of a good religion in the persecutors; and that the patient sufferers were more like true Christians than the persecutors.

In the time of our severe confinement in Bury jail before mentioned, my fellow prisoners, George Fox and George Rose, received a gift and part in the ministry of the everlasting gospel, and were enabled by the power and Spirit of Christ, to thunder out judgment against deceit and wickedness, and to preach the way of life and salvation; which they did in the zeal and love of the Lord God, and ministered according to their several gifts and abilities, received from the giver of every good and perfect gift.

George Rose became a great traveller in the work of the Lord beyond the seas, not only in Holland and Germany, but also in the American colonies, as New England, Virginia, Bermudas, Barbadoes, and other remote places. I have not a particular account of his travels in those parts and islands, and we have often desired a more full relation thereof. After various difficulties and dangers he passed through by sea, and great travels and service in those foreign parts in America, he, with some other Friends, lost their lives in a storm at sea, near the coast of Virginia, as has been related to us.

George Fox the younger, did not live long after an imprisonment he underwent when king Charles the second came in; though that was no hard imprisonment, being removed

from Harwich to Lambeth, on some groundless suggestions or complaints. He died some time after he was at liberty, in the country.

John Harwood, who was prisoner with us in Bury jail, while we were there confined, patiently suffered with us, and walked orderly and soberly; and was for some days together in fastings, low and humble in his spirit, and had some part in the ministry: but within three or four years after we were released, he came to loss by proceeding disorderly with a widow toward marriage, but was disappointed: and what added to his hurt, he conceived prejudice against some of the brethren, as George Fox senior and others, for disowning his irregular and unwarrantable procedure. This I mention to prevent reflection, that we may not be unjustly upbraided by his miscarriage.

When I was at Colchester and Coggeshall side, one Okely, or Okey, priest of Stanway, three miles from Colchester, busying himself against the Quakers, in his ignorant opposition, to whom Stephen Crisp gave some answer, gave us occasion to desire a public discourse with him in his parish church, so called, at which place a meeting and time was agreed to; but when we came there, the priest took up most of the time in preaching upon the text, "Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb, for all Israel," &c. The scope of his discourse being to prefer the Scriptures for their only rule. But it being near night before the sermon was ended, and days then short, we had very little time to discourse matters; neither did he know how to begin to charge us, but questioned us about Christ and his human nature, as their term is. We owned his divine nature, and his being man also, as he is our only Mediator, &c., according to Scripture. But our dear ancient friend, Robert Ludgater, questioning the priest about the two natures of Christ, as that he called human, and the divine, the priest turned it into a sort of levity and impertinency. It growing night, the meeting soon ended, with no advantage, but disadvantage to the priest, the people being generally civil, and more serious than their priest.

Before the winter in 1656 was ended, the Lord gave me an opportunity to visit Friends at London, of which, before my imprisonment at Edmundsbury, I was prevented; that visit was very acceptable to Friends there, and I had very good service in and through the meetings, in the ministry and demonstration of the holy Spirit and truth of Christ; and divers were convinced thereby, while I was among them, which was not long then; but I was concerned to return into Essex and

Sussex. And having visited meetings at Colchester, Coggeshall, and other parts of Essex, as in Denge hundred, and divers parts of the county, and also at Sudbury and Haverhill, and other places in Suffolk, a concern fell upon me to have a meeting at Saffron Walden, where I had a large and good meeting, though toward the conclusion, some professors made a little opposition, but were soon answered and silenced. Yet notwithstanding, some Friends of Essex and myself being at an inn that evening, at supper, the baliff of the town with a constable, or some officer, and others with them, came in and caused me to be taken away, set in the stocks, and there kept for some time in the night, before they let me out; and this without any breach of law or crime laid to my charge, but only out of a peevish humour, and their own envious wills, and to cast causeless contempt upon me and my friends. I wrote to the baliff next morning, to know if he had any matter of fact against me, or any more to say to me; but he gave me no answer, so I went from thence to Cambridge, and parts adjacent, and visited meetings in the love of God to and fro, in the countries, until I returned into Essex, to Colchester.

I had a meeting at Nayland in Suffolk, not far from Colchester, where the common people were so rude that they would not suffer the meeting to be quiet within doors, but were ready in appearance, to pull down the house, which was but small; whereupon we drew out the meeting into a meadow ground, near the town's end on Essex side. The meeting was large, and I had a good and full opportunity to declare and demonstrate the living truth, with power and dominion given me of God, whose power was over all, and came so over the meeting, that it was quiet, though it was held for near three hours together, and the season then somewhat cold.

That morning before the meeting, the Friend of the house where it was appointed, at Nayland, came to me weeping, and under trouble, because some wicked fellows of the town had threatened to kill me if I had a meeting there. I pitied the man for letting in such fears from their threats, and told him I did not fear them,—I was given up in the will of God, in whose hands my life is, and they should do no more than he permitted them; I doubted not that the Lord would restrain them and their envy and wicked purposes; and I would not disappoint the said meeting, nor alter the appointment thereof. So I encouraged the poor Friend against his fears, and the Lord appeared for me, both in his service and in my own and Friends' preservation, by his divine power that gave us

dominion and a quiet meeting, as before related. Let the dominion, glory and praise, be ascribed and returned to him for ever.

After a few weeks the Lord again laid a concern upon me to have another meeting at Nayland, which, accordingly was appointed at the same Friend's house where the first was. But this second meeting we had in his yard, or little orchard, to which divers Friends of Colchester, and other places in Essex and Suffolk, came. After we had for some time waited upon the Lord in silence, I was moved to stand up and preach the everlasting gospel, and testify against sin and wickedness, against the beast and false prophet, and against the devil's persecuting power and ministry. After I had for a considerable time declared the truth in the meeting, a person, a pretended gentleman, came rushing in with a constable and rude company, and with violence pulled me down as I was declaring the truth; and some of them, with the constable, had me to Affington, to our old adversary, John Gurden, who, when I came before him, and he had information given him against our said meeting, presently began to threaten me. I desired his moderation to hear me before he passed judgment. "You are a moderate rogue," said he. Moderate rogue! said I; such language doth not become a justice of peace, especially one professing Christianity. He in great fury highly threatened me, by which I apprehended he then designed to lay me fast in jail again, as he had caused several of us deeply to suffer. After his angry threats, he returned into his parlour, where his son and the priest of the parish were to consult.

In the interim I sat in his hall, waiting upon the Lord, and some Friends with me; and then I secretly breathed in spirit, that if it might stand with his will, he would not then permit that persecutor to send me to Bury jail, where I and others had so lately, and for a long time, deeply suffered; for his malice ended not with that hard imprisonment of ours. The Lord was pleased to answer my desire, and immediately to show me that he should not send me to prison, but cause me to suffer by stripes. I was greatly refreshed, strengthened, and given up in the will of the Lord, patiently to endure that punishment, which the invidious persecutor was permitted to inflict upon me, it being for Christ's sake and his gospel truth, wherein I had great peace and strong consolation in him, for whose sake I suffered.

Being soon called into the parlour before the said John Gurden, and his son Robert, the priest being present, I was examined by divers questions, as of my name, country, and reason of travelling abroad,—to which

I gave particular answers, and plainly told him and those present, how God would overturn them and take away their power, who were persecutors and oppressors of his servants or seed; and withal, that God would limit him, i. e. John Gurden, that he should not effect all his evil designs. He deridingly bid me "Go quake." I said, Dost thou then despise quaking? He answered, "Yes; I do despise quaking." I said, Then thou despisest that which the word of the Lord hath commanded. "How prove you that?" said he. Bring me a bible, said I; a bible being there, I showed him Ezekiel, xii. 17, 18. Moreover the word of the Lord came to me, saying; Son of man, eat thy bread with quaking, and drink thy water with trembling, and with carefulness. Whereupon he could not vindicate his despising quaking.

His clerk took part of my examination in writing as he ordered him, which being read, John Gurden required me to sign it. I signified that it was deficient, or lamely taken. He would have urged me to sign it; then I took the pen and began to write my exception against the deficiency of the relation, intending to sign the same at the bottom of what the clerk had written. But John Gurden plucked the pen out of my hand, and said I should write nothing but my name, which I positively refused; if he would not suffer me to write my distinction, he ought not to impose upon me to sign a lame relation, which was but in part true.

When thus treated, and being ordered to withdraw into the hall, John Gurden and his son directed the clerk to draw up a warrant to have me severely whipped next day at Nayland, the town where I was taken and haled out of the meeting. John Gurden came out to me into the hall, and highly threatened me again, having a law book in his hand, which I took to be Dalton's Justice of Peace, and there read some abstract of an ancient statute or law, against vagrants, sturdy beggars, idle and dissolute persons, loiterers, pedlers, tinkers, &c., with the penalties, &c.: intimating to me that they had ordered me to be whipped at Nayland; and if I came again into that country, I should be branded in the shoulder for a rogue; but if I came a third time I should be hanged. I answered, I am no such person as thou hast mentioned; thou art an old man, and going to thy grave; thou dost not know how soon the Lord may put an end to thy days, and disappoint thee of thy evil designs against me. However, I fear not thy threats, if the Lord whom I serve require my return into these parts, I must obey him. "I know I am an old man," said he. Aye, said

I, thou art old in iniquity; it is high time for thee to repent.

I was called to hear their warrant for my punishment read, and the constable to have his charge of execution given him, which being read, Robert Gurden charged the constable to see their warrant executed upon me to the purpose, at his peril. I told him I could expect no better from him, who falsely swore against Henry Marshall, an honest man, at the quarter sessions, that he said Christ was a vagabond; whereupon Henry was wrongfully fined as a blasphemer, and kept in jail with us at Edmundsbury, nigh twelve months; his words being most grossly perverted, quite contrary to what he said when taken prisoner; for being accused for a vagabond or vagrant, Henry told them, "That Cain was a vagabond, though he had a city upon earth; but Christ was no vagabond, though he had not whereon to lay his head." How contrary was this to the information given upon oath against him at sessions. Which I believe the said Henry told us above forty times in prison, and which I also charged the said Robert Gurden with, one time when he came scornfully to look upon us, when we were in prison; and reminding him thereof before his father, when he charged the constable to see their warrant executed to purpose upon me: his father to excuse him, said he swore to the best of his remembrance. I asked him if he could not remember to speak the truth? Do men use to swear in court upon uncertainties, or doubtfully? With other discourse. The warrant being signed and sealed by the father and the son, I was returned back to Nayland, in order to endure the execution thereof the next day. That night I lodged at a public house, where I rested quietly in much peace.

A copy of the warrant and pass follows.

"To all constables, and all other officers whom it may concern, and to every of them.

"Be it remembered, that one George Whitehead, a young man about twenty years of age, who confesseth himself to have been born at Orton, in Westmoreland, being this present day found vagrant and wandering at Nayland, in this county, contrary to the laws of this nation, and being thereupon brought before us, two justices of the peace for this county, is by us ordered to be openly whipped at Nayland aforesaid, till his body be bloody, as the law in such case enjoineth; and he is to pass thence from parish to parish, by the officers thereof, the next way to Orton aforesaid, before the first day of June now next ensuing.

Dated at Affington, in this county of Suffolk, the 1st day of April, 1657."

Be it remembered, that this bloody warrant is grounded upon a notorious falsehood; for I was neither found vagrant nor wandering at Nayland, but in a religious meeting for the worship of God, and out of the same was pulled away with violence, and had before these two persecuting justices, who, contrary to their office and titles, have therein acted both contrary to law, justice, and to the peace of the nation, in causing an innocent person to be cruelly scourged, and that upon a gross and notorious falsehood.

The said warrant was the next day after its date, put into severe execution by a foolish fellow, whom the constable got to do it. When the constable had stripped me above the waist, which he could not persuade myself to do, but I let them act their own cruelty, the fellow, with a long, sharp whip, laid on so violently, that he cut and wounded both my back and breast with long stripes, tearing the skin and shedding blood, till some people present cried out to stop him. There was a great number present, it being in a public place, like a market place, in the street, and many wept to see their cruelty; yet, by the Lord's power I was enabled cheerfully to bear it all with patience, great comfort and rejoicing, even in the very time of the execution, whereby many were amazed and smitten. How many stripes I had, I do not well know, but remember that the marks thereof were to be seen a long time after, both on my back and breast.

It is also very memorable to me, how wonderfully the Lord, by his divine power, supported me, even while they were inflicting their cruelty and punishment upon my body; that even then my spirit was raised, and my mouth opened to sing aloud in praises to the Lord, my God, that he counted me worthy to suffer for his Name and truth's sake.

When the hand of the executioner was stayed from beating me, by the cry or call that was made to stop him, I told the people that it was a proof of a minister of Christ, patiently to endure afflictions, persecutions, stripes, imprisonments, according as the holy apostle testifies; "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in afflictions, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults," &c., as it is more fully in 2 Cor. vi. And while I stood with my stripes and wounds naked before them, I then told the officers concerned, that if they had any more to lay upon me, I was ready and given up to suffer, it being in the cause of Christ, for conscience sake. I may not forget the wonderful power, aid and comfort which the Lord afforded me

in that suffering condition, and the contempt my persecutors enviously designed to cast upon me and our friends by that sort of punishment, legally intended against rogues and thieves, but unjustly inflicted upon me, who was innocent.

This memorial is given to warn all justices and magistrates professing Christianity, against following the steps of those invidious, persecuting justices before mentioned.

The said execution against me, and the solemnity attending it being over at Nayland, I took my horse and was accompanied out of the town by the constable and others, towards Sudbury, to which town the officers with their said warrant and pass, attended me the same day it was executed.

The next day I was passed away from constable to constable, through Clare and Haverhill, into the edge of Cambridgeshire. In Clare, when the warrant was produced to pass me forward, as ordered, several persons took great notice of me, and seeing me have a pretty good horse, and well habited, some said, "This young man does not look like a vagrant."

In the edge of Cambridgeshire, we met with a constable in the field at the harrow. And being made to understand it was about nine miles to have me the next way, as the warrant required, to another constable toward Cambridge, he thought it was too far for him to go with me. I said he need not trouble himself, I knew what way to go. He then freely delivered me the warrant, it drawing toward night. I returned alone to find some town where I might lodge that night, and not in the very way that I came, but somewhat more toward the south; so I rode about five miles that evening, to a town called Steeple Bumpsted, in Essex, where I got lodging in an inn. The inn keeper being drunk, and understanding I was called a Quaker, I heard him say, "I'll kick him from stile to stile;" yet the next morning being more sober, when I paid for what I had, he parted friendly with me.

Then I rode to Halsted and Coggeshall, and after that to Colchester, and had divers good meetings there and in those parts, and at Sudbury, and near Nayland, aforesaid. The country being alarmed and awakened by my suffering, the people were the more stirred up to come to meetings, to see and hear the young man that was so cruelly whipped at Nayland. Many were tenderly affected and convinced, and the truth of our testimony was the more spread and prevailed; so that the dark wrath of man turned to the praise of God, and I had great joy and consolation in Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I was freely given up to suffer, and he did powerfully sus-

tain and stand by me therein; glory to his name, and dominion be to him for ever.

I was more deeply concerned in spirit, to travel and labour in the gospel ministry in that country, and those parts where I had so greatly and openly suffered; and often to visit those eastern counties, being supported in spirit, and borne up above all the threats of branding and hanging, and above the envy of that cruel, persecuting spirit, and made to despise all the shame it could cast upon me, by reproach and contempt.

In the forepart of that summer, in the year 1657, meeting with my dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, we travelled together out of Huntingdonshire, from King-Rippon to Leicester, and to Coventry, Warwick and Worcester, and visited Friends as we went in those places, having some meetings with them. In Gloucestershire, we met with our dear brother, George Fox senior, at one justice Grimes' house, a few miles from Gloucester, who with his wife and family, were convinced of the blessed truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, his life and power. In the court yard of this house, George Fox had a large meeting that first-day we met him. I showed the justice, John Gurden's bloody warrant against me, and the pass before mentioned, at which he wondered, and was offended at his cruelty, and minded to write to him against his persecution.

The next day I went to Gloucester, and visited those few Friends then in that city, which was very acceptable to them. After that, I travelled about in that county and Worcestershire, and visited the meetings of Friends mostly round the counties, and in part of Herefordshire; the word of Christ and of life, being plenteously in my heart and ministry, enabled me by his power largely to preach, to the convincing; strengthening, and comfort of many. Although I met with opposition and contention from some Baptists, and others in those parts, as in Gloucestershire, Lemster in Herefordshire, and in the city and county of Worcester, where the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me to stand against all the opposition and contention which I met with, or stood in my way; for which I did, and ever shall bless that divine Power whereby I was called forth, and greatly assisted in the defence of the gospel of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

Our friend and brother, Thomas Goodyear, and some Baptists, had appointed or agreed to a meeting at our Friends' meeting place at Stoak Orchard, near Tewksbury, to dispute or discourse matters of difference about religion; and hearing of that appointment, I went to the meeting, which was held in a barn,

where the said Thomas Goodyear and the Baptists, and a great company of people, Friends and others were met.

The Baptist preacher began in a kind of preaching, instead of arguing against our friends and principles; chiefly about eternal life, where he thought we might have it, viz: in the Scriptures, and not by following a light within; not confessing Christ or his light within, or in man, nor to his divine revelation or immediate teaching and ministry in believers; but placing all chiefly upon the Scriptures without, giving them the preference; insisting on John v. 39. Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, &c. Further, in his preaching on this subject, he mentioned these words of Christ: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." From whence the Baptist thus argued: "If the words of Christ are in the Scriptures, then there is spirit and life in the Scriptures, or we may find eternal life in the Scriptures: but the words of Christ are in the Scriptures, therefore spirit and life, or eternal life is in the Scriptures, or we may find eternal life in the Scriptures;" with more such doctrine,—upon which he continued preaching so long, I think near an hour, that after we had borne it so long patiently, I was constrained to call out to be heard, to give answer.

I obtained silence and liberty to answer, and then went through the heads of his objections, and gave him plain answers, refuting them particularly; yet sincerely owning the holy Scriptures, words and doctrine of Christ therein contained. But the Baptist's argument and inference from Christ's words I distinguished thus: that though the words of Christ, as proceeding immediately from his mouth, are spirit and life when he speaks them, yet the same words as written and only read in the Scriptures, are not spirit and life; for many read his words without his spirit, and without a true understanding thereof. By his saying, "The words I speak unto you," they are spirit and they are life; he does not say the words as written, much less the Scriptures or writings, are spirit and life. When Christ himself speaks to a soul, his words are spirit and life to that soul, for spirit and life are in his words, when he speaks them. But when another reads or speaks them without his spirit, they minister neither spirit nor life. For instance, Christ's calling to Lazarus when dead and buried, "Lazarus come forth;" his words were spirit and life to Lazarus. But let another read or speak the same words to a man dead and buried, and cry to him to come forth, they will not raise him to life. With much more in the plain demonstration and evidence of truth, against his objections; on which he

having made a large preachment, it required the longer time to answer, which I claimed as my right on truth's account.

The Friends present at the meeting were much satisfied in the defence which the Lord enabled me to make at that time, in vindication of the blessed truth, and the friends thereof. The auditory who were unprejudiced, were the better informed, and their understandings opened, and the opposer and his party quieted, and so went away; for the Lord's power went over all in that meeting, and truth gained ground, though it was through some contention.

At Worcester city I had a large meeting, where I met with some opposition, and one time from some professors, several persons of note being present; but their dispute was soon over, for they could not maintain their opposition, and the truth prevailed over them, to the convincing of many. The Lord was with me in my testimony for his name, and gave me suitable answers by his immediate power and spirit, opening matters in vindication of the truth of the gospel, which he had given me a dispensation of, to bear witness to his light and grace, and to turn people thereto in their own hearts and consciences. Glory to his excellent name and power for ever.

I also had a meeting at a place called Clifton upon Teamd, about seven miles from Worcester; it was without doors in an orchard, and many Friends and others came to it, some Friends out of Herefordshire, &c. After I had some time to preach the truth, one John Dedicote, esteemed a minister or priest of Richard Baxter's communion, accompanied with several others of his brethren, and Colonel Birch, as mouth of the rest with him, must needs enter into dispute against me. His main point was to dispute against perfection and freedom from sin in this life, as not attainable to believers or saints on this side the grave.

One or two Friends out of Herefordshire, who had been professors, being convinced of the truth, one of them would undertake to answer the priest in my stead, being jealous of me, that I should not be able to deal with him because of my youth, and the priest being ready to run into his logic and syllogisms. I forbore a little, and observed what essay the Friend would make to answer the priest's argument; on which I quickly saw I must step in and discourse the point, and not be put by. After I entered upon the dispute, the Friends who had been afraid of my inability, concluded I should deal well enough with the priest, and quietly left the controversy with me to manage.

The chief point of doctrine John Dedicote insisted upon, was for sin and imperfection to

continue in men during life; that perfection, that is, freedom from sin, is not attainable in this life; accusing even St. Paul with not being free from the act of sin while in the body, or upon earth; but could not lay any actual sin or act of sin to Paul's charge, or to the charge of any other of the saints who died in the faith, which they were not freed from before their decease. On the Scripture, Heb. xii. 22, 23, those attainments therein mentioned, my opposer would not own to be attainable in this life, particularly their being come to the spirits of just men made perfect. He would have it construed, that was not in this life, or on this side the grave, arguing after this manner; if perfection be not attainable on this side the grave, then they did not come to the spirits of just men made perfect in this life, or on this side the grave: but perfection, that is, freedom from sin, or the act of sinning, is not attainable in this life; ergo, they did not come to the spirits of just men made perfect on this side the grave.

I clearly saw the fallacy of his argument in the second proposition and consequence, and the absurdity thereof, and showed the people how the apostle then wrote to those believing Hebrews, to whom he says: "But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, and to the general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." That those believers were not then dead and in their graves when the apostle wrote thus to them, and told them they were come to the spirits of just men made perfect. Can you think the apostle would write to them when they were in their graves? Then the argument was forced to be dropped, and some other arguments our opponent attempted, but made little of it, being fully answered and refuted, and matters cleared relating to the inward and spiritual work of Christ, and his being made manifest to destroy the work of the devil, which is sin and the pollution thereof.

I had then and oftentimes, great comfort, life, and strength given me in pleading the cause of Christ and his righteousness against the devil's cause and work of sin and unrighteousness; and the power of Christ and his counsel did really accompany and assist me in that service, to the confounding of such as would plead Satan's cause, for the continuance of sin term of life: in which work they were none of Christ's friends, servants, or ministers, whatever their professions or pretensions were.

In this dispute the Lord showed me both the fallacies of the adversaries' arguments,

and gave me more discovery and sight of their kind of logic, and their crafty way of syllogizing, than ever I had before; and quickly to find out fallacies, and many times absurdities, in their arguing, though they pretended mood and figure for it.

The Lord gave me to perceive when a proposition was false, and when the inference was unjustly deduced from a proposition, though in itself true; knowing that it is a principal part of true logic in disputations, to see that the proposition is true or truly stated, and that the consequence which naturally follows, so that they truly agree.

After the Lord was pleased to give me a clear understanding in this matter, between the true and the false way of arguing, between what was true logic, and what was falsely so termed,—as there is a true science and that which is falsely so called; then I was the more prepared to withstand all the crafty opposition of pretended logic and syllogisms which I met with, both at Cambridge and other places, and valued them no more than pedantry; and I could easily invert an adversary's absurdity back upon him by way of syllogism. I have met with many priests very dull at their acquired artificial logic, and incident to run into many absurdities, while they would often condemn and deride us as illiterate men; but when we have discovered and refuted their ignorance and absurdities, then they would cry out against us, and asperse us as Jesuits. Thus I have been often treated by them.

After the said John Dedicote and his brethren could not stand their ground, to maintain his plea and arguments, for the continuance of sin and imperfection in the best of saints during life, Colonel Birch resumed the plea to maintain their point, contrary to the apostle John's testimony: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Against this the Colonel argued from that article in the Lord's prayer; "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." "Therefore," said he, "they had trespasses that needed to be forgiven, and they were born of God, and were his children, because he was their Father when they said, Our Father which art in heaven," &c.

This seemed to be the chief argument that was advanced at that dispute, wherein he appeared to go beyond the priests: but I demonstrated the several states and degrees of children, of such as might call God father, of such children under Christ's teaching, or in his school, as needed to crave forgiveness of their trespasses; and of such children whom

John wrote unto when he said; "I write unto you little children, because your sins are forgiven you." Had they need always to pray for forgiveness of their sins all their life time, after their sins were forgiven? No sure, that would imply that still they wanted forgiveness, or were in a state of condemnation when their sins were already forgiven them, which is very inconsistent. To which I did not understand any reply could be given by the Colonel or priests; who, after full discourse quietly withdrew from the meeting.

But further, as to the point then in question, about calling God our father, &c.

1. He is so; and may be so called, as he is our Creator, having created man in his own image: "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us."

2. God is owned to be our father when we are begotten by his living Word, into a measure of true and living faith in Christ, in order to be sanctified, being adopted or chosen to be his sons and heirs of eternal life; and being such children or sons by adoption, we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby, as young and weak children, we cry to him, Abba Father.

3. When we did experience but a small entrance into the work of regeneration or sanctification, and our hearts were turned toward God with tender breathings and desires to him, that the work might go forward and prosper, toward the completing of the new birth, then we could truly call God, "Our father, having begotten us again unto a lively hope."

4. And though little children, whose sins are forgiven, through repentance and faith in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, are but weak, and may stumble and possibly fall, so as to get some bruises or hurts, yet the apostle John gives this encouragement to such; "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not," &c. Whereby he implies a possibility of a sinless state, as also our duty not to sin. And also not to despair of help and recovery, if any of us in that weak condition of little children, happen to sin, or get some fall, hurt, or bruise, as in these following words; "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Such kindness and help has our Mediator afforded, if we do not sin wilfully.

5. And furthermore, even such little children as are but weak and feeble, who experience a measure of true faith and repentance in the name of Christ, God is not willing to cast off, but to own them for his children and people;

and if they be sincere in their desires and love to him, and do not draw back, but follow the Lord fully, yea, follow the Lord Jesus Christ in and through the work of regeneration, they will become his free born children; he will be an everlasting Father unto them, and they shall be his sons and daughters, and heirs of his heavenly kingdom for ever.

6. God was pleased to esteem Ephraim his dear son and pleasant child, when he was humbled under his chastisement, and prayed to be turned, and repented; see Jer. xxxi. 18, 19, 20. And in that low condition the Lord extended compassion and mercy to him, or that tribe. Oh! the bowels of the tender mercies of God, which move and are opened abundantly in his dear Son Jesus Christ, to the truly penitent and humbled, through his fatherly chastisements.

7. Now to consider the new birth completed or perfectly formed in Christ Jesus; such who are perfectly born from above, by the Holy Ghost, born of water and of the Spirit, so as to be thoroughly washed, sanctified, and made living to God in Christ, abide in him and sin not, as John said, Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not; and he who is so born of God, that he cannot sin, it is because he is so born, and his seed remaineth in him. To attain to this state and stature in Christ Jesus, requires a true travail of soul, a perseverance and growth in grace and faithfulness in the love of God, a being rooted in love, and a real stability in truth and righteousness. The true and heaven born child must be kept in the bosom of the Father,—and blessed be our heavenly Father, he hath many such children, who will never forsake him who is the God of their salvation, and who will rather die than deny the truth. And, “Who shall separate them from the love of Christ?” And, “We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.”

Contrary to which apostolical doctrine, the said John Dedicote hath also argued in a letter to me, dated the 23rd of the fifth month, 1657, though I had otherwise fully informed him, both at our dispute and by writing. His doctrine therein is much as before, against perfection and a sinless state in this life, signifying that his heart is saddened, because that perfection in this life and freedom from sin are preached up by us. And that no error doth more sadden his heart than that doctrine, and that it is a soul ruining doctrine.

His doctrine herein is contrary to the holy apostle's doctrine; “Finally, brethren, farewell; be perfect, be of good comfort, &c.” The doctrine of perfection, therefore, was not to sadden their hearts, but to comfort them. Neither could it be either an erroneous or soul ruining doctrine; and to affirm it to be such,

is to reproach Christ and his ministry, who preached the same doctrine of perfection and holiness. See Mat. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Ephes. iv. 12. 2 Cor. xiii. 9. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Heb. x. 14. 1 John iv. 12, 13. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Psal. l. 2.

This person whose heart was saddened, because of our doctrine of perfection and freedom from sin being attainable in this life, further affirms, that the righteous are not perfect in graces, and that faith is imperfect; that the faith of the best is sometimes weak and full of doubtings; and that faith and knowledge are both imperfect.

Observe. A heavy charge against the righteous, and even the best of men, together with their graces, faith and knowledge, without exception: but he has not affirmed this either from his own experience, or from holy Scripture; as himself being either one of the best of men, or one really righteous, or one in the faith of Christ, whereby he purifies the heart of a true believer; for if by imperfect, he means sinful, or mixed with sin, or having sin, for he joins imperfection and sin together, he, with many others of his profession, who are but sinful ministers, do greatly err herein, as being ignorant both of the divine graces and faith of the righteous and best of men. It is no good sense to affirm their faith is sometimes full of doubtings; which is little better than to tell us, that the faith of the best is full of distrust or unbelief; which is contrary to the nature of that true and living faith which is the gift of God, which Christ is the author of, and a fruit of the holy Spirit. It is also called, the faith of the operation of God; and though there be a state of weak believers, who are weak in faith, or of little faith for a time, yet their faith grows and increases, who follow Christ, the author of true faith; even the most holy faith, which was and is the saints' victory. The degrees and increase of faith, prove not the faith of the best of men to be sometimes full of doubtings and imperfection. And want, as to growth, for some time proves not impurity in the nature of true faith, if it be but as a grain of mustard seed. It is a weakness on the creature's part to let in doubtings, fears or distrust, whereby there is a declining from the faith which is the gift of God, from whom every good and perfect gift comes. And men's declining or erring from the faith, is not the condition of any truly religious, much less of the best of men, whose faith and confidence stands in the name and power of Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we receive the end, the blessed reward of our faith, even the everlasting salvation of our immortal souls.

In the same year and summer of 1657, I travelled and laboured much in the gospel

ministry in the several counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and in Staffordshire, and other parts; and visited many meetings in the love and good will of God, of which I had through his dear Son, received a true and living sense and experience, whereby I was strengthened and supported in great labour in the work of the ministry of the gospel; and in which love my service was very acceptable where I travelled among Friends and friendly people. I met with little opposition, disputes or controversies from adversaries, after those I met with in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and once at a meeting at Lemster in Herefordshire, at the latter end of the meeting; and at a meeting in Warwickshire, where a fierce Baptist began a contest about the Word, but made little of it; for it was observable how impertinently he opposed our asserting Christ to be the Word of God, which was in the beginning. And consequently, that the Word was before the Scriptures were written.

Against which the Baptist made exception from Christ's parable and construction thereof, Mat. xiii. 4, 19. Mark iv. 4, 15. Luke viii. 5, 12; concerning some seeds which fell by the way side, which the fowls came and devoured; that is, When any one heareth the word of the kingdom, and understandeth it not, then cometh the wicked one and catcheth away that which was sown in his heart; or, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved.

Hence it was objected, that the devil could not take away Christ out of their hearts. And what then? Neither is it said the devil taketh away the Scriptures out of their hearts, or that the Scriptures were sown in them, or in those several sorts of ground. Parables are not to be taken literally, nor always to be strained to a literal sense. Though the devil cannot catch away Christ out of men's hearts, he can catch away loose and ignorant hearers' hearts from the sense of the Word preached, when touched therewith, that they may not believe and be saved; which is too common among forgetful, barren hearers. And all that can be argued from thence can never prove that the Word is not Christ, for that is to contradict John i. 1; or that Christ is not the Word preached, for that were to contradict his ministers, who preach Christ the living, eternal Word.

I had sometimes heard of one Rice Jones, and that he was at first convinced of the truth testified by George Fox; but soon turned aside against him and Friends, and gathered a separate meeting to himself, which some people termed proud Quakers, he mak-

ing them believe he was divinely inspired, so as to open the spiritual sense of the Scriptures. They kept their meetings at the castle at Nottingham. When I was there on a first-day of the week, I was concerned to visit them at their meeting, where I sitting a while, and observing the manner of their exercise, and their attending to hear Rice expound Scripture to them; and seeing how dead and empty their devotion or exercise was, I was moved to bear a plain testimony against their deadness; not waiting to feel the power of the Lord to quicken them unto his spiritual worship, or to the same purpose and effect: and I had some discourse with Rice, upon which he seemed somewhat down in his spirit, and stopt from going on that time.

A woman present, who appeared to be a sober and chief hearer, seemed somewhat offended at my discourse with him. She said to me, "I saw a simplicity in you after you came among us, but now the subtilty is got up in you;" whereby she seemed to aim at, or own simplicity. However, my spiritual, living testimony then borne among them, had so much effect upon that woman and some others, that they were convinced of the truth, and left Rice Jones and his meeting and came to Friends; perceiving that, "though he had a form, he denied the power of godliness, and therefore they might well turn away from such."

And though the said Rice came to some few of our meetings afterwards, yet I never heard that he came to any true settlement in his mind, in the light or power of truth, or to a real love to Friends. It is not men's professions or notions, gathered merely from the letter; but the spirit that begets true love, amity and unity.

Having laboured in the gospel work in the counties and places before mentioned, and had many large meetings without doors that summer; and being, after my confinement and hard usage in prison in Edmundsbury, as before related, toward the latter end of summer, at a meeting without doors at Leicester, on a first-day, I became somewhat weak in body, and was taken sick of a fever, through some cold that had seized upon me, insomuch that I was at times very sick and weak, so that my recovery was doubted. When the disease was at the height, or thereabouts, the Lord showed me that he would restore and raise me up again; my work was not yet done—I must yet live to bear testimony against the covetous priests, &c. This was so clearly and powerfully revealed and shown to me, that I was immediately revived thereby; and certainly believed, what I had cause before to question, that the Lord would

restore me to health for his name and work, and people's sake.

The next morning I told some Friends where I lay, how the Lord had that night discovered to me that he would raise me up and restore me to health. My work was not done, he had yet more work for me to do; I must further testify against the covetous priests. The Friends who heard me were very glad; and my health sprang up so speedily, that I recovered and grew better and better, and increased in strength every day; the time of that sickness being about two weeks before I recovered. The place where I lie that time, was at a town called Whetstone, near Leicester, at Thomas Pauley's or Parley, who with his wife, were honest, loving Friends.

Quickly after my recovery, I travelled again in the work and service of the Lord through part of Warwickshire and Coventry, and northward through Yorkshire, visiting meetings as I could conveniently in my journey toward my own county, Westmoreland, the summer being then well nigh over and winter approaching.

I had several good meetings in Yorkshire, and got well to my parents' house in Westmoreland, to whom I was very acceptable, and received with great joy and kindness, having been above three years absent from them. In that space of time I was known to have suffered great hardships under persecution; so that I was to them as one risen or come from the dead, for they had esteemed me as one lost or dead, as it was in a contrary case to mine; "This my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost and is found." Though I never was a prodigal, yet accounted as one lost, until the Lord gave them a better understanding who had so thought of me.

In the time of my three years absence, the Lord secretly, by his power, removed those prejudicial and hard thoughts out of the hearts of my parents and relations, which the priests had at first influenced them with, concerning me and my friends, the people called Quakers. I was and am still fully satisfied, the Lord did secretly plead my innocent cause, after I was rendered as a miserable object, and given over for lost and undone; yet through all the Lord gave me faith and patience to bear all, and to outlive many oppositions, trials and exercises, as well as hardships; glory to his excellent name and power for ever more.

Being returned into my native county, I had good opportunities to visit Friends at the several meetings which I had frequented, and where I was most known before I travelled abroad in the work of the ministry; as Sedbergh, Grayrigg, Kendal, Ravenstonedale, and

Strickland meetings, and those parts in Westmoreland, &c., where I was joyfully received, and my ministry, given me of the Lord, very acceptable and to the great comfort of many innocent Friends, in whom their first love was fresh and lively, and which they retained to the end of their days.

I also rode over the sands to Swarthmore, in Lancashire, to judge Fell's, to visit Margaret Fell and her family, and the meeting of Friends at their house; where we were comforted together in the Lord, and in the great love and unity which our Friends there, and in those parts were then in.

I also visited Friends' meetings through Cumberland, where I had not been conversant or much known before that journey; yet Friends being very loving in that county also, they very kindly received me and my testimony and service for the Lord God and his blessed everliving truth; he having made me zealously concerned for the promoting and spreading thereof, as well as he had enabled me to endure great suffering and hardships for the same.

I remember in those days, Friends in the west part of Cumberland kept their meetings without doors, at a place on the common called Pardsay Cragg, not then having convenient house room to contain the meetings. It was very cold, stormy, snowy and sleety weather, at one of the meetings which I had there on the said Cragg; but as there are several sides of it, where sheep may shelter from the wind and storm, so Friends commonly took the same advantage to meet on the calmest side. And truly several good and blessed meetings I had at the said Pardsay Cragg, without doors, both in the winter and summer times, and some within doors, since our friends got a meeting-house built there.

Likewise our friends of Strickland and Shapp, and that side of Westmoreland, kept their meetings for some years on the common, both winter and summer, until they got a meeting-house built at Great Strickland. Our friends in those northern counties were greatly enabled to bear the cold and all sorts of weather, when they had their meetings on the commons and mountainous places, for several years at first.

It rained most of the time at some meetings, and we have been very much wet; yet I do not remember that ever I got any hurt thereby, the Lord so preserved and defended us by his power; blessed be his name, who enabled me and many others, to stand and to bear divers kinds of storms and winds.

I travelled the former part of the winter, 1657, in Westmoreland, and also into the county of Durham to Newcastle and North-

umberland, and thoroughly visited the meetings of Friends in those parts, and at Berwick upon Tweed; and returned back to that called the Holy island, by the sea side. The wife of the governor of the garrison or fort there, was a Friend; Richard Wilson, a Friend of Sunderland, accompanying me to Berwick and back again. We were kindly received in that island, both by the governor, captain Phillips, as they called him, and his wife; and that evening I had a meeting in the castle, with the family, where the garrison was kept, and among the soldiers, who were civil to us. We lodged there that night, being kindly entertained; and the next morning the governor sent his man to guide us over the sands; being then convinced of the truth, he did the more manifest his kindness to us, and became a Friend; and some time after, he and his wife removed into Oxfordshire, to Banbury side, and so far as I know both continued Friends to the end.

In our return through Northumberland I declared the truth, and warned the people in several towns to repentance and amendment of their lives. Particularly in one town where they had a piper playing, and people about him dancing, by a hay stack in a yard; I rode up to them, and in the dread of the Lord warned them to repentance. The piper ceased playing, and he and the people present heard me quietly till I had cleared my conscience, and then parted peaceably from them. But few Friends or meetings were then in that county. As we travelled to Berwick and back again, it was hard for us to get lodgings in some places, particularly at Alnwick and one other place in our return; we had but a small meeting of Friends at Berwick. Our loving friend John Dove, and his wife and family at Whittlesey, kindly received me at his house, and at Northshields and Tynemouth, I had a meeting in each place.

Great endeavours were used for us to have meetings in Newcastle upon Tyne, while I was in those parts; but the mayor of the town, influenced by the priests, would not suffer us to keep any meeting within the liberty of the town; though in Gateside, being out of the mayor's liberty, our friends had settled a meeting at our beloved friend Richard Ubank's house.

The first meeting we then endeavoured to have within the town of Newcastle, was in a large room taken on purpose by some Friends; William Coatsworth of Southshields with other Friends, being zealously concerned for the same. The meeting was not fully gathered, when the mayor and his officers came, and by force turned us out of the meeting, and not only so, but out of the town also; for the

mayor and his company commanded us, and went along with us as far as the bridge over the river Tyne, that separated Newcastle and Gateside; upon which bridge there is a blue stone, to which the mayor's liberty only extends; when we came to that stone the mayor gave his charge to each of us in these words, viz:

"I charge and command you in the name of his highness the lord Protector, that you come no more into Newcastle, to have any more meetings there, at your peril."

On a first-day after, we met again within the liberty of the town of Newcastle, without doors, near the river side, where the mayor's officers came again and haled us away out of the liberty, on the bridge as before; and in Gateside we could enjoy our meetings peaceably, for which we were thankful to God.

Being thus forcibly disappointed of keeping any meetings within the liberty of the town, some Friend or Friends, agreed with the man that kept the Guild-hall, or shire-house, to suffer Friends to have a meeting therein, it being without the liberty of the town. Although the keeper of the hall had agreed for the price, the priest of the town interposed to prevent our meeting after it was appointed there, and persuaded the keeper to break his word and bargain made with our friends; and to keep them out of the house he had agreed they should meet in, the priest giving him half a crown to go back from his bargain—as we had account given us—for the said keeper was constrained to show the cause of the breach of his agreement, in keeping us out of doors.

Being thus disappointed of the house, after the meeting had been beforehand appointed and the time fixed, we were necessitated to keep the meeting without doors, on the side of the hill near the shire-house, being without the mayor's liberty.

It was so ordered of the Lord, by his over ruling power, that we had not only a large meeting of a great concourse of people besides our own friends, but it was also kept quiet, and the spirits of the people subjected and brought under by the power and prevalency of the truth and gospel testimony, which the Lord our God gave me strength to bear in that meeting, in power and authority, for a considerable time, I believe, for two or three hours together; and my voice was raised to that degree, that some said I was heard from the side of the castle hill over the river Tyne, into Gateside, which ascends opposite to the other.

And considering, that besides many people soberly inclined who resorted to the meeting, there was also a great concourse of loose,

rude and ignorant people, it was by the great mercy and providence of God the meeting was kept in such a quiet state, especially seeing the priests and the mayor were so much set against us, as not to suffer us to have a meeting within the liberty of the town, nor without the liberty within doors, where a priest could fraudulently prevent, as in the case of the poor man who was persuaded and bribed to break his word and bargain.

The peaceable posture, order and end of the meeting were greatly to our comfort, who were concerned for the promotion of truth therein, and it was to Friends' great satisfaction.

I remember the care of some persons that were present, some of whom seemed to be in office, to go along with me, and see me secured out of the hands of the mob, when the meeting was ended, and as I went along through part of the town of Newcastle.

That day's work and service is to me very memorable, as it was remarkable; and the fresh remembrance of the goodness and power of the Lord, my strength and help in his own work and service, is still matter of comfort to me; and the more, in that I have a living sense of the continuance of the same divine goodness, love and power of the Lord God with me still, that did assist and help me through deep sufferings, trials and weighty undertakings in his service, for his holy name and blessed truth sake. O my soul, bless thou the Lord, and let all that is within me praise his holy name, for his mercy endures for ever.

About the time when we were disappointed of having meetings in Newcastle, being turned out of the town by the mayor, as related, there fell out a sorrowful occasion and trouble to many Friends, as followeth:

The aforesaid William Coatsworth being zealous for procuring a meeting in Newcastle, and being disappointed, he let in too much grief and trouble of mind, insomuch that it did somewhat discompose him, so that in a hurry he took horse to ride to London in all haste, to speak to Oliver Cromwell, Protector, to complain and make his case known against the mayor of Newcastle, as was supposed: but when got to Durham, he was stopt at his father-in-law's, John Joplin.

Being seen to be in some discomposure where he was detained, and brought under the hands of physicians, they gave him physic several times, until he was near his end; some reported he had physic given him within an hour before he died, though he had before denied the use of such carnal means, as he termed them.

Before he died he was better composed, and

became so sensible as to declare several things for the clearing of the truth, and taking the blame upon himself, wherein he had missed his way and committed error, confessing to the just judgments of God which had been upon him; telling his father-in-law and mother Joplin, "It is the just judgment of God to bring me hither to lay my shame open among you. Father and mother, I feasted and riotied with you, and when you were light I was light; and when you laughed and talked, I did so; and so betrayed the simplicity of God in me; poor William Coatsworth! And though ye were friends to me in the outward, ye were enemies to the seed of God in me." Poor man, he was made sensible he had not stood in the cross, nor been so watchful as he ought to have been. And it was no doubt a mercy to him that he was made so sensible before his end.

He spake several times of George Fox, and said he was tender over the simplicity of God in him; and that Richard Farnsworth bade him labour to be little—little in his own eyes; "But," said he, "I could never get to be little, little in my own will." These things I had from several Friends that were with him; he died in a few days after he stopped at Durham, on the 8th day of the eleventh month, 1657. His example may be a warning to others who are convinced of the truth, to be low in their minds, little in their own eyes, and watchful to dwell under the power of the cross, to their own wills and runnings.

I was truly sorry for his afflicted and distressed widow, and in Christian compassion visited her, and had a meeting at her house at Southshields, and for a little time visited other meetings in that county of Durham, as Sunderland and other places. When I found myself clear in spirit of those parts, I took my journey to York, and forward pretty directly toward the south, as the isle of Ely, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, where my service as well as sufferings, had chiefly been.

After great labour and travel in many parts of the nation, as before related, in the second month of the year 1658, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which began in Essex. I laboured under it for some days, and had divers meetings until I got into Norfolk, though in a low condition, insomuch that my weakness so increased, I was constrained to stay at a Friend's house at Dysse, for two or three weeks. The Lord was pleased to recover and restore me by degrees, to my health and strength, although I was brought so very low by that sickness, that my recovery appeared to be by a special providence of God, who hath been pleased to lengthen out my days for his name and work's sake.

By his over-ruling power and merciful providence, he hath afforded me such manifest preservations, as that neither furious tumults, stonings, beating, cruel confinements, severe stripes, manifold labours, travels, nor sickness, have been hitherto suffered to shorten my days; for the Lord has prolonged them even far beyond my own expectation, many years ago, as well as to the disappointment of my cruel persecutors' expectations and desires. Let my heart and soul in true humility, bless the Lord our God for his manifold blessings and eminent preservations, both inward and outward. Let him have the glory and praise of all, who alone is worthy for ever more.

On the 12th day of the fifth month, 1658, as I was riding through the town of Hoxon, in Suffolk, and meeting with Edward Willan, priest of the town, I exhorted him to fear God and cease from iniquity. We fell into some discourse, wherein the priest accused me with seducing his flock from the church. Having had a meeting in the town the day before, I asked the priest concerning Hoxon steeple-house—we being near it—if that was the church he spake of? He affirmed that it was the church. I demanded of him to prove that such a house made of wood and stone was the church of Christ. He pretended to prove it was, from 1 Cor. xi. 22; "Or despise ye the church of God?" which no way proves the church of God to be such a house as is made up of wood and stone; for the apostle in the very same place distinguishes between their houses and the church of God; in saying, "What, have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God?" I told the priest that the church of Christ was built up of living stones:—that he granted; yet stood to maintain the outward house or fabric, as Hoxon steeple-house, to be the church; though he acknowledged that house was not built of living stones, but alledged that when the apostle spake of the church, he spake of the thing containing, for the thing contained, wherein he wronged the apostle's words and sense; for when the apostle wrote to the church of Christ, or to the church of God, he wrote to them that were sanctified in Christ, called to be saints, &c. 1 Cor. i. 2. And to the church which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. 1 Thes. i. 1. It was the sanctified people, the saints to whom he wrote, not to a house of wood and stone.

I having detected the priest's error, he grew angry, for he appeared both ignorant and envious, and could not fairly hold an argument with moderation. In our discourse, his envy and rage rose to that degree, that he took my horse by the bridle and forcibly held him,

having some of his followers presently to assist him, who, together with the priest, forced me to go before one Anthony Barry, who was called a justice of peace, and was a member of an Independent congregation or church, at Silam, near Hoxon, where one ——— Habergham was pastor, who was esteemed a noted minister among that people.

The said Edward Willan the priest, gave some invidious information to this justice Barry against me, for calling him persecutor and the like, which was after he had assaulted me in Hoxon street, and threatened to pull me off my horse; though it was made apparent to the said justice, what an ignorant, invidious person the priest was, and what small and groundless occasion he took against me, to persecute me; and what a breaker of the peace the priest himself was, in his assaulting me in the highway; yet to gratify the envy of the priest, the pretended justice, Anthony Barry, made a warrant to commit me to the county jail in Ipswich, under pretence of having reviled the priest, though he could not prove any law transgressed by me in my discoursing with the priest, which was fairly and Christianly done on my part.

But justice Barry pretended a law he accused me with the breach of, which he told us was a late act of Parliament, made for the punishment of vagrants, idle, loose, dissolute persons, and fidlers, &c.; which he said, was only for Quakers. But it could not be true; for it was made against idle, loose, and dissolute persons, who might properly be termed vagrants or vagabonds. As for the people called Quakers, I believe there then were, and still are, as sufficient responsible men among them as himself ever was, if not more responsible, and of better reputation every way. And therefore it was very unjust in him to term the Quakers vagabonds or vagrants, telling us that the said act of Parliament made against vagabonds, was only made for Quakers, and thereupon to take an unjust, as well as illegal occasion to commit me to prison. However, he would make a mittimus to send me to jail, and they were so hasty to convey me thither, that they would not suffer me to take one night's rest, but being laid down on a bench, the very same night after I was apprehended, I was hurried away on horseback, and guarded by some men of the town of Hoxon to Ipswich jail. We rode most of that night, and got thither a little after sun-rising, it being, as I take it, above twenty miles.

When I was delivered up to the keeper, I found three of our friends then in the common jail, where they put felons; one was William Alexander of Needham, an honest young man,

and two other honest Friends, who suffered for non-payment of tithes.

I was very well content to suffer with such good company in the common ward, where both the place and our lodgings were but mean, having no other beds to lie upon than pease straw, yet we had sheets and bed clothes upon the straw. John Story, the keeper of the jail, although he had dealt hardly by George Rose and some other Friends before, yet he was far more civil to me, and Friends with with me, than Robert Newton, the jailer at Edmundsbury had been.

I was detained there until the next quarter sessions, and then had before the justices, where the priest, Edward Willan, and another invidious person, Thomas Yellop, appeared to prosecute me, who gave a false, partial, and aggravated information upon oath against me; that I had reviled the ministry of the Word of God at a meeting at Hoxon. Yet he confessed in court, that he did not hear me at the meeting, for he was not at it, but took an envious bailiff, one Thomas Yellop, for his witness, who swore to the same thing the priest had done against me. But neither of these prosecutors would discover the occasion Edward Willan had given against me, by assaulting me in the highway, only for exhorting him, and disputing against his erroneous doctrine about the church, and his demanding tithes or wages for praying for people, as he had before confessed. He would not inform the Sessions of these things, being conscious of them himself; but complained of my charging him as a persecutor, and testifying against his envy and malice, which was Cain's way, and which his own violence and abuse against me did evince he was justly chargeable with. This he took as a great affront, and reviling him, having come so far as from Hoxon to Ipswich, to prosecute me upon oath, which he could scarcely do without trembling, like one under some consternation; guilt, and great envy and revenge. Whether to gratify or pacify him, Edmund Harvey and others of the justices, were pleased to show the priest so much favour as to fine me twenty shillings, when a jury of ignorant men had brought in their unjust verdict or sentence against me, according to what the priest had falsely sworn; though I did clear my conscience in testimony against their persecution and partial proceeding against the innocent.

Being returned back to prison, I was there detained for some weeks, until their lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell died, in whose name I was committed, fined, and detained prisoner, as many others of our friends were in his days, and his son Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Protector in his place. In a

short time after, my dear friend Robert Duncon, making application to his uncle Duncon of Ipswich, and to justice Edgar, or some of the justices on my behalf, I was set at liberty from that imprisonment, in which I was confined about sixteen weeks in all, which I esteemed but a small suffering in comparison with what I had undergone before.

I would give a further hint of priest Willan's envy and ignorance, with observations thereupon. Threatening some persons who were none of his hearers, to get a warrant from justice Barry for tithes or wages he pretended they owed him, he was asked in the presence of the justice, if it was equal a man should receive wages of such as he doth no work for? The priest answered, "I pray for all within my parish, or that have heard me, whether they come to hear me or not."

The priest and justice agreed in envy against the Quakers, though not in profession of religion, the one being a Presbyterian parish priest, and the other a member of an Independent church, who pretended to be better reformed and more refined than those parish priests and their churches were; pretending to spiritual gifts, as having the spirit of Christ, and the other not to have that infallible spirit; the one for a parochial church, without exception; the other for a select church, better qualified to receive their communion; but in the spirit of persecution, the priest and the justice were agreed.

Where any minister of Christ demanded tithes or money of any people for praying for them, we want Scripture proof; nor have we any precedent or example in Scripture, that any of Christ's ministers did sue men at law, or procure a warrant from any magistrate to force them to pay tithes or wages, either for preaching to them or praying for them; for they both preached and prayed freely, as Christ commanded, by the spirit of Christ Jesus, which they had received of him.

But the said priest Willan confessed that he was not called by an infallible spirit, and disowned having an infallible spirit in himself. Whereby he showed that his preaching and praying proceeded from his own fallible, erring spirit, and not from the spirit of Christ, which is an infallible and unerring Spirit; and the Lord is against those foolish prophets that follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing. And "He that hath not the spirit of Christ, is none of his."

Now in what a sad case is that people, and how miserable are they who are led by such blind guides as follow not the spirit of Christ, but their own spirits? and what good will the prayers of those who are none of Christ's, do for people? and what a poor bargain have

they who are forced to pay tithes or money for their prayers? This trade must surely cease and come to an end where Christ comes to be king, priest, prophet, minister and bishop over the souls of people.

After I was released from my imprisonment in Ipswich, I had very good and comfortable service in the work of the gospel ministry, in several places in the country, particularly at Trembly and Waltonside, in Suffolk, and at Harwich, Manningtree, Colchester, and other places in Essex, where we had quiet and comfortable meetings; things appearing then for a little space, pretty easy towards us and our meetings, upon this new change in government of the Protector, so called. Still the persecuting spirit secretly remained, and the enmity thereof, in a sort of professing people and their teachers, against us the people called Quakers, and our religious meetings. They would not willingly allow any people liberty of conscience but themselves, wherein they did not exercise a conscience void of offence, either toward God or men. Their own self-wills had greater sway over them than any just, equal, or tender conscience; for that would have had some tender respect to that just, equal and divine precept of doing to all men as we would be done by; which these persecutors' consciences had not, as may appear in the following account.

A meeting of our friends with me, being desired in the town of Ipswich, some weeks after my release out of prison, and our honest friend, Timothy Grimble, ship master, and Mary his wife, being willing and desirous we should meet at their house; accordingly on the 6th day of the eleventh month, 1658, we had there a good and peaceable meeting for the worship and service of Almighty God, and manifestation of his blessed truth. Many sober, honest people met, and the Lord's presence was known among us, but our adversaries in that town being still possessed with prejudice and envy against us and our innocent meetings, were uneasy thereat, and minded to stir up persecution in their new Protector's name, to make him culpable and guilty thereof, as the persecutors had done by their old one; for the mal-administration of inferior ministers, has often brought reproach upon their superiors in government, when they have acted in their names. In pursuance of those persecutors' invidious designs against us, to prevent Friends having more meetings in Ipswich, the following presentment was devised and made against our friend Timothy Grimble.

"IPSWICH, *Suffolk*.—The jury for his highness, Richard, lord Protector of the common-

wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, upon their oaths do present, that Timothy Grimble, late of Ipswich, in the county aforesaid, mariner at Ipswich aforesaid, the 7th day of January, 1658, and continually after, until the day of the taking this inquisition, hath received into his house, countenanced, harboured and supported divers dissolute, idle, loose, lewd and suspected persons, disturbers of the public peace, to the jurors unknown, commonly called Quakers, of evil conversation; doth also keep disorder, evil rule and government in his house, to the great nuisance of his neighbours and other people of this commonwealth, and against the peace."

The names of the said jury:—John Mall, John Hamont, Thomas Wright, jr., John Donaty, Robert Stebbing, Thomas Grigg, Charles Wright, John Gray, John Jolley, Samuel Humphrey, Edward Keen, Richard Humphrey, Joseph Haymor, Richard Clopton, Peter Cole, Robert Grows, Edmund Darby, Thomas Brook, Richard Thurston, William Goodale.

An abstract of an answer that was given to the said presentment, by some Friends concerned.

"Let all sober people observe, how envious these jurymen and inquisitors have appeared against Timothy Grimble and his innocent friends.

"1. Their presentment being grounded and made up of false accusations, gross lies and slanders. The meeting that we had at Timothy's house, which was on the 6th day of the eleventh month, 1658, was a peaceable meeting, for the service of God and his worship, and the holy truth therein held forth; and no cause thereby given for these jurors or any others, to be offended at such a meeting, which was both according to the law of God, and owned by him, and also tolerated by the government. What enmity and malignity therefore, appears in such a scandalous presentment, thus to defame an honest man for suffering a peaceable meeting, and entertaining quiet, innocent people at his house, who ought by law to be protected, and not punished for the exercise of their religion, or conscience toward God.

"2. As for those called Quakers, whom Timothy Grimble received and harboured in his house, who they say are unknown to the jurors, some of their names are, Robert Duncon, Robert Grassingham, Joseph Scott, and George Whitehead; and they are well known to be no dissolute, no idle, no loose, no lewd or suspected persons, nor disturbers of the public peace, as they are unjustly defamed

and reproached in the presentment given upon oath against them. But very well known to be sober, honest persons, and also responsible where they live.

"What a large conscience did appear in these jurors, who could swear against men unknown to them, and upon oath present them so highly criminal, as being no other than dissolute, idle, loose, lewd, and suspected persons, while unknown to these their accusers and swearers against them.

"3. We ask you jurors, wherein and when did we, called Quakers, whom you have sworn against, disturb the public peace? And what evil conversation can you charge or prove against us? If you cannot prove the matter of fact charged, and by you sworn against us, be ashamed thereof. Surely those magistrates, or that court, that have such a presentment as yours, ought not to trust your oath to the same, but to examine you of the particular crimes or accusations charged, you having grossly and very unjustly defamed Timothy Grimble and his friends called Quakers, for which you are accountable. Let the magistrates inquire of you, what suspected persons he hath harboured continually, and try you upon what ground you have cast such aspersions upon sober, honest men. And what disorder, evil rule and government, doth Timothy Grimble keep in his house? What sober, honest neighbours will say that they are annoyed or disturbed by disorder, evil rule or government, kept at Timothy Grimble's? Produce your proofs for these accusations; or else like forsworn persons, forever stop your mouths, and let shame cover your lips. For have you herein acted either like rational men or Christians, or done as you would be done by? Would you take it well to be presented or indicted for entertaining your friends, as you have presented and grossly misrepresented Timothy Grimble for harbouring his friends?

"4. Many can witness, that the meetings we had at Timothy Grimble's house in Ipswich, were peaceable and lawful. And those priests and professors who were offended at them, had done more honestly or discreetly if they had come to our faces in our meetings to have manifested openly, what lewdness or errors were practised or held forth by any of us, if they could; rather than to go behind our backs, to instigate the magistrates against us, without any just cause. But the deceit of those who have thus acted in the dark against the innocent, is made manifest to their shame; and the more by grossly abusing innocent people, as the said jurors and their abettors have done.

"5. To swear at all, is a transgression against Christ's doctrine. But to present lies

and slanders upon oath, to cause the innocent to suffer, is a much greater offence, which these jurors have done against Timothy Grimble and his friends, called Quakers, who are witnesses against all idleness, disorder, looseness, lewdness, and evil government whatsoever; though thus the wicked have made lies their refuge, and like men mad with envy, have forged such slanders against honest men, as are contained in the said presentment. So that we may even say with the prophet; 'They that were mad against us, were sworn against us.'

Thus I have abstracted the substance and greatest part of our original answer, which was signed by Robert Duncon, George Whitehead, and Robert Grassingham.

George Whitehead's letter to the inhabitants of Ipswich, both teachers and people.

Oh! the pride, high-mindedness and self-conceitedness which abound in this town of Ipswich! What feignedness, hypocrisy and will-worshipping are among the professors, who ignorantly worship an unknown God according to their own wills; who have gotten words of the saints, and of the Scriptures of truth, but the light which led the saints they are out of, and have grieved and quenched the spirit of it, when it hath appeared in their own consciences to convince them of sin and evil. So that their sin remains in them, and the curse of God hath power over them that live in pride, deceit, superstition and ungodly conversation.

There hath been a zeal stirring for the Lord in several of them formerly, according to what they knew; but now much deadness, coldness, emptiness and barrenness is over their spirits, and unrighteousness hath the pre-eminence among them. The teachers have gotten the saints' words to speak of, and are painted over with an empty profession, and a feigned humility, but inwardly are proud, covetous and rebellious—resisting the truth, and make a trade upon the Scriptures; teaching for hire, and divining for money. Such the true prophets of God cried against; "For they are as women that sew pillows under people's arm holes, speaking peace to the wicked, where there is no peace. And they are as foxes in the deserts, that are greedy, waiting for their prey." And much wilfulness and slavery is in the proud and covetous priests, and in many of the professors, who will not bring their deeds to the light, neither dare they try all things, as the apostle commanded, but cry out against us called Quakers behind our backs, but would not be tried face to face, nor suffer others to come

and try us face to face; though for the truth's sake several of us have suffered among them in prison. Many of the teachers incense the people against us and that which we profess, which is the truth; so are they kept in slavery and ignorance. And you professors in Ipswich, Christ may justly say to you; "I was a stranger and ye took me not in. I was in prison among you, and ye visited me not: inasmuch as ye did it not to these little ones that believe in me, who have suffered among you, ye did it not to me."

Yet this from the Lord I declare unto you, that the day of visitation and the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you; and wo unto them that still walk on in filthiness, resisting and hating the light, which is God's witness in their own consciences, which doth convince them of sin and evil, and reproves them when they commit it. Take heed how you always resist the truth, since the Lord hath warned you; lest you perish in your iniquities, and your blood be upon your own heads, and upon your teachers, who retain the wages of unrighteousness, and exercise lordship over you, to keep you in ignorance of the true light in yourselves, which Christ hath enlightened you withal, which all must come to and follow, who ever come to be saved from the wrath of God, and from the curse which abideth upon the children of disobedience. Away with all your empty professions, and let such as name the name of Christ, depart from iniquity. Away with all your proud and covetous teachers who preach for hire, who make a trade upon the saints' words, which were spoken forth freely from the Spirit of truth. Away with all your pride, gaudy attire, and superfluity of naughtiness, the Lord is grieved with you because of these things; you are not come to the modest apparel outwardly, nor to the true adorning inwardly, which is not costly nor gaudy attire, but it is that of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. "How long shall the Lord wait to be gracious to you," and yet ye resist his grace, which hath appeared unto you, to teach you to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present evil world. How long shall the Lord warn you, and yet you repent not? How oft shall he call you, by his light in you, out of your filthiness, and yet you answer him not, nor hearken to his voice? How often shall the Lord knock at the door of your hearts, and yet ye open not? Yet know that his spirit will not always strive with man: but it cometh to pass, that they that will be filthy, must be filthy still. Therefore as ye love your souls take warning.

From a friend to all that desire to know the

Lord, and one who for the gospel's sake, hath lately suffered fifteen weeks, or above, in Ipswich prison.

Suffolk, the 1st day of the
Ninth month, 1658.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

It was observable, that notwithstanding all the persecutions, reproaches and calumnies which we suffered under, and were multiplied against us, especially against such of us as did bear a public testimony for Christ Jesus and his truth, and against the corruptions of the world; yet the truth gained ground and prevailed, and our numbers and meetings increased in those days of the commonwealth, so termed. The covetous, proud priests were sorely offended and disturbed, that so many of their hearers and benefactors left them and resorted to our assemblies; and though we that were public preachers of righteousness, had some respite and ease from open persecution in the years 1658 and 1659, after Richard Cromwell was set up for Protector, yet in his short time, those priests ceased not their persecution, by grossly misrepresenting and reproaching us in their pulpits and congregations, to incense people against us, and to deter and affright them what they could from hearing us. But their pulpit noise against us made the indifferent, unprejudiced people the more inquisitive and willing to come to our assemblies to hear and see for themselves, and not to be so credulous and partial as to take all evil reports or reproaches upon trust against us, our doctrine or ministry, as too many have unjustly and injuriously done, to their own disgrace and shame.

When in divers places I heard the priests thus busy in preaching against us, a weighty and conscientious concern fell upon me, to send to several of them, particularly to desire a meeting with them in their public places or parish churches, fairly to discourse matters of difference, or what they could object, before their hearers. By this method I obtained several meetings with them in public, wherof I may give some instances. A. D. 1659.

Some priests in the county of Kent being busy against us, especially in the east of Kent, about Sandwich and those parts, and particularly Thomas Danson, priest at Sandwich, agreed to have a public meeting with some of our friends, which we being given to understand at London, Richard Hubberthorn, Samuel Fisher and myself, agreed to meet those priests at Sandwich; and took our journey into Kent near the beginning of summer.

On the day appointed, we were at Sand-

wich the former part of the day; by that time we were come to their parish church, so called, it grew so thronged with the concourse of people, that it was something difficult to crowd in; however, they made way for us. The priests got up near the pulpit, and we into a pew opposite to them.

Thomas Danson chiefly appeared to manage their controversy against us and our Christian principles, of the universal light of Christ in men; perfection being attainable in this life, through the power of Christ within; justification through sanctification; and about the Scriptures of truth and true use of them, by the help of divine illumination, as truly owned and professed on our parts.

Richard Hubberthorn and I, for some time, took our turns to answer the priests' objections and questions, according to plain Scripture, which I much endeavoured to hold the priests to, and to use what plainness I could for the people's information and edification.

Whereupon Thomas Danson appeared very uneasy, and seemed desirous to be at his logical way of syllogizing, and endeavouring to put me by, called upon Samuel Fisher to undertake the dispute in his logical manner of syllogisms, calling out, "Mr. Fisher, Mr. Fisher, pray do you undertake the dispute, or answer me by syllogism." Samuel being loath to take it upon him, humbly signified to the people that the controversy being so well managed by his friends, i. e. Richard Hubberthorn and myself, he had rather be silent; telling them that these his friends, meaning us two, were heavier upon the priests' shoulders than he could be, disputing logically with them; for that would tend to keep things more hidden from the people's understandings, and thereby the priests would hide themselves the more out of their sight.

Howbeit, the priest making a noise, to prevent me calling out to Samuel Fisher, he at last condescended to answer him in a logical way, in mood and figure as they termed it, wherein they held the debate for a while, and Samuel put the priest hard to it, about good works, to wit; the works of Christ in man being meritorious, or deserving justification and salvation; not opposing the works or sufferings of Christ, without man, being meritorious. Thus arguing, if evil works deserve damnation, then good works deserve justification; still intending Christ's works: but evil works deserve damnation: *ergo*.

Hereupon the priests would needs compare him to Bellarmine, though very unjustly; for Samuel only pleaded for such good works as were wrought by Christ, and which he is author of, as deserving, in order to man's salvation and peace with God, as knowing, "That

by grace through faith we are saved; not of ourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast; for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them." And to be sure as saving grace is the gift of God, so is true faith and God's work by Christ, and it is a good work too; and also it is our duty and work to believe, when by the grace of God it is given us to believe; as when we receive that faith of the operation of God, and are really in the obedience of faith.

Their chief objection was, that sanctification or holiness wrought in man by Christ, is imperfect in this life, therefore not justifying. Which is still to invalidate Christ's work, and lessen his dignity, or worthiness and merits, who did not deserve to suffer, but to reign and rule. He did not merit his sufferings, but his kingdom and glory therein; and his merits redound to our justification and salvation, both by his own obedience to the Father, and also by his work of righteousness and sanctification, which he perfects in us, if we "continue in the faith grounded and settled."

The dispute between Samuel Fisher and the priest about good works, and the priests' undue reflections thereupon held for sometime longer. In the meanwhile, by the crowd and pressure of the people the pews were much broken, and great damage done among their seats; insomuch that the next day a meeting was appointed in their school house, a pretty large room, where they could not do such damage, if any.

In the school house the priests got together again, Thomas Danson being foreman still. We entered upon the same subjects which we had in discourse the day before, about Christ and his light, and work of grace within, or in men, in order to their justification and salvation, who truly believe and obey him in his light given them.

While I was bearing my testimony to our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to open some weighty and essential matters relating to salvation, according to the holy Scriptures, that I might clear my conscience to the people, the priests in a short time appeared impatient to hear me out, and occasioned a great confused noise among their rude hearers, insomuch that I was constrained to raise my voice very loud, to be heard for a little time, greatly desiring I might have opportunity fairly to clear my conscience; but the opposite party were not so civil, neither did the priests quiet their hearers, as in point of civility they ought to have done.

But I have often observed in disputes with divers of the priests, when they were put

closely to it to keep to the point under debate, and they have been pinched, they have used that trick to raise a confused noise and clamour among their hearers, to prevent the truth from being heard, and to hide themselves from being detected; which treatment is but a poor piece of artifice and school craft, as persecutors use to send soldiers with their drums into our religious assemblies, therewith to make a hideous noise, that we might not be heard by the people, either in preaching the gospel, or in public and fervent prayer to Almighty God, in the name and spirit of his dear Son Jesus Christ. But, however, we knew that he hath often heard us to our comfort and great encouragement, when opposed and encompassed by the greatest noises and tumults of our adversaries and persecutors; they could never stop the ear of the Almighty, which is always open to the prayers of the righteous. But to return to the account of our treatment at the said school house.

While the rude company made a noise to prevent my being heard, our friend Samuel Fisher endeavoured to procure silence, that he might be heard, using the words of Job, "Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on." Sometimes he and the rest of us obtained some respites of silence and were heard, being sensible of the Lord's power and truth that was with us, and our sincere endeavours being for the discovery and advancement thereof, so that we were made the more easy and comforted in our spirits; though our adversaries, the priests, were left uneasy, retaining their prejudice and enmity against us, and our testimony for the truth in life and power. Thomas Danson afterwards published an envious book to reproach us, falsely styled, "The Quakers' folly made manifest to all men;" whereby he gave occasion to expose his own and his brethren's ignorance and envy, as they are clearly manifest and detected in our answers; one entitled, "The voice of wisdom uttered against antichrist's folly," &c. By George Whitehead, printed A. D. 1659; and more especially in Samuel Fisher's ample answer to Thomas Danson and others of his brethren, entitled, *Rusticus ad Academicos*, &c., first printed A. D. 1660, unto which I never heard of any answer or reply made or attempted by any of them.

Having notice that Henry Johnson, priest of Emneth in Norfolk, had preached or exclaimed publicly against the people called Quakers and their principles, I wrote a few lines, which I sent him by our friend Richard Sanders, for a public meeting with him in their parish church, so called, before his auditors,

that we might have a fair dispute or examination of those points or matters wherein we differed. To this he consented in a paper which he returned to me, to which he annexed seventeen questions to discourse upon, and which he supposed might, with my answers thereto, contain our opinion and persuasion—as his terms were—and to which he expected my answer, yea or nay, to each question respectively, at the time of our public discourse. Because we had not opportunity to discourse, or examine all his questions at that one meeting which we had, and he having enough of dispute at that time, I think convenient first to insert all his questions with particular answers, and then to give some account of the chief parts of our discourse. The questions and answers follow.

1. Whether Jesus Christ hath a body glorified in the heavens, distant and distinct from the bodies of his saints here below?

Answer. Yea, as a glorified body is distinct from natural or earthly bodies, and heaven from the earth.

2. Whether the blood that Jesus Christ shed at Jerusalem, is the blood that believers are justified by? or whether he dies in men for their justification?

Answer. Both sanctification, forgiveness of sins, cleansing from sin and justification, are sometimes ascribed to the blood of Christ, and to the spirit of our God and our Lord Jesus Christ, which effects, works and manifests the same in all true believers.

But here are two questions put for one; the first appears not a scriptural or proper question. Where does the Scripture use those words, viz: "the blood that Jesus Christ shed?" Seeing it was by wicked hands he was put to death, and his blood shed upon the cross? Yet as the blood of Jesus Christ is put for, or represents his life which he laid down, and even the offering and sacrifice of himself at Jerusalem, that was a most acceptable sacrifice and of a sweet smelling savour to God, for mankind, respecting his great dignity and obedience, who humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and gave himself a ransom for all men, for a testimony in due time. And his sacrifice, mediation and intercession, hath opened a door of mercy for mankind to enter in at, through true repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, which are wrought in man, that obeys his call thereto, only by his grace and good spirit, unto sanctification and justification, in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. God's great love toward mankind was manifest in

his dear Son Jesus Christ; "And God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."

The latter question of the second, is groundless and perverse. We know neither Scripture nor minister among us that asserts Christ's dying in men for their justification, but that once he died, i. e. for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and that he ever lives to make intercession, and death has no more dominion over him. Christ Jesus lives and reigns for ever in the power and glory of the Father, although some are said to crucify to themselves the Lord of life afresh, and to tread under foot the Son of God, which cannot be taken properly in a literal sense; but by their contempt of truth, and doing despite to his spirit of grace, as some malicious apostates have done, not to their justification, but condemnation.

What any of us, or among us, have spoken or written of the seed or word which the Son of man, Jesus Christ, sows in men's hearts; and of the same being oppressed, or suffering in some, or as being choked with worldly cares and the love of riches in others, these and many such like expressions may have been used, according to the parables and similitudes which Christ Jesus himself spake, relating to the kingdom of heaven, the Word or Seed of life and grace, sown by him in men's hearts; and likewise of grieving, vexing and quenching his spirit in them, by their disobedience; and yet by all these, never to intend or mean, that Christ himself properly dies in men for their justification, although his spirit be both grieved and quenched in many; and many do lose the true sense of his living Word in themselves, by suffering their soul's enemy to draw out their minds from that seed, that word, that light, that spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ in them, which, in itself, in its own being, never dies. The immortal Seed, the immortal Word, is of an immortal Being, though many be dead thereunto, in their trespasses and sins.

3. Whether this individual body of ours shall be raised at the last day?

Answer. This appears an unscriptural, as well as an unlearned and dubious question, if not antiscritptural. If he means this our natural, numerical body of flesh, blood and bones, the testimony of the apostle Paul may both answer and refute his question, the resurrection body being not natural, but spiritual, not flesh and blood, for they cannot inherit the kingdom of God. 1 Cor. xv.

And how is this earthly body of ours *individual*, if it may be divided and parted into pieces and small particles, or dissolved into dust, or

in the earth, or in the sea, or in the fire into smoke or air. Nevertheless God giveth a body as it pleaseth him, and to every seed his own body; yea, to every soul its own proper body.

4. Whether any saints before death are sinless?

Answer. Yea, those saints whom Christ sanctifies and cleanseth from all sin, as he doth all true and constant saints.

5. Whether the Father, Son and Holy Ghost be three distinct persons or substances?

Answer. We do not find them so termed, i. e. three distinct persons, in holy Scripture, but rather three witnesses, or three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit, and these three are one. 1 John v.

6. Whether water baptism be a gospel ordinance?

Answer. No, it was typical, and rather legal, as it was John Baptist's ministration, than a gospel ordinance, though sometimes condescended unto in the church's infancy.

But if by water baptism be meant sprinkling infants, that is no real baptism, nor gospel ordinance, but rather rantism, and a tradition of the Romish church, than any gospel ordinance.

7. Whether the Scriptures be the rule of your faith and life, or the Spirit?

Answer. We do not find that the Scriptures call themselves the rule of faith and life, but refer us to the Holy Spirit to be our guide into all truth; and they testifying of Christ, as he is the way to the Father, even the Way, the Truth, and the Life; we do therefore truly esteem the holy Scriptures as a subordinate rule or directory, directing us to Him who is the principal or chief guide, way, or rule of faith and life; and we do sincerely own that the holy Scriptures contain many divine rules, precepts and doctrines, relating to our most holy faith and life.

8. Whether children of darkness have the light of Christ within them?

Answer. They have some degree of light from Christ in them, though it shines in darkness, as a light shining in a dark place, otherwise they could not come, nor be translated out of darkness; they must believe in the light, in order to become children of the light; and therefore Christ exhorted, "Believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light."

9. Whether that act be sin in a saint, which is a sin in a wicked man?

Answer. The act of sin and every transgression of the law of Christ, is sin in fact, in whomsoever it is; but the saints, or sanctified in Christ, who dwell in him, do not

allow or suffer sin to dwell in them, nor themselves to commit it; "he that abides in Christ sinneth not."

10. Whether there be any moral difference in days under the gospel?

Answer. No, not as was under the law in the observation of sabbaths, which were a shadow or sign to Israel, and are ended in Christ, in whom is the faithful soul's everlasting rest or sabbath. Yet there is, and may be a religious or an occasional difference made in days under the gospel, as where a day is or may be regarded unto the Lord; especially in religious assemblies, and particularly as was and is practised on the first-day of the week among Christians.

The apostle Paul was tender in this case, about one man entertaining and regarding one day above another, and another man's esteeming every day alike, and about meats, so as not to judge one another; "But let every man, said he, be fully persuaded in his own mind;" yet condemns the Jewish and superstitious observation of days, meats and drinks, &c.

11. Whether it be a duty for Christians to celebrate the Lord's supper with bread and wine?

Answer. In this question, the man begs the question—imposing and taking for granted their bread and wine, as ministered by the priest, to be the Lord's supper—which I must deny until proved by Scripture. For that which was properly the Lord's supper, was when he and his disciples eat the passover; Luke xxii. 15. There is no necessity now for Christians to celebrate that supper, for that was both celebrated and fulfilled by Christ himself. And the passover and outward bread and wine, or cup, were typical and shadows fulfilled by Christ Jesus, and in him, unto his true spiritual believers and followers, who are spiritually partakers of Christ the substance, being come to receive him to sup with them, and they with him; Rev. iii.

12. Whether an outward mission, by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, by men so ordained themselves to the work of the ministry, be according to gospel order?

Answer. An outward mission by these, without an inward divine call, is not sufficient to authorize any one to be Christ's minister or ambassador; neither have they any divine authority to commissionate ministers by their imposition of hands, fasting or prayer, who themselves have no divine call nor authority given them by Christ thereunto; but who rather conclude that his immediate call, ministry and prophecy are long since ceased.

13. Whether the Scriptures be the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts?

Answer. No; 1. Not without the help of the holy Spirit and light thereof, to give the true understanding of them. 2. Not the ordinary means to beget faith in men's hearts in a limited or universal sense, as if none might believe without them, for God may make, and hath made, use of other means than the Scriptures, as by preaching the gospel in spirit and power. 3. By his works in the creation. 4. Chiefly by the word of faith in men's hearts, which is the efficient cause of begetting and working faith in them, being the faith of the operation of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith. 5. Nevertheless the holy Scriptures being opened and applied by the Spirit, are often made instrumental to beget faith in many men's hearts.

14. Whether the Scriptures need any interpretation and reconciliation?

Answer. Yea, to the first part; many Scriptures are mysterious, allegorical, parabolical and prophetic, and need to be interpreted and opened by the Spirit from whence they came, but not by man's human or fleshly wisdom, or private interpretation; for the natural man perceiveth not, nor can he know the things of the Spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned. Neither need the holy Scriptures reconciliation in themselves; for they are harmonious, and do agree, and the Scripture cannot be broken.

15. Whether the divine nature of Jesus Christ be united to the bodies of believers, as it was to his own personal body in Judea?

Answer. No; although true believers who are Christ's members, are spiritually united unto him, and members of his body, and made partakers of his divine nature; yet not in the same fulness as it is in Him who is the Head, in whom it hath pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell.

16. Whether the pope of Rome be antichrist, and papacy antichristian?

Answer. Yea, to both.

17. Whether George Whitehead will take the oath of abjuration, and renounce the pope?

Answer. George Whitehead has not a renunciation or denial of the pope or popery now to make, having never owned either, but always utterly denied and disowned both: although George Whitehead may not swear to such renunciation, because for conscience sake he may not swear at all; either by that oath of abjuration, i. e. to renounce the pope, &c., or by any other oath, lest he should fall into condemnation; Mat. v. James v.

Thus I have conscientiously answered the foregoing questions, some of them more largely, for the information of others, than they deserved, and more particularly than we could

have time then to dispute, for we could go through but a few of them; and Henry Johnson had enough of disputing upon those which we did discourse.

A brief account of our discourse on some of the foregoing questions follows.

Being met in their parish church, as it is called, the 2nd day of the first month, 1659, and a great auditory present, among which were divers of our friends called Quakers, the said Henry Johnson being minded to enter upon his interrogations or questions, before cited and answered, I gave a direct answer to his first question; For the glorious body of Christ is in heaven, according to the answer herein given thereunto.

But he not getting any advantage against us by my direct and plain answer, being according to Scripture, took occasion to accuse our friend Richard Sanders, with affirming that Christ hath no body; when the contrary was manifestly proved, viz; that Richard Sanders confessed that Christ hath a glorious body, i. e. peculiar and proper to Christ himself, according to Scripture language; but he questioned Henry Johnson's words about Christ's body in heaven being a human body, consisting of flesh and bones. It was the word human, as applied to Christ's glorious body in heaven, that was most questioned by Richard Sanders and others, as not being a Scripture term in this case; and though it be applied to mankind, yet it is made relative to man; in relation to the earthy part, as *humanus* relates to *humus*, the ground or earth, out of which man, the first Adam, was taken and formed. And therefore that term was thought too low to ascribe to the second Adam, or his glorious body, who is the Lord from heaven; not an earthly man, but a heavenly man, both morally and essentially. Howbeit, could we have had Scripture proof to ascribe human to the heavenly man, Christ Jesus, in his glorified state, it had decided the question; but that we could not have from our antagonist when it was desired, though he promised to prove it by Scripture. But instead thereof, he rather imposed his own assertion and repetition of the same thing or term in question, instead of Scripture proof. And when that course would not do, then he fell to his logic with his syllogisms. Using such expressions as these, viz: Christ is in heaven in our human nature he took upon him, of our flesh and blood, &c.

Question. But is he in heaven now in the self same manner as he was on earth in the days of his flesh, when he took upon him the form of a servant, and was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted?

This question he added for further consid-

eration. I suppose no real Christian will presume to affirm, that Christ as he is now in heaven and glory, is still like unto us in all things, both in his glorious body, matter, manner, and form thereof, sin only excepted. For if any should thus affirm, it would thence follow, that they might as well say we are now so like unto Christ Jesus in his glorified state in heaven, and our bodies now on earth, are so like unto his glorious body in heaven, that they need not be changed or fashioned like unto his glorious body; Phil. iii. 21; for that they are already, if he be still like unto us in all things, sin only excepted; Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15.

Surely no true Christian here on earth can entertain any such high thoughts of himself, and of his low earthy body, as that he is so very like Christ and his glorious body. But rather let us all be humble and self-denying, and little in our own eyes, and exalt Christ above ourselves, and let him have the glory and pre-eminence in all things; to whom be glory and dominion, for ever and ever. And let us all who profess Christ and Christianity, labour to be truly conformable to his example of humility, innocency and truth when on earth, that we may be with him, where he is, and see his glory in heaven.

I have somewhat enlarged and argued here upon this point, more than was required in our said discourse, or was then necessary: for the first question was not much insisted on by either side, being fairly answered at first; although the parson was willing to show us some of his skill in logic, when he argued thus, viz:

Argument. If Christ had a human body of flesh and bones when he was upon earth; then he hath a human body in heaven, consisting of flesh and bones; but Christ had such a body upon earth, ergo.

The first proposition, or major part of the argument being general, is liable to just exception; taking it for granted, that whatever Christ had when he was upon earth, he must needs have the same now in heaven; and then he must have natural food, meat, drink and clothing in heaven, such as he had upon earth; and sometimes suffer hunger in heaven as he did upon earth; but these we have no reason to believe concerning him, now in his glorified condition. He is far above all these human necessities, weaknesses and suffering state. And this our opposer's logic aforesaid, being still short of Scripture proof, was the less taken notice of.

Upon his fourth question he showed his opinion and doctrine, which was, That none of the saints are freed from sin while upon earth; yet that they were freed from the guilt of sin.

Answer. This doctrine is expressly contrary to the apostle's doctrine; "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." And it is very inconsistent to teach that men may be free from the guilt of sin, when they either continue in sin or do commit sin; or to tell them they cannot be free from sin during life, and yet not guilty of sinning; which is no better doctrine than to tell them, a man that is addicted to stealing, or often steals his neighbour's goods is not guilty of theft, or is no thief, though he actually steals. What miserable stuff were this? And what untempered mortar is it, thus to daub and soothe up sinners in their sins, and to strengthen the hands of evil doers—as false prophets did—that they may not repent and forsake their sins?

The priest also, in opposition to my answer for freedom from sin, said that the believers mentioned in Heb. xii. 22, 23, the being come unto mount Sion, &c., and to the general assembly and church of the first born, &c., and to the spirits of just men made perfect, was not while upon earth, but in heaven and at the resurrection. As if Paul wrote to the believing Hebrews when they were dead, or not upon earth, but after their departure into heaven; but herein the priest was out, and beside the text.

And further, to oppose the doctrine of perfection, of sanctification, or freedom from sin in this life, the priest objected, that our preaching that men may attain to perfection before death, renders the mediatorship of Christ useless. But in this he was mistaken also; for Christ Jesus, by his mediation and intercession, hath in great love and mercy undertaken to be our advocate with the Father, to reconcile us to God; and to obtain mercy, reconciliation and peace for mankind, he made intercession as well as suffered for the transgressors; and also he appears in the presence of God for us, making intercession for the saints, according to the will of God, and that is for their preservation and help, that they may be preserved and kept from the evil of the world; and also if any man sin, or be overtaken with a fault, and not wilfully, we have this our advocate with the Father, "even Jesus Christ the righteous." And as he said unto Peter, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." Therefore that true believers in Christ may attain to perfect sanctification and freedom from sin, by his power, help and assistance, even in this life, is so far from rendering his mediatorship useless, that it renders the same very useful, for their safety and help, against the temptations of satan and sin.

The eighth question was chiefly insisted upon, and controverted about the light within, or in man, upon which question Henry Johnson affirmed, that the children of darkness, or wicked men, as drunkards, swearers, &c., have no spiritual light in them; quoting Isa. viii. 20.

In answer whereunto, I insisted on John i. 9, That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; which is spoken and predicated of Christ the eternal Word, the Son of God, as being that true light. And also verse 4; In him was life, and the life was the light of men; which life and light therefore is not natural, but spiritual and divine. It was the life that was in him, which was the light of men.

To which the priest replied, that Christ enlightens every man, as in John i. 9; but it is not with the light of grace, but with a natural light: and that the life of Christ, or which was in him, which is the light of men, is not the light of grace, but a natural light.

Another priest then present to help him, in like manner imposed his opinion, which was, that the wicked have the light of conscience, but not any saving, spiritual light in them. Thus far both these ministers, then esteemed priests, imposed their own opinions against the light, and contrary to holy Scripture testimony also; and instead of Scripture proof, that the light in every man is but natural, a light of conscience, and not spiritual, nor the light of grace, &c. The said Henry Johnson again fell to his logic, and thus syllogized from Isa. viii. 20, viz:

Argument. If there be some men or persons in whom there is no light, then there are some men who have no spiritual light in them; but there are some men in whom there is no light, ergo.

I inverted his argument against himself, thus; If there be some men in whom there is no light, then there are some men in whom there is no natural light; which is a plain contradiction to what he hath asserted, viz: that there is a natural light in every man; and his advocate, the other priest, confessing that the wicked have the light of conscience in them. Therefore by their own confession, there is some light in every man; so that the argument drawn from having no light in them, falls to the ground by their contrary confession. And as to that in Isa. viii. 20; To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them. This appears not according to the Hebrew text, as I told them they might see in the margin of many Bibles; Heb. No morning, instead of No light; wherein there is a manifest difference between no

light and no morning; and they would not affirm that there is no light before morning, or in the night time in the creation: and to apply the matter to a spiritual sense, respecting the divine Word or Light in man, the same appears and shines gradually until the darkness be dispelled and past. The same Word shines as a light in a dark place, even in men's hearts, until the day dawn and the day star arise in them. It is the just man's path, who obeys and walks in the light, and shines more and more until the perfect day. David esteemed this divine Word, the Light, to be as a lantern to his feet, and a light unto his path; and surely the use of a lantern is before the morning, chiefly in the night time.

After I had fairly evinced the priest's contradiction, from his logic or argument, before cited, and insisted upon the Hebrew note on Isa. viii. 20, No morning, &c., the said Henry Johnson and his assistant soon ceased disputing and withdrew, the assembly continuing peaceable, and generally serious and attentive to the conclusion; insomuch that I had a good opportunity to demonstrate the truth among them, the Lord standing by me and assisting me with his divine power and presence, and his gospel testimony; glory to his worthy and excellent name forever. Thus we, i. e. I and our friends, and the assembly quietly parted, without any reflection or words of contempt against us, or any of us, or our principles, that I can remember.

Although those of the Presbyterian or Independent priesthood were gotten so high in those days, especially the parish priests, that they would scarcely suffer any of us to bear testimony for the truth, or to preach the gospel of Christ, according to our gifts, in their public assemblies, or places termed parish churches, without either imprisonment or being violently haled or pushed out of doors, as we have been often so uncivilly treated, and hardly used through their instigations, and incensing people against us, though we have patiently heard them out, and stayed until they had ended sermon and prayer; yet some of them, even of their priests, have divers times come into our meetings, and without cause made opposition and disturbance, as persons envying our liberty of meeting religiously together to worship God, according to our conscientious persuasions, wherein they did not by us as they would be done by themselves. Howbeit we would not suffer any violence to be done to any of them in our assemblies, but civilly treated them, and soberly answered their objections, and with meekness endeavoured to inform their understandings and rectify their mistakes concerning us and our principles; finding that

many of them were ignorant thereof, and had taken up reproaches against us from reports of others, which were false and malicious.

I had a meeting at Stephen Hart's, by the palace yard at Westminster, which was thronged with more than the room could well contain, of our friends and other people of divers sorts and ranks. The meeting continued quiet until near the end, and the people appeared generally well satisfied with the clear and plain testimony the Lord enabled me to bear.

At last a priest, one Thomas Smith of Cambridge, keeper of the University Library, stood up and made opposition, with a charge against the Quakers, as being heretics, such as bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; applying and perverting that Scripture, 2 Pet. ii. 1. But he could not produce any proof, or colour of proof against the Quakers, or any of us, of any such heresy or denial of the Lord that bought us—who gave himself a ransom for us, and for all men—either by our doctrine or conversation. Contrariwise we were, and still are deeply obliged to confess him both in doctrine and practice, for his great love in giving himself for us, to redeem us from all iniquity, and for his light and grace given us for that end, that we might receive and experience that redemption through his blood, which he obtained for us: therefore, blessed be his glorious name, we are far from denying the Lord that bought us.

The said priest being more confident and loud in his charge than proof, and there being a denial of Christ the Lord in practice, as well as in doctrine, I turned the same Scripture, 2 Pet. ii. upon the priest, which he brought against me and my friends called Quakers, reading to the people several verses of the same Scripture, to show what teachers they were who denied the Lord that bought them, whose ways were pernicious, verse 2; and many shall follow their pernicious ways; by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; verse 3, And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not. And verse 14, Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls: an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children; verse 15, Which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness.

Upon my urging these Scriptures, 2 Pet. ii. against the covetous priests' practices, which are against Christ and his doctrine, and con-

sequently a denying of him; as also against their doctrine, whereby they teach, that no man can be freed from sin in this life, so that they cannot cease from sin while they believe they cannot or may not be freed from it in this life; hereby they also deny the Lord that bought them, in their denying the end and purpose of his purchasing or redeeming mankind, and of his being made manifest to destroy the works of the devil, and to redeem us from all iniquity, for which end he gave himself for us. See 1 John iii. Titus ii.

I say, upon my urging the Scriptures cited before, against the covetous practices of priests, and their not ceasing from sin, but rather arguing for it in this life, our dispute at that time soon came to an end,—the priest had enough of it, for his unjustly charging the Quakers with damnable heresies; even as unjustly as the persecuting Papists were wont to brand the martyrs with being heretics when they were minded to murder or destroy them. But the controversy did not end here; the said library keeper some time after, had a mind to try his strength and skill further against us.

The same summer, A. D. 1659, the Lord laid it upon me to visit Friends' meetings in Cambridgeshire and the parts adjacent; at Cambridge I had several meetings, both on first and other days, where, to one meeting on a week-day, the library keeper came and made some opposition, his design still being to prove me an heretic, but with no better success than he had before at Westminster. He made poor work of it; and yet seemed willing to have another public meeting, on purpose to dispute the point with me, which I readily granted, and he soon withdrew out of our meeting for that time.

I and another Friend went to the mayor of Cambridge, to desire liberty to have our meeting for the dispute at the guild-hall, suspecting Friends' meeting house would not contain the people. The mayor being a moderate man, and his wife a friend of ours, after some consideration signified to us, that he durst not let us have the guild-hall, for fear the scholars would do some mischief when a great number of them were gathered together; but he told us, that if we met at our own meeting-house, which was over against Sidney college, he would send his officers to keep the peace, or to see the peace kept; which accordingly he did.

On the day of our meeting to dispute, came our learned antagonist, Thomas Smith, attended with a great company of scholars of several degrees, bachelors and masters of art, &c. He again resumed his old charge against us of being heretics, having had time to study

some new arguments for proof, and then proceeded with his logic and syllogisms, and I did not at all go about to prevent his essay that way, being willing to watch him, and see what he would make of it; and thus he attempted it, viz:

He that is a Papist is a heretic:

But you are Papists, i. e. the Quakers.

Ergo, you are heretics.

G. Whitehead. I deny the minor, or second part of the argument; that is, I deny that we are Papists.

Priest. He that refuses to take the oath of abjuration is a Papist: but you refuse to take the oath of abjuration, ergo, you are Papists.

G. Whitehead. I except against the major, or first part of the argument, and the consequence deduced therefrom, for the following reasons: Christ hath commanded us, Not to swear at all, &c. Mat. v. 34. And his apostle James likewise forbids all swearing; saying, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."

Now suppose the apostle James were here present, to maintain this doctrine against all swearing, or taking any oath, he must refuse the oath of abjuration, because it is an oath; he must obey the doctrine of his Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Then by this person's way of arguing against me and the Quakers, he would be charged with being a Papist and heretic; for by refusing to swear at all, or to take any oath, he must refuse to take the oath of abjuration. And thus the argument consequently unjustly charges or reflects upon Christ and his holy apostles; to which the priest could make no reply, to clear himself from the absurdity and fallacy of his argument and false charge.

For their doctrine of the trinity, to prove three separate persons in the deity, about which he questioned us, he argued thus, viz: That when Christ was baptized, one person, i. e. God, was in heaven; another person, i. e. his Son, was in the water, and the Holy Ghost descending upon him like a dove, ergo, &c. Another argument was, If they are three he's, then they are three persons; but they are three he's, ergo. What rare logic was this! What absurdities may not be drawn from this logic? But when he failed in his arguments so that he was detected, some of the scholars who stood by would say to him, "Take that off;" by which I understood they meant, drop that argument, or let it fall, or evade it, and slide off to some other point or argument, for so he did. And this I

have found to be the shift and subterfuge of many adversaries, to evade a fair disquisition of the question or point in hand; insomuch as I have often called out upon them, to keep to the point in hand, and not to evade nor use shifting.

This is a brief account of the discourse at that meeting, though much short of what passed; the matter in question, and several points being answered more fully in print, in two books, the one entitled, Truth defending the Quakers and their principles; wherein fifty-five queries or questions, put forth by the said Thomas Smith, who was esteemed the author, are answered. The truth of it is, he appeared so ignorant of our principles, that it seemed necessary for him to make such large inquiry into them, more for his own better information, than for our confutation.

The other book of ours in reply to him, is entitled, The Key of Knowledge, not found in the University Library of Cambridge. The said Thomas Smith pretended to great learning or reading in some oriental tongues, and as I remember, I have seen in print some boast of that kind.

Our dispute was managed in such moderation, that the meeting was continued pretty quiet to the end, the scholars being generally civil. And we being sensible the truth gained ground at that meeting, we came off very easy and comforted in our spirits; i. e. George Fox, junior and the rest of Friends and friendly people, who were present with me at that time.

In the town of Cambridge, I had in those days divers good meetings, and effectual service for the truth, and the meetings generally were peaceable, while I was concerned in them, the scholars being more civil towards me than we could expect, for many of them would stand to hear the truth quietly, with great attention, and I often felt the Lord's power over their spirits in our meetings. Some time after I left them, I heard that Friends met with disturbance, and some of them with hard usage at their meetings, from the scholars, which I was sorry to hear, it being partly occasioned by some striving with them, not in the wisdom of God, as I understood, by several circumstances related by Friends, whereby it plainly appeared, that the devil, or evil spirit, might be more easily raised and let loose than subdued or bound.

I have observed, that when I and other public brethren have, in a meeting in that place, met with opposition, if it was by any person of understanding or learning that would deport himself soberly, we could have some fair and quiet discourse, tending to information and edification, and the scholars

present would demean themselves with attention, as persons willing to receive instruction. But if a vain, irreligious person came into a meeting to scoff, deride, or laugh at us, or show contempt against our Christian testimony, such an one, as a base and wicked instrument of satan, would raise levity or laughter in some of the loose scholars, to their hurt and shame.

One time an old priest, who was naturally blind, as they said he had been from a child, and some company with him, came into our meeting, and behaved themselves pretty civilly; the priest seemed to be a learned person, and would undertake to question me about the trinity, as to my belief therein. I answered him in terms of holy Scriptures, viz: "That I really own, and believe the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are the three which bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one," according to the doctrine of John the evangelist; 1 John v. 7.

But this answer would not please the priest, and I would give him no other. I would not enter into a dispute about three distinct persons, which the priest would have drawn me into; I not being free in point of conscience to give other names or appellations to the one true God, than what are given in holy Scripture. I did not esteem it safe to use unscriptural; or metaphysical, or school terms, in such a sacred point as that of the deity, but to keep to plain Scripture terms and language.

Whereupon the priest being disappointed of an answer in his own terms, replied, "You say there are three; three what?" said he. I answered again, The Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. The priest still unsatisfied, repeats his question again; "Three what?" quoth he. I answered again, What the Scripture terms them, viz: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one, as before. Nothing would satisfy the priest but, Three persons. If to his reiterated question, "Three what?" I had answered witnesses, that would not have done, though more Scriptural than the other; for God is witness, Christ the faithful witness; his Spirit beareth witness, being the three that bear record, or witness, in heaven, the Father, the Word, and Holy Ghost. This was an answer safe and sufficient, from which I therefore would not be moved, but insisted upon in Scripture terms; whereupon that dispute quickly and quietly broke off.

There was a people termed Manifestarians, Universalists, or Free-willers, and Mooreans by some, at Lynn Regis, in the county of Norfolk, and some other places adjacent, about the Fenn country. They had that

name, Mooreans, given them from one Thomas Moor, their chief minister or leader, who proselyted and gathered a congregation to himself, and ruled over them while they were under his ministry. Among them I have been very credibly informed, there were divers persons who had living desires and stirrings in them after the Lord and his power, insomuch that some of them were drawn at times to meet together somewhat privately, to wait upon the Lord God, to feel his power and spirit to move in them, to pray and to utter words for edification, and exciting one another to an inward and spiritual worship or devotion toward God. Of this some of them accordingly came, in measure, to have some touches and sense inwardly, which brought fear and trembling over them; and Thomas Moor coming to take notice thereof, endeavoured to discourage and quench those motions and effects of the Spirit which appeared in them, as a very tender hearted, ancient Friend, who had been one of them, gave me a large, substantial, as well as circumstantial account, from certain knowledge and observation. Upon being thus discouraged, and their good motions and desires opposed, some turned into a loose spirit and corrupt notions; from which divers were reclaimed afterward, when truth was demonstrated to them in the spirit and power of Christ, and their minds thereby turned to his light in them, to wait for an inward sense of his power.

After some time, Thomas Moor, jr., son of the said Thomas Moor, became a preacher among them; also John Horn, who had acquired some more school craft and cunning than the other two. He was set up and promoted as a parish priest at Lynn, but as destitute of the knowledge of the light and mystery of Christ, and of his power, as the other; for they are all joined in bitter opposition thereto, as held forth by our friends, especially when several deserted them and left their communion. John Horn became very invidious, and made it much of his business with his brethren, the two Thomas Moors, to revile, asperse, and calumniate the people called Quakers, by words and writings.

They made a great noise against us in and about the town of Lynn, to stir up enmity in the people against the Quakers, rendering them deceivers, antichrists, heretics, accursed, &c. And when some of us have been at Lynn to visit our friends' meetings there, John Horn has set up papers in the market, or some public place near it, against us, to represent us as odious as he could; thereby showing as bitter envy and malice, as some of the popes by their bulls have expressed

against the protestant martyrs, condemning them as heretics, &c.

Our friends perceiving John Horn's and Thomas Moor's great bitterness against us, and how implacably envious they showed themselves, it was thought meet that some of us should endeavour a public meeting with them at a certain time, when George Fox the younger was with me at Lynn, which was the 15th day of the seventh month, 1659, and which accordingly we endeavoured for and obtained.

We met in John Horn's parish steeple-house at South Lynn in Norfolk, where he and Thomas Moor, jr., joined in the controversy with us and our principles, relating to a sinless perfection of saints and true believers in Christ, in this life attainable. This was opposed by them, but affirmed and vindicated by us, according to holy Scripture, in behalf of Christ and his manifestation and work, which is to destroy the works of the devil, and to restore and save man from sin and condemnation.

In opposition to which they pleaded and affirmed, that sin is a natural heritage in believers, while they live, or so long as they are here upon earth; contrary to the state of the new birth, or of him who is born of God, in whom his seed remains; 1 John iii.

A perfection of sincerity toward God, they would seem to own, but not without sin; alledging Asa king of Judah, that his heart was perfect with the Lord all his days; 1 Kings xv. 14. And yet Asa was reproved by the prophet Hanani, for not relying on the Lord his God, but on the king of Syria; 2 Chron. xvi. 7. Our opposers argued from all his days, wherein his heart was perfect with the Lord, to include all the days he lived when he was king; when it is plain Hanani the seer, shows him his imperfection in his reproof; "The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is perfect towards him. Herein thou hast done foolishly; therefore, from henceforth thou shalt have wars. Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put him in a prison house," &c.

Herein Asa's imperfections appeared; and not only in these, but also when he was greatly diseased in his feet,—he sought not to the Lord, but to the physicians; verse 12. It is clear then, *that all his days*, wherein his heart was perfect with the Lord his God, were those days wherein he relied on the Lord, prospered and prevailed over his enemies, and had real dominion given of the Lord, so long as he relied on him; for after he declined, so as not to rely on the Lord, nor seek unto him, thenceforth the judgment

of wars must follow and attend him; then all his days, i. e. his good and prosperous days were over. It is plain the seer's reproof was in it such an exception, that as though in one part of the history it is said, "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days," the other part is excepted, "When he relied not on the Lord, and was reprov'd by the seer, the honest prophet."

By this our opposers aforesaid, urging Asa's perfection of heart with the Lord all his days, it was easily perceived what sort of perfection they owned; not a perfection of sanctification or holiness, but such a perfection wherein sin must be their natural heritage during life; or wherein they may do foolishly, commit sin, decline from the Lord, and not rely upon him, nor seek to him in a day of distress or affliction.

But this was their great imperfection, far short of that perfect sanctification, by the spirit and power of Christ, and perseverance in his grace, and abiding in Christ, which we believe and plead for; the grace of God in and through Christ Jesus, being sufficient for those blessed attainments, and that good end aimed at and pursued by all the faithful in Christ Jesus.

But these our opposers and adversaries, would not be persuaded to quit possession of their natural heritage during life, but rather would accuse and vilify us, for our Christian testimony to the power and work of Christ within, to regenerate and redeem us out of the sinful nature, and fit and prepare us by a perfect sanctification of the Spirit, for a better inheritance than that of sin and iniquity. Nay, these men who pleaded for sin being their natural inheritance, and remaining even in believers while they are here, though they confessed their nature to be a filthy nature, yet as filthy as it was they flatter themselves it is restored in Christ. But how is it restored in Christ, if it remain filthy all their days, or while in this life? What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

To prove sin a natural inheritance in believers so long as they are here, they quoted Rom. vii. 17, "It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." Which proves not that to be Paul's state all his life time, much less that sin was his natural heritage so long as he lived, for he knew deliverance; "he was made free from sin and condemnation, and more than a conqueror through Christ that loved him."

"The light wherewith Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world," they would not confess to be spiritual, as immediately shining from Christ the divine Word. But

Thomas Moor said, "It is both natural and spiritual;" though they never could make that out, of that light spoken of John i. 4, 9. It being the life which was in the Word, which was and is the light of men from the beginning, and which is therefore divine and spiritual, and not man's natural reason; which in one sense they esteemed spiritual, as opposed to the natural body; but in another sense natural, as opposed to divine light, though the Word be divine.

I perceived, that though these men and their followers would be esteemed above many others of the parish priests and church people in matters of faith and religion, yet they were as carnal in their notions and faith, and as ignorant of the true light and eternal Word, as other literal professors, who were strangers to the mystery of Christ in spirit, and of the true, living faith in Christ. They were as much addicted to plead and argue for sin in believers for term of life, and also as envious against us, for our preaching up the gospel Urim and Thummim, i. e. light and perfection, the light of Christ in man; and perfection of sanctification, as any other of our invidious adversaries; and as ready to pervert and misconstrue our words, and to draw false inferences and implications as any of them, especially John Horn, to beget or raise prejudice and hard thoughts in people against us.

Because we owned Christ's body in his glorified state in heaven, to be a glorious, spiritual body, and the resurrection bodies of the saints not to be carnal, but spiritual; they would insinuate against us either a denial or no faith of the body of Christ in heaven, and of the resurrection. We did not only confess the resurrection and ascension of Christ's body that was put to death, that his flesh saw no corruption, i. e. that he did not corrupt, but rose again a real body, and not a fantastical body; but also we turned some questions upon them, concerning the body of Christ after he ascended, to know if they owned the same to be a spiritual, glorious body; or in what sense they owned it? They confessed it to be a body of flesh and bones, from his saying, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."

Query. But had he no blood in it? Thomas Moor affirmed openly that Christ's body in heaven is a body of flesh and bones without blood in it, and that he ascended without material blood.

Here they went too far, besides what Christ or the Scriptures saith. For his body being a real complete body, these men knew not but it might have some blood left in it when crucified or renewed in it when quickened and

raised from the dead, although the flesh and bones were more visible to be seen.

Upon our questioning Thomas Moor's affirmation, they appeared staggered and shaken in their minds about it, and yet willing to excuse, and also to palliate his illiterate notion therein.

Thomas Moor pleaded for excuse, i. e. of Christ having a body of flesh and bones in heaven, without blood in it, that we do not read that there was any blood in Adam's body in paradise. To which unscriptural excuse, John Horn and Thomas Moor add, That Thomas Moor brought forth indeed such an observation as a conception or thought of his, which rendered it probable to his apprehension, that a glorified spiritual body needs not the being of material blood in it, and that he reads not that Adam's body had blood in it before the fall, in which he conceives what before was more purely spirits, was changed into blood, and therein the body became mortal: but this is his private conception, which he gives not forth as an oracle to be believed as an article of faith; page 53, Fuller Discovery.

But what philosophy is this rare notion grounded upon, That Adam's body had no blood in it before the fall, but was made up of pure spirits, and after changed into blood? Consequently it must be after the fall that Adam's body was made of the dust of the earth, for which they have as much Scripture as that Adam's body had no blood in it before the fall, or so long as he was in paradise. What wonderful philosophy is this?

But again they turn about and decline their notion and private conception before, and leave the matter uncertain, wherein they appear more ingenious than they have done in contesting about hidden secrets which belong to God; for in their said Fuller Discovery, page 76, they tell us thus, viz: "We say that that body of Christ which had flesh and bones after the resurrection of it, is taken up into heaven, and is in heaven;" Luke xxiv. 39, 40, 51, 52. What change or transmutation further it had in its ascension and glory, we know not.

Herein they showed more ingenuity than in their contention against us about things they know not; yet implying and granting they had a belief that Christ's body had such a change or transmutation in its ascension and glory as they knew not.

Nevertheless, they have not only been too busy and intruding in this case, as well as inconsistent with themselves, but also uncertain in their propositions and conjectures, and also very unjust in their reflections; as where, to clear themselves, they tell us our query is

perverse, in that it intimates or charges them with calling the personal body of our Lord Jesus, a body of flesh and bones, which they say is a slander; for it is not their expression; and yet say, "Possibly they may sometimes have let it pass without consideration or particular notice of it, in some discourse that may have passed between us."

How should that be either a slander or not their expression, which they have as before confessed. Thomas Moor brought indeed such an observation, as a conception or thought of his; "And now that possibly they may sometimes have let it pass without consideration."

How inconsistent these men were in their notions, and how mutable in their conjectures.

After much carnal contest held by them, upon further consideration they would appear more refined and spiritual in their notions, when they tell us, viz; "We are assured that even the children of the first resurrection, when they shall attain to that resurrection of the dead, and have their bodies that now are vile, fashioned into the likeness of his glorious body, they, in those very bodies, being spiritual, immortal, powerful, incorruptible, shall be equal to the angels, who cannot be hindered from passage by any corruptible things, as doors, walls, or the like; but can make their own passage through any such obstacles more easily than mortal bodies through the air. And why should it be thought a thing incredible?" &c.

Observe 1. That Christ's body is glorious, is according to plain Scripture undeniable; and that the bodies of the saints in the resurrection shall be like unto his glorious body, is unquestionable with us; as also that they shall be spiritual, incorruptible, equal to the angels; which equality is ascribed to the sons of God and of the resurrection.

2. But how agrees the description and comparison these men have given of those spiritual bodies in the resurrection, with their being bodies of flesh and bones? How inconsistent have our adversaries appeared in this matter!

3. And it appears very improbable that bodies of flesh and bones should penetrate or make their own passage through any such obstacles, as doors, walls, or the like, more easily than mortal bodies through the air; nor have they produced Scripture for this notion. They must be very sublime, subtle, airy and ethereal bodies, and not these gross bodies of flesh and blood, that can make such penetrations.

4. Yet we question not the angelical powers to penetrate and pass through obstacles after a wonderful manner; howbeit, it is not safe

for men to be too busy and intruding into these matters and things not seen. For by such intrusion, questions and critical disputes arise, about the manner of the resurrection, how, and with what bodies, and in what form and manner they shall appear? This is next to a denial or unbelief of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and tends to beget questions, doubtings, and unbelief thereof, which is not safe for the weak in the faith, to be received into doubtful disputations. There were some among the Corinthians that said, "There is no resurrection of the dead," whose foolishness the apostle reprehended, when they questioned, "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" Whom he answered in these words, viz: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be," &c.

Now as to the resurrection according to holy Scripture, we do not doubt or question, but sincerely believe it; and that if in this life we have a part in Christ, and experience him to be the resurrection and the life unto us, we doubt not, but believe we shall have our own proper bodies, which shall be both spiritual and glorious, like unto his glorious body. To every seed he will give a body as it pleaseth him; and therefore if we should be so nice or curious as to question God, or Christ, or his saints, or ministers, what manner of bodies, and of what essence or substance they shall be; or how bright, glorious and spiritual; this would bespeak a diffidence or unbelief of a future state of the saints in glory, and of the divine power, as well as the appointment and promises of God and Christ to bring them into such a state of glory. Certainly if the Lord own us for his children and sons of God while in this life, though yet it appears not what we shall be, we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is; 1 John iii. 1, 2. And our Lord Jesus Christ declared; "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." And, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me." We may rest contented in the real faith and earnest given us, of these glorious promises and privileges, without being busy with unlearned questions, perverse disputings, or intruding into things not seen; or secret unrevealed things which belong to God. And if any should question what manner of change or transmutation Christ's body had, after he arose from the dead, or in his ascension, or

how it was changed, being seen to have flesh and bones, and no blood in it, as supposed, when he was risen from the dead, as these adversaries have uncertainly and dubiously suggested, I should conclude such busy intruders ought not to be gratified or answered, but to be avoided.

We may without doubt, believe Christ's body wonderfully changed and glorified in his ascension, and that Enoch, Heb. xi. 5. who was translated, that he should not see death, was changed; and the prophet Elijah in his rapture, 2 Kings ii. 11. when he was taken up in a fiery chariot, and by a whirlwind went into heaven; whereby was typified Christ's ascension, he being an eminent type of Christ. We may without offence believe Elijah's body must be changed before he got into heaven, seeing flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, 1 Cor. xv. 50. and yet without offence conclude, that the body of Enoch, before he was translated, and the body of Elijah, before his rapture, were not without blood in them, or else they had no such change, as to be made meet for that kingdom which flesh and blood cannot inherit.

The great power and works of God in these transactions and matters, should rather be occasion of admiration, than of disputation; as well as the resurrection by the power of Christ, and sudden change of the living, even in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye at the last trump, for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed, 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.

It is by the great and glorious power of our Lord Jesus Christ, the power and wisdom of God, that such a sudden and wonderful change must be effected and the dead raised incorruptible. And, it being appointed for men once to die, and after this the judgment; and that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust, and that by divine appointment, and that it shall go well with the righteous, but ill with the wicked; I have always believed it better to labour to be righteous in this life, than to trouble ourselves about what or how we shall be in the life to come, or what manner of bodies or clothing we shall have in heaven, and to trust the Lord therewith. Our chief care and concern should now be to walk in the way to heaven, to get thither even in the way of truth and righteousness, and there we shall not want, but enjoy all things to complete our joy and felicity in heaven and eternal glory; even in the full fruition of that incorruptible inheritance which will never fade away, reserved in heaven for all them who are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation. 1 Pet. i. 4, 5.

Many persons, by vain imaginations and high thoughts, intruding into things not seen, and matters too high for them, and their human wisdom and carnal reason, do thereby darken themselves, and cloud their understandings from the true sanctifying and saving knowledge of God, and mystery of Christ Jesus, and his power and spirit; who is mighty and powerful in himself, and in his saints and members, who being spiritually united to him, and thereby made members of his body, are one body in him; so that there is one body and one spirit: Ephes. iv. 4.

There are other persons who in their singular opinions, strange or new notions, exalt themselves in their own conceits above all others, and thereby cause contention, strife, and divisions, many times either about words, critical distinctions, or things not essential to salvation, or to the saving knowledge of the true God, or his son Jesus Christ; and thereby such endeavour to make divisions and parties to themselves, that they may be exalted as sect masters. But the judgment of Truth has gone forth against all such, and will stand over that exalted, arrogant spirit forever.

"Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Now this mystery of godliness being a great mystery, without controversy, it is best for professors of Christianity to keep out of controversies as much as they can, and shun perverse disputes of men of corrupt minds, with all their unlearned and unprofitable questions; and rather to turn in their minds to the light of Christ,—retire to the simplicity in him, and watch therein to understand this great mystery of godliness, both with respect to God manifest in the flesh, and justified in spirit. The manifestation and power of Christ in the flesh was excellent in him, and therein by his most precious precepts and doctrine, his wonderful works and miracles, his blessed example and sufferings, he declared and showed forth the holy design of Christianity. To be truly sensible of his being justified in spirit, is very precious, and arises from a true, spiritual, living knowledge and experience of Christ in spirit, and as known after the spirit, and not after the flesh, or any fleshly knowledge of him; for as wisdom is justified, commended and praised of her children, by the fruits thereof in them, so Christ is justified and exalted in spirit, in his faithful followers, his holy generation and children.

God and his great power was wonderfully manifest in Christ in the days of his flesh, in

many respects, and he showed divers signal tokens and signs of his power in those days, as in his wonderful miracles, laying down his life and taking it up again; transfiguration in the mount, so as his face did shine as the sun, &c. Mat. 17. In his appearing in divers forms after he arose from the dead, Mark. xvi. 12. and at sundry times showing himself, and appearing in the midst of his disciples, the door being shut, John xx. 19, 26. And also when he sat at meat with them, and in such a familiar manner manifested himself, that their eyes were opened, that they knew him, he vanished out of their sight; Luke xxiv. 30, 31. Such wonderful power he showed after he was risen from the dead, to manifest himself and confirm his disciples in the faith, knowledge and testimony of his resurrection, as well as in his ascension.

Thomas Moor's declaring, that the blood of Christ shed, is the foundation of their faith, occasioned some further question, As where it is? Which they answered not, nor could they tell, yet said that the life of Christ is not the blood of Christ; wherein they showed themselves both ignorant of the mystery of his blood, and of the foundation of faith, which is Christ himself. Though the blood of Christ that was shed for remission of sins, was truly acceptable to God, as being offered by him, as part of his offering to make reconciliation and atonement for mankind, who had transgressed; for He, i. e. Christ, gave himself a ransom for all, for a testimony in due time of God's free love to all mankind, yet Christ is the foundation and chief corner stone. Their contesting about Christ's body in heaven, and his blood as wholly shed—on further thoughts—came to be abated, and they varied in their book against us, styled, *A Brief Discovery of the people called Quakers*, &c.; for in page 11, they told us, That his blood that was shed, or poured out for the remission of our sins, in the virtues of it, is with the Father, and so in and with Christ. In page 12 they say, That there are indeed very probable arguments used to prove, that that precious blood was re-united again with the body of Christ in the resurrection. But how agrees this with their holding it to be a body of flesh and bones without blood in it? In both which they appeared to go beside what they have declared, i. e. That it is rather a virtue to which they are advised not to be wise, or think, or guess, above what is written; page 12.

Had they kept to this advice, they had shunned much vain contention as well as confusion, about their uncertain conjectures and imaginations, whereby many foolish hearts have been darkened. When men intrude into

things not seen, and set their imaginations on work about them, whether it be about the body of Christ in heaven, or the resurrection bodies of saints, as what forms or shapes they have, or what manner of bodies; not being content to acquiesce in the will of God and his good pleasure, who giveth a body as it pleaseth him, and to every seed his own proper body; they may form ideas or likenesses in their minds, and never be the nearer to heaven, but further off from the life, the light, and true knowledge of Him who is the resurrection and the life.

When a person fearing God, and loving our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, confesseth his or her real belief, faith or hope, in terms of holy Scripture, it is sufficient; whether it be of the suffering, death, resurrection, or ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ into heaven and glory; or of his body being spiritual and glorious in heaven. And as the saints being spiritually united to him, are his church and body also, and esteemed mystical, while here on earth; so their low or humble body shall be changed and fashioned like unto his glorious body; and of the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and of eternal judgment, according to holy Scripture—I say, whosoever fearing God, or friends of truth, are at any time questioned about these things, it will be sufficient, and ought to be satisfactory, to answer them in plain Scripture language, and keep to the same. And I would advise all Friends to keep to the words, terms, language and doctrine of holy Scripture, and not to be wheedled or drawn from the same, nor suffer themselves to be imposed upon, either with unscriptural terms, or unlearned questions, by any contentious or carping adversaries whatsoever. For foolish and unlearned questions, as well as profane and vain babbling must be avoided.

I have here given but a brief account relating to the controversies between the said John Horn, Thomas Moor, and us, the people called Quakers, they being more fully discovered in several answers to their invidious books. What relates to our first dispute, is answered in a treatise, entitled, *A Brief Discovery of the dangerous Principles of John Horn and Thomas Moor, jr.*, printed A. D. 1659.

In our said meeting, matters and questions were for the most part quietly debated, and the people, though numerous, were generally civil, and the meeting ended peaceably. There were persons present who took some care of us, i. e. George Fox, jr., and myself, that none might do us any harm.

John Horn not obtaining his ends to bring us under popular odium, appeared uneasy and angry, both in his preaching and writing, to

render us contemptible; divulging his defaming papers in the town, and taking great pains to write abundance to reproach us and our principles; and much writing passed between him and me, by way of queries and answers. He crowded whole sheets with small writing against me, which did not well consist with his vilifying, highly despising, and setting me at naught, as much as he could, condemning me as one accursed, a heretic, and what not; as may be made further appear.

However our paper pellets did not end the fray, but the said John Horn and I had another public meeting in the chancel of his parish church, in South Lynn aforesaid, the 13th of the eleventh month, 1659, a few weeks after the first. At this meeting, John Horn undertook to make good his former charge against the people called Quakers, which it seems was a work not done, but still to do, viz: To prove them to be deceivers, and such as people ought not to hear or follow, but to account them accursed, &c.

This was a very heavy charge against us as a people, but far from proof, and as unbecoming a professed minister of Christ, thus to teach people to curse us, or so to judge or account us accursed, as opposite to the doctrine of Christ's ministers, Bless, and curse not.

But for what cause was this heavy curse pronounced against the said people as deceivers? Principally because they hold the doctrine of perfection, that is, a sinless perfection attainable by true believers in this life, or on this side the grave; which was both believed and taught by the holy prophets, Christ Jesus, and his faithful ministers; according also to what God hath promised his faithful people, whom he washes from all their filthiness; and Christ's true followers, who believe and walk in the light, and experience the blood of Jesus Christ, the blood of the everlasting covenant, to cleanse them from all sin.

But contrariwise, this our severe judge, John Horn, appeared also against the true apostles of God and Christ, in his affirming, That they did use to confess themselves sinners; to be weak and brutish in themselves, as of themselves, and to own themselves sinners; and that they use to confess sin in themselves, and none of them to glory in their perfection and sinlessness.

1. That they use always so to confess of themselves, I did, and still do deny; they did not only confess, but forsook sin and evil, and exhorted others so to do. 2. They gloried in the God of their salvation; and rejoiced in his salvation and deliverance from sin and satan, which deliverance God wrought in them, and for them, by Jesus Christ.

How odious, and how much accursed soever John Horn has rendered the people called Quakers, they will never be reconciled to his raillery; or to his doctrine pleading for sin during life, and accusing the holy prophets and apostles with having sin in them so long as they lived, and all men, while living, with sinning, Jesus Christ excepted.

But blessed be the Lord our God, that has given us a faith contrary to such sin-pleasing doctrine; that he has given us to believe unto righteousness, and unto the salvation of our souls; that he has given us the word of faith in our hearts, to believe in him, i. e. Jesus Christ, upon whom help is laid, who is mighty, and able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him. So that we find great cause to glory in the God of our salvation, having laid aside all glorying in the flesh, with all self-confidence and ostentation.

There were some other points discoursed between us at the aforesaid meeting, relating to the said charge against the people called Quakers, but this about perfection was the principal point.

After the discourse, John Horn divulged a partial, lame, and abusive account, falsely styled, *The Quakers proved deceivers*, and such as the people ought not to listen to, or follow, but to account accursed. Whereby, in the very front, he exposed his own great envy and abuse against an innocent religious society and people, whom the Lord has preserved, supported and blessed, through all their persecutions, reproaches and sufferings.

An answer entitled, *The Quakers no Deceivers*, was also published, to detect the said partial and abusive account, wherein John Horn's abuses, confusion and envy, relating to the said discourse are more fully demonstrated and detected.

That the bitter spirit of those our adversaries may further appear, and what sort of persecutors they were, observe their treatment of us; in a paper against me and the Quakers, they give us these characters, viz; That they be indeed vipers and scorpions, cockatrices, not to be charmed; and like the locusts out of the bottomless pit, whose sting is in their tails, &c. And yet these persons who thus reproached us, have confessed that we, i. e. the Quakers, are a heavy judgment that God hath ordered to them, to punish them for their neglect of Christ, the salvation of God, and the truth of him so long abused by them, as in their *Brief Discovery*, page 22.

Upon which I made this observation, viz: "Now from their own confession, they are such as have not the seal of God upon their foreheads, for the locusts were only sent to punish such men as had not the seal of God

upon their foreheads; Rev. ix. 4. Thus their malice and confusion are gone abroad, and they shall know one day, that we are another manner of judgment against them, than the locusts. And the more they strive against the heavy judgment that God hath ordered to punish them, for their neglect of Christ and abuse of his truth, the greater will their shame and torment be." Quakers no Deceivers, page 32.

And it was apparent, how this heavy judgment of God affected these persons: how impatient they were under it, and how fretted and disquieted they were; how perplexed, vexed, and provoked to jealousy, rage and confusion, by a foolish and contemptible people, in their esteem.

After some disputes between us and them, and letters and manuscripts passed between John Horn and myself; I had a furious letter from him, containing his raging bull of excommunication and repeated curse against me; which greatly showed the temper of his spirit, that he was not of a Christian, but of a bitter persecuting spirit. Some passages contained therein, follow in his own words, viz: "God stood by and enabled me to stop your mouth, and prove you such as the people ought to account accursed. The gall of bitterness thou art in—deceivers, hardened in your way, and it is to no purpose to multiply answers, or writings, or words, to you that are self-condemned; and the apostle bids, after the first and second admonition, reject an heretic, one that hath chosen his own way, and is hardened therein. What but labour in vain, is it to bestow writings or answers upon you? Seeing you are full of tergiversations, craft and subtlety, and resolved in your way, &c. And therefore I hereby reject you as a self-condemned person, once and the second time admonished, or detected to be a deceiver; which is reason sufficient for my refusing to answer these, or any other queries, henceforth to you, upon whom there is no hope of any good to be done thereby, unless you recant and repent, &c. Having written this rejection of you,

"I know you, being deceivers, cannot write any thing worth the reading, for any rightness therein. We are satisfied, and so were the people that heard our discourse, very generally, that you Quakers, so called, are deceivers, and such as we ought to reject, and you are hardened in your evil way; your writings we know are full of equivocation and falsehood," &c. Thus far John Horn.

Remark. As to the judgment and rejection here denounced against me and the people called Quakers, as deceivers, accursed, heretics, &c., I am well satisfied in my consci-

ence, that it is a mere piece of foul rubbish and presumptuous rallery, unjustly to defame and calumniate me and my friends, the said people; and as grossly false it is, that the people that heard our discourse, were very generally so satisfied, that we who are called Quakers are deceivers. For the people generally, except a few of John Horn's scornful proselytes, were civil toward me at that discourse; and in the conclusion many of them so kind, that they took care to see me safely attended and conducted out of the chancel and steeple-house, where we had the discourse, that I might sustain no harm from any of the ruder sort. And the Lord by his power, so stood by me, that even those of the rougher sort, counted as of the mob, were so moderated and kind, that they attended me in my defence. For as I believed, so I felt the power of the Lord over all, to moderate, calm, and quiet their spirits, even beyond the doubts and fears which beforehand had somewhat entered the spirits of some Friends, because they expected the seamen and others of the looser sort of people, would then be at liberty, and they knew not how these adversaries might incense them by vilifying and reproaching us. But blessed be the Lord our God, who stood by and defended us; to him who hath bounded the sea and limited the waves thereof, be glory and dominion for evermore.

After these public discourses and controversies, with the said John Horn and Thomas Moor, jr., they published two books more against the people called Quakers; the one styled, *A Fuller Discovery*, by John Horn and Thomas Moor, sen. and Thomas Moor, jr. And the other boastingly styled, *Truth's Triumph*, by John Horn.

To both which books an answer was given by George Whitehead, chiefly entitled, *Innocency elevated against Insolency, &c.* Wherein the matters in controversy are more particularly touched and answered, than in the preceding relation; and these men's envy and calumnies against us also detected, being far more numerous than are specified or touched upon in this brief account.

Our adversaries before mentioned, being implacably set against us, and bent in their persecuting spirit, to revile and reproach us and our holy profession, to possess the minds of other people with prejudice against us, occasioned a greater concern to be laid upon me from the Lord, the oftener to visit that town of Lynn, and to have the more meetings there for Truth's sake, and in good will to the people and true love to their souls, that they might not be misled through these adversaries' injurious calumnies and invidious noise.

And I had not only many considerable meetings of our friends and others in that town, but also divers public discourses with our adversaries, as twice with John Horn and Thomas Moor, as before related; and thrice with William Falconer, then a Presbyterian minister or priest, in Lynn, with whom I had three public meetings, but not in their parish church, so called, but at certain convenient houses in that town.

To prepare us for a public discourse or dispute, William Falconer proposed the following nine questions to discourse upon; to which brief answers are likewise here given.

Question 1. Whether there be three persons in the Godhead?

Answer. Three persons in the deity we read not of in holy Scripture; but of three bearing witness in heaven,—the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and that these three are one.

Question 2. Whether the Scriptures be the rule to try doctrines and spirits?

Answer. The holy Scriptures are truly owned and esteemed a rule subordinate to the Holy Spirit, from which they were given forth; and by the help of the same Spirit, doctrines and spirits may be tried; but the Spirit is the supreme, universal guide and rule, which affords light and understanding, to discern and try both spirits and doctrines, to the truly spiritually minded; for discerning of spirits is a spiritual gift of the Holy Spirit; 1 Cor. xii. 10.

Question 3. Whether the Scriptures are the Word of God and the means of salvation?

Answer 1. The Scriptures, i. e. the writings are not properly the Word, but Christ is the Word: In the beginning was the Word; John i. 1, 3; Rev. xix. 13; which the Scriptures were not; though the holy Scriptures contain the words, holy commands and doctrine of God and Christ; and they, i. e. the Scriptures, cannot be termed the Word of God, in a proper and strict sense, but rather figuratively, the effect being put for the cause; The worlds were framed by the Word of God; Heb. xi. 3; not by the Scriptures.

2. The Scriptures are not the means of conversion and salvation universally; for many we hope may be and are converted and saved, who have them not, and many who cannot read them. But Christ, who is given to be the light of the Gentiles, and God's salvation unto the ends of the earth, He is the way to the Father, and his light the universal and effectual means of conversion and salvation.

3. Sometimes true preaching is a means of conversion and salvation by the power of

Christ; and the holy Scriptures being given by divine inspiration, are by his spirit made profitable to the man of God, for doctrine, reproof and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect. And they are able to make wise unto salvation; but it is through faith which is in Christ Jesus. Therefore Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, he being our blessed and only Saviour.

Question 4. Whether there be in every man a sufficient light to bring him to believe in Christ?

Answer. Yea, Christ being the light of the world; that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, whose light directs and leads to him who gives it: Christ exhorted to believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light; therefore his light is sufficient to bring men to the faith of Christ, to believe in him, even in his name and power.

Question 5. Whether believers are justified by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, applied to them by faith, which he fulfilled without them in his flesh?

Answer. This question is not a fair or clear question, but obscure and ambiguous; the terms not being explained, it may be equivocally turned into divers meanings: howbeit, in truth's simplicity and plainness I answer;

1. The application or imputation of Christ's righteousness, when made by himself, i. e. by his own spirit, unto believers, who truly apply their hearts to obey and follow him, is unto their justification and salvation; yet not experienced without the sanctification of his Holy Spirit and work within them; nor by any men's reckoning or applying to themselves the righteousness of Christ, or his obedience considered only without them, while sin and disobedience are continued within them; "If I wash thee not, said Christ, thou hast no part with me."

2. Christ's obedience, even unto the death of the cross, though it was for us, to make peace, and obtain great good for us, as mercy and eternal redemption, yet that will not justify or save us, unless we yield sincere obedience unto him in us also.

3. Too many there are that please themselves in their polluted sinful state, with a false faith, imputing or reckoning to themselves that, which in reality, they have no share in: as that of Christ's righteousness only without them, whilst they themselves are filthy and unrighteous still; not agreeable to the justified state of true believers, who are washed, sanctified, and justified, in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God; 1 Cor. vi. 11.

Question 6. Whether all, or any believers

attain to such a perfection in this life, as to be without sin?

Answer. Yea; those true believers who are born of God, and abide in Christ; whose work is to destroy the devil's works, and to put an end to sin, and finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness. These believers attain to such a sinless perfection in this life.

Question 7. Whether the Lord's supper—administered in bread and wine—and baptism with water, be not the standing ordinances of Jesus Christ till the end of the world?

Answer 1. In the first part he begs the question, and imposes without proving, the priest's ministering bread and wine to be the Lord's supper; for the supper of the Lord, Christ, with his own disciples, consisted not only in bread and wine—or the cup—but chiefly the passover, which was typical and legal, and therefore not any standing ordinance of Jesus Christ; Luke xxii; Mat. xxvi. 18.

2. Baptism with, or in water, was John's baptism, and not Christ's baptism, nor a standing ordinance, but a decreasing, shadowy, or typical ministration; and John, as he preferred Christ before himself, so he preferred Christ's spiritual baptism above his own. The dispensation of Christ and the new covenant, is a dispensation of substance, not of shadows; and the higher the sun rises, and the brighter the same shines, the more the shadows decrease and flee away.

3. But I take it for granted, this querist, the Presbyterian minister, by baptism with water, did not mean what was properly water baptism, as John's was; but sprinkling infants on their faces; which is no real or proper baptism, but rather rantism, for which they produce no foundation in sacred Writ.

Question 8. Whether the present ministry of England, whom the Quakers revile, be not the true ministry of Christ?

Answer. That we revile them, is not true; yet we do not believe them to be the true ministry of Christ, or called by Christ to be his ministers; for if we did, we should not dissent from them. And the same cause of dissent which we had in those days, i. e. of the Commonwealth, so called, we have still, viz: the great corruption, avarice, and pride of priests.

Question 9. Whether the same body which dieth, shall rise again?

Answer. For answer, I refer to the apostle's answer to the like question, which was, "How are the dead raised up? And with what body do they come?" His answer in a way of allusion, or similitude, was, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest, is not quickened except it die; and

that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it pleaseth him; and to every seed his own body." And to speak more plainly in his negative, of the sameness of the body, he saith; "Now this I say brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."

The said William Falconer promised beforehand, to dispute the seventh and eighth questions at any time and place, and on such conditions as should, by some men of each party, be seen fit; and that he would prove the ministry of England to be the ministry of Christ. This he promised at Isabel Barnet's, of Lynn, the 17th day of the eighth month, 1659. But at our first dispute or discourse, we got not to the seventh and eighth questions, but upon some of the questions before.

When we were met in a large room, yet small enough to contain the people, I gave answer to his first question, according to Scripture, and to the same effect as I have answered it before; but that would not satisfy him, unless I would answer his question in his own terms, i. e. about the personalities or three distinct persons in the deity. Which terms he being desirous to prove by Scripture, partly insisted on Psalm ii. 7; The Lord hath said unto me, thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. But hereby he did not prove the terms, three persons in the deity, or three distinct coeternal personalities in the Godhead, according to their principle. For he could not deny that Christ the Son of God, was begotten in time, and that, This day have I begotten thee, was an act in time; and yet the Son of God, the eternal Word, was in and with God from eternity, before days and time; and in due time proceeded and came out from God; "In the fulness of time God sent his Son made of a woman, made under the law," &c.

The holy Scripture trinity, or three thereby meant, we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence, that they are one substance; one divine, infinite Being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe the relative properties of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to holy Scripture testimony, Mat. xxviii. 19; and that, These three are one; 1 John v. 7.

The said priest, William Falconer, being deficient in Scripture proof of their terms, Three persons in the Godhead, our discourse of that point, and first question, soon went off, and with ease to us; George Fox, jr., being also with me at our first discourse with William Falconer.

I well remember in a conference which I had with Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, our friends, Gilbert Latey and Dr. Thomas Lower, present; the bishop and I fell into some friendly discourse about the trinity; as to their definition of a person, what a person is. I told the bishop I had discoursed many, especially of the learned, about that point; and that upon the definition of a person, or what the word person means, I never could find them consistent, but contradictory to themselves, on their own article of faith; as when they thus define person, viz; an intelligent being; or individual substance, of a rational nature, as Thomas Aquinas, who has been quoted against us, saith; *Persona est natura rationalis individua substantia, quæ nec est pars alterius nec ab alio sustentatur*, i. e. "A person is an individual substance of a rational nature, which is neither a part of another, nor upheld by another." I mentioning this to the archbishop, told him withal, that to assert three persons in the deity, seeing they are not three beings, nor three substances, I confess I could never reconcile with there being three distinct or separate persons, and not three substances, but one substance, or being, when a person is a rational substance by their own account. And moreover, they deem it blasphemy, to hold the blessed trinity to be three substances, or three beings, for that were to make them three Gods; how then are they three distinct persons, i. e. rational substances? These, as I told the said archbishop, I could never reconcile; for if they be not three distinct substances they are not three distinct persons. Unto which he ingenuously answered; "It is safest or best to keep to Scripture words or terms in expressing such weighty matters of faith, concerning the deity, and not to express them in metaphysical terms of philosophy, or the like, which are not in holy Scripture." And truly I was glad when I heard such an honest confession from him.

As to the second question, and first part of the third, we preferring the holy Spirit to the Scriptures, as being the chief guide and rule, and the holy Scriptures as truly useful in their place, under the help and guidance of the Spirit; and the Word before the Scriptures, we had little controversy.

But on the second part of the third question, whether the Scriptures are the means of conversion and salvation; and on the fourth question, of the sufficiency of the light in man to bring him to be a true believer in Christ; which tends to resolve the conclusion of the third, when truly answered and distinguished between the internal Word, the Light, and the Scriptures. Here arose the chief controversy,

the priest giving the preference to the Scriptures, from the text in 2 Pet. i. 19; We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.

The priest would have this more sure word to be the Scriptures of the prophets, which I was constrained to oppose, considering where-in and between what the comparison *more sure word* consisted; as being between the voice that came from heaven to Christ in the mount—which Peter and James and John heard—and the word, the light, or the spirit of prophecy, in the hearts of those believers, who heard not that voice from heaven, nor were with Peter, James and John in the mountain, when they heard that voice from the excellent glory from heaven. Yet that voice was certainly true, that Christ was the beloved Son of God, whom, by that voice they were required to hear. It is not said, Ye have also a more true word of prophecy, but a more sure word. It was more sure to them who had it in their hearts constantly to take heed unto, and to guide them to the arising of the day-star in their hearts, even the bright and Morning Star. I say this word, this light, which they had in their hearts, must needs be more sure to them, than that voice which they never had nor heard; it being especially and peculiarly heard by three disciples, not by all believers; but this internal word or light, is generally manifest, and continues in the believers, who wait for the appearance of Christ in spirit.

The priest would have this more sure word of prophecy, unto which Peter directed them, to be the Scriptures of the prophets, who prophesied of Christ to come, before he came. To which I answered; the voice from the excellent glory, which Peter, James and John heard, when they were with Christ in the mount, testified of Christ being come, saying; "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." Therefore this voice and testimony so express to them, must be more sure than the Scriptures of the prophets, before he was come; for it would be no small perversion of Peter's words, to turn them thus; although we have a voice and testimony from heaven, that Christ the Messiah is come already, yet ye have also more sure Scriptures of the prophets, which foretell and declare unto you that the Messiah is to come, and that ye do well to take heed thereunto until he come. This were to deny Christ to be already come, contrary to the testimony given of him from heaven, to and by three of his faithful and credible witnesses, Peter, James

and John. And though that voice from heaven was sure and certain, to them who heard it, yet that word, that light of Christ, which in many appears as a light shining in a dark place, even in dark hearts, is more sure to them than that voice or vision which they have not heard or seen. This word or light, will be known to be a very sure guide and rule, will prophesy, open, and show things to come, especially to them that do well, that is, in taking timely heed thereunto.

This point about the more sure word held longest in dispute, but I argued the matter so closely, the Lord standing by and assisting me, that the priest appeared to come down in his spirit, as one under some conviction when his logic failed him; which being observed, George Fox the younger called out to him to mind that which convinced him in his own conscience of the truth, that had been demonstrated to him; to which he made no reply that I remember, but appeared more moderate, and less in prejudice than either of our adversaries before, viz; John Horn and Thomas Moor.

There was little discourse, if any at that time, upon the 4th, 5th and 6th questions, about the sufficiency of the light in men, perfection and justification, which therefore I shall not, nor need I, here insist upon, having answered them already before.

At our second meeting, many considerable persons and others of Lynn were gathered together, and generally civil, as they were before. William Falconer had some time before promised to prove the ministry of England to be the true ministry of Christ, in answer to his 8th question, which he then affirmed, but I could not grant, and put him upon proof in several respects. 1. Because they could not be the ministry, ministers, or messengers of Christ, unless they were called, gifted, qualified and sent by him, as his ministers and messengers ought to be; but of this the priest gave no proof or demonstration from, or according to holy Scripture. The laying the hands of the Presbytery upon him for approbation, alledged from 1 Tim. iv. 14, could not evidence this person either gifted or called by Christ Jesus into his ministry. It could not prove him to be either so qualified or gifted, or a minister of Christ, as Timothy was; for those elders who gave their approbation of Timothy, and signified the same by laying on of hands, no doubt understood he was well gifted and qualified, in order to be employed in the work of Christ's ministry; for Paul thus exhorted him in the very place pleaded; Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of

the hands of the Presbytery or elders; one of whom Paul was; 2 Tim. i. 6.

This Presbytery or company of elders, owned both the inward divine gift, and prophecy in those days, which Timothy partaking of to prepare him for his ministry, was approved of by those elders in Christ, who knew Timothy; by which we could not therefore believe that those of that Presbytery, which were of William Falconer's society, could either make or confirm him to be a minister of Christ, or prove him called by Christ unto his ministry. No more than if he should have argued, because Timothy and Titus were ministers of Christ, and approved and encouraged by St. Paul; therefore, I William Falconer, am a minister of Christ, approved by my brethren of the Presbytery, which would be but a poor way of arguing; according to which any false pretender may claim a part in Christ's ministry; but no sincere honest man or minister of Christ Jesus will say, or argue, that because Peter and Paul, &c., were Christ's ministers and ambassadors, therefore I am a minister of Christ.

2. Their education at their academies, schools, and colleges, to learn and study natural arts and sciences, philosophy, and divinity, &c., and esteeming such learning and acquirements essential to their ministry, or to qualify them for divines or gospel ministers, or to this effect, was objected against their being Christ's ministers.

3. Besides, their colleges erected by Papists in the dark times of Popery, and many of them called by saints' names; this was also objected against their ministry, as not being called by Christ, but set up by man, and in the will of man.

The priest's chief plea or allegation for their colleges, was, that there was a college in Jerusalem; 2 Kings xxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22.

I showed the meeting that was no sufficient proof or warrant for their colleges now, to educate men for Christ's ministry, or to make them Christ's ministers, by natural learning and study at these colleges; this could be no proof of Christ's call or ministry. In that college or second court, as it is called in Jerusalem, dwelt Huldah the prophetess, to whom Josiah, king of Judah, sent Hilkiab the priest and others, to inquire of the Lord for him, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of the book of the law, when it was read before the king; 2 Kings xxii. Here was a good woman, a prophetess, who dwelt in this college, or second court, to whom the king sent a priest and others, his servants, for counsel. It appears the king had more confidence in this woman, than in

the priest, as also believing she had more of the counsel of God, and more understanding of his law and judgments written therein, than the priest had; or else he needed not to have sent the priest to her for counsel. She had the spirit and gift of prophecy, to discover judgments when coming or approaching, which were foretold in the law of Moses. It was by this divine gift, as appears, she could expound the law better than the priest; yet she had not this knowledge or learning from the college, or by natural learning, for she was a prophetess, endued with the spirit and gift of prophecy, which came not by the will of man, nor was it of man, but of God, and from him.

But these colleges pleaded for to make ministers in, i. e. the ministry of England, can make no such ministers as this prophetess; neither do they believe or own that true prophets or prophesying are in these days, who say and conclude that both prophesying, visions, and immediate revelations are long since ceased, as many of the priests have declared, and generally do conclude; consequently they have no divine or immediate call from Christ into his ministry, but only a human call from men, when educated in human learning, without being qualified or gifted by the Holy Spirit.

Yet we allow and own human learning in its place, as useful and necessary in many respects; but do not so idolize it as to think men may thereby be made divines or ministers of Jesus Christ, for they must be of his own making and calling. And what authority have they, either of the Presbytery or Episcopacy, to authorize others unto Christ's ministry, who themselves are not authorized by his power and spirit, i. e. the same spirit which the holy apostles, primitive elders and overseers had? Surely their ceremony of laying on of hands cannot convey it, nor give them divine authority.

Our discourse about their colleges held not long, and that meeting ended civilly and quietly; though the auditors were disappointed of their parson's proving the ministry of England to be the true ministry of Christ. That remains still to be proved, both as to their call, conversation and practices. We have not found them to be Christ's ministry in any of these; for the ministers of Jesus Christ, who truly followed him, were free from pride and avarice, and preached the gospel freely, as Christ their Lord and Master required of them; but so do not our proud and covetous priests.

We had another meeting at the house of our friend Isabel Barnet, in Lynn, in a large parlour, at which the said William Falconer's

7th question was entered upon, about water baptism, and what he termed the Lord's supper; esteeming both standing ordinances of Jesus Christ, till the end of the world, according to his question before cited, which he affirming, it required proof on his part. I being upon the negative, he accused me with denying all ordinances, which was not true, nor truly inferred against me from my reciting Col. ii. 20, 21, 22; "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances? Touch not, taste not, handle not, which are all to perish with the using, after the commandments and doctrines of men." This instance could not be a denial of all ordinances, nor of any that are standing in force, and to continue by divine appointment, and the dispensation of the new covenant, which consists not in carnal ordinances, or human institutions or impositions, nor yet in things elementary, typical or shadowy, but is a dispensation of spirit, life and substance. Christ was ordained and appointed of God to be our High Priest and minister of this new and everlasting covenant.

William Falconer alledged Mat. xxviii. 19, and Acts x. 47, for water baptism being an ordinance of Christ to continue to the end of the world; thereby he fell short, though he used the Baptist's plea for his proof, yet his practice and theirs differ, in their baptizing believers, as they esteem them, and his sprinkling infants. But in reply to those Scriptures pleaded,

1. There is no water mentioned in the first; "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in, or rather into, the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Here is no water mentioned; their gospel ministry was a spiritual, powerful, baptizing ministry, even into the name, power and spirit of our heavenly Father, and of his Son Christ Jesus, and his Holy Spirit; for as said the apostle, "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance."

2. Neither will Peter's questions or command to those Gentiles, mentioned in Acts x. 47, 48, prove water baptism a standing ordinance of Christ to the end of the world; water baptism being John's baptism, decreasing and giving place to Christ's baptism, and being condescended to in the church's infancy, to show a respect to those believing Gentiles, as well as to the Jews; all this proves it not an ordinance of Christ, nor its standing to the end of the world.

Neither was water baptism included in Paul's commission, as William Falconer af-

firmed, for Paul declares the contrary; "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" nor will these words bear such a construction, as that baptism was not the principal thing he was sent for, as William Falconer construed them. Paul did not say, Christ sent me not only to baptize, but also to preach, but positively, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." This was the general and plain reason he gives, why he thanks God he baptized none, and no other of them but Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanus: his particular reason was, "Lest any should say, that he baptized in his own name." But his general reason is more extensive; "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." Certainly if he had had a commission to baptize as well as to preach, he would not have denied his commission, nor have thanked God for his neglecting, or not performing it but to so very few, far short of the number of those he preached unto: this in substance I insisted upon.

It may therefore be rationally concluded, first, That if Paul was not sent to baptize, that is with water, but to preach the gospel, the commission the other apostles had, Mat. xxviii. 19, does not include or intend water baptism, for Paul's commission was as large and comprehensive as the rest had; he had the whole counsel of God to declare, not being behind the chiefest apostles. Therefore his complying to baptize a few at Corinth, must needs be rather in condescension, than by a commission from Christ.

But what insincerity or hypocrisy is it, for any of these ministers or priests to use the arguments of those called Anabaptists, for water baptism to continue in this gospel day, from Mat. xxviii. 19, and Acts x. 47, when thereby they do not mean that which is the real baptism of water, but sprinkling the faces of infants with a little water, when they know that sprinkling is rantism, and not baptism.

Thus my opposer at last argued for infants' baptism, so miscalled, viz; That as the promise was to Abraham and his seed, so all infants of believers are as visibly the members of the church, and have right to the outward privileges of the gospel covenant as their parents, and therefore have right to water baptism, as all the seed of Abraham had to circumcision.

This is an old, worn and torn argument, still imposing without any Scripture proof, either that sprinkling infants is real baptism, or that it is a privilege of the gospel covenant, or that Christ has set it and enjoined it in the room or place of circumcision, as if that were a

type of sprinkling infants. But we have no Scripture proof for any of these, or to ascribe any of these to that human tradition of rantism on infants' faces, both of male and female; whereas it was only the males of the seed of Abraham, which were circumcised: how then did circumcision typify this infants' baptism, as it is miscalled?

When 1 Cor. xii. 13 was instanced, that it was the baptism of the spirit by which true believers were baptized into the church, William Falconer said that referred to water baptism, yet confessed there was both an inward baptism of the spirit, and an outward baptism of water, whereby they were baptized into the church or body of Christ, thereby adding to the express words of the text; "We are all baptized by one spirit into one body." He does not say we are all baptized by two baptisms, that of water and that of the spirit into one body. Therefore the one saving and uniting baptism is that of the Spirit; as there is one body and one spirit, so there is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism: Ephes. iv. 4, 5. Here are no more baptisms than Lords.

Concerning their sacrament of bread and wine, as their terms are, called the Lord's supper, he said that the passover was not included in the Lord's supper; which was expressly contrary to plain Scripture. The passover was prepared or made ready as Christ required his disciples, which he and they did eat at his supper; Luke xxii. Mat. xxvi. And it appeared to be the principal part of his and their last supper, at the feast of the passover, which was a legal feast, supper and type, fulfilled and ended by Christ.

We proceeded not far upon this point, our friend Thomas Briggs being with me, gave a powerful testimony to Christ, as being the bread of life from heaven, the substance and end of the shadows, and who gives life and nourishment to the immortal soul.

When we had discoursed but a short time upon this subject, a discomposed man stood up in the meeting, which was crowded, and made a hideous noise and was clamorous, which put the people into a great disturbance and uproar, many being surprised and frightened with the clamour he made, and the uproar he occasioned. William Falconer, the priest himself, appeared sorely amazed and frightened, so that he was past disputing against the Quakers, and great care was taken by some of his hearers to get him safely conveyed out of the house, for he was glad to be gone; so in a little time they crowded him out of the meeting and house, and he went out of doors trembling, having a friend of ours—who told me—by the hand as he went out.

The man that made the disturbance in the meeting, did, in like manner, make a disturbance at the other meeting which I had in the chancel with John Horn; upon which Thomas Moor unjustly reported, that it was the fruit of George Whitehead's ministry, when the contrary was well known, that my ministry was, as it still is, the ministry of the gospel of peace, tending to turn people's minds from darkness and distractions to the true light, and to settle them therein, to wait upon God without distraction.

Although that turbulent person had been partly convinced of the truth, and for some time came to our friends' meetings, yet not keeping his mind low and humble, in the measure of light given him, to feel and understand the power and spirit of Christ to work in him unto sanctification and self-denial, he grew conceited and exalted in his imaginations; and setting up a righteousness and making a cross of his own, he would thereby make himself more righteous than all other Friends, and a judge over all, until the enemy of his soul prevailed to hurry and disorder his mind and spirit, so as from his getting into a self-righteousness and singularity, he ran into confusion, vain and distracted imaginations, and turbulent behaviour; though I question not, he was not without sufficient and seasonable instruction and warning to the contrary.

I had early drawings in spirit to visit the city of Norwich, and county of Norfolk, in the year 1654, and among other places in the same county, to visit Buckingham, Gissing, and Pulham-side, in which parts I believed the Lord had a people to bring forth, as it afterwards came to pass. And hearing of one Thomas Benton, a noted teacher or pastor, of an Independent people about Pulham, I believed that some, if not many, of them would be gathered from among them, out of their formal profession and worship, unto the light, life and power of God, and of Christ Jesus.

At a certain time being informed that the said Thomas Benton was to preach at a lecture at Diss, in Norfolk, in the spring time, in the year 1655, a weight came upon me to go to the steeple-house, my dear friend Robert Duncon, accompanying me, and I stayed there and heard him until he had ended; and then I was moved to call to him and tell him, Thou art weighed and found too light. And so he was proved upon further trial afterward, as I am about to relate.

He seemed to be somewhat stirred and offended at my speaking to him, and preposessed against the people called Quakers, by some priest's book out of the north; as I remember, it was styled *The perfect Pharisee* under monkish holiness; set out by the priests

of Newcastle. However, I was quickly pushed out of the steeple-house by his instigation; but then I got upon a tomb or grave stone, and preached the truth in power and plainness, showing the barrenness and fruitlessness of the people under such ministers, and their dead ministry; and how the vineyards of such vine dressers were grown over with briars and thorns; and what cause they had to howl and lament. The people heard me quietly for a pretty space; but some rude persons, after I stepped down, would have set me in the stocks; but others, one whereof was the schoolmaster, prevented them. I had a good time then to clear my conscience.

Above four years after that, I obtained a public meeting with the said Thomas Benton, at his parish church, as it is called, at Pulham, which was on the 4th day of the eighth month, 1659.

The chief points of our controversy were about the light within or in man, and ministers taking tithes of their hearers in this gospel day; the first I vindicated, i. e. the light of God and Christ in man; the second I opposed, i. e. tithes, &c.

The first question propounded to Thomas Benton to be discoursed on was, whether every man in the world be enlightened with a spiritual light, yea or nay?

His answer was, that he denied that every man is enlightened with a spiritual light; but with a natural light,—as the light of reason, creation light, or the like; yet confessed that every man is enlightened by Christ as a Creator, but not as a Mediator.

Herein his inconsistency was apparent, for if every man be enlightened by Christ as Creator, then is every man enlightened with a spiritual, divine light; for as Christ is Creator, he is a divine, spiritual Light, and the fountain of light, for God is a spirit, and light also, in whom is no darkness at all.

Nevertheless, Thomas Benton confessed that the word enlighten, is with a light within, in the soul, but that he could not fully interpret that Scripture, John i. 9. Wherein he showed some ingenuousness in confessing his shortness. And it may be observed, he did not demonstrate from Scripture his distinction of two such different lights in men, as one from Christ as Creator, that is only natural in all men; and another light, which is spiritual, from Christ as Mediator, only in some men. Christ himself speaks more plainly and generally; “I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness.”

But to render the light of the Creator natural, or natural reason, and the light of Christ spiritual, is not only to divide the light,

which is one, but to set the light of the Mediator above the light of the Creator.

John the evangelist testified of Christ the Word, that was with God and was God, that he was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and that in him was life, and the life was the light of men; John i. 4, 9. This life of the eternal Word, is above any natural light or natural reason, for it is a divine principle of life and light.

And, “God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts;” for what end? To give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ: 2 Cor. iv. Therefore, before we have that knowledge or degree of light given, God shines in our hearts to give it unto us: and still it is the light and glory of one and the same God and Christ Jesus, gradually revealed and made known in us.

Moreover we ought to consider, that Christ, as he is God and man, does not act or give spiritual gifts separately from God the Creator, whether they be light, grace, spirit, power or wisdom; for Jesus Christ, when he speaks as man, or as Mediator, always gives preference to the heavenly Father; as when he saith, “The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: and my Father worketh hitherto, and I work.”

And likewise, what power, glory, spirit, life, light and wisdom, the Son hath to give or impart unto men, especially unto true believers, his followers, it is all first given him of the Father. He received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them; Psalm lxxviii. 18. Of whom did he receive them, but of his heavenly Father?

As our heavenly Father and his dear Son are not divided, no more is their light—it is one individual light and life; the fulness whereof dwells in Christ the Son of the living God, in whom it pleased the Father, that all fulness should dwell; Col. i. 19. And to give all power in heaven and earth unto him; Mat. xxviii. 18. Although unto every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ; Eph. iv. 7. What he has of light and grace in fulness, who received the spirit not by measure, but in immensity or immense fulness, he gives to us by measure, and the knowledge thereof gradually, if we be sincerely obedient to his gift.

The said Thomas Benton also affirmed, that if those Gentiles mentioned, Rom. ii. 14, had improved that light to the utmost which they had, it had not been sufficient for them unto salvation.

This still is relative to his mistaken notion,

that they had only a light from God the Creator, but not from Christ the Mediator, which appears contrary to the text, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15. For both Jews and Gentiles were all to be judged, even the secrets of men, without exception, by Jesus Christ, according to the gospel; verse 16. But if they should be judged and condemned, either because they had not a sufficient light given them of God to save them, or no gospel light by Jesus Christ, to improve unto salvation; this were to render God and Christ both unmerciful and unjust judges. What! judge and condemn men for not improving, or not obeying a light, law or gospel, which they never had, nor might have, if not given unto them? Or when they made the best improvement they could of that light given unto them, yet for all this, to fall short of salvation, and consequently to be judged unto condemnation. O! unmerciful and cruel, and contrary to common justice among men; and surely such doctrine cannot be according to the gospel of the free grace of God in Jesus Christ; but rather agreeable to the partial, narrow notion of predestinarians, and such as would, by their doctrine, limit and confine the grace and love of God, only to a small select number of mankind.

Such partial opinion is manifestly repugnant to the free and universal love of God; with whose great love his dear Son Jesus Christ, was so fully replenished, that he was well called the Son of his love; which he hath so freely and universally extended unto the world, according to the good will of his heavenly Father, in all the good he hath done and given to the children of men; and therefore the love of Christ testified of in holy Scripture, is truly the love of God in him to us all.

And if God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; how shall he not with him, also freely give us all things? Rom. viii. 32.

Jesus Christ showed his own and his heavenly Father's great love to all men, as he is the light of the world, and given for a light unto the Gentiles, and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; and also in his dying for all men; by the grace of God tasting death for every man; giving himself a ransom for all men, and in making intercession both for transgressors and for the saints; also according to the will of God, even in heaven itself, he appears in the presence of God for us; and also by his Holy Spirit in all true believers: his Spirit maketh intercession, helpeth our infirmities, moves and assists us in prayer. They who are sons of God, are sensible that he hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba Father; Gal. iv. 6.

The humility, mercy and condescension of Jesus Christ, our blessed Mediator, are such, that he is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, weaknesses and temptations, and ready to succour, help, and relieve all them that are tempted, even by his grace and good Spirit, in their drawing near to the throne of his mercy and grace.

O faithful Creator, O King of saints, O merciful High Priest, O compassionate Mediator, let thy light and thy truth shine forth more and more, to the glory of thy great and excellent name and power, and expel the great darkness of apostacy that has covered many nations and professions of Christianity, and greatly appeared in these latter times against thy light, thy truth and people, whom thou hast called and delivered out of darkness into thy marvellous light. Glory and dominion be to thy great name and power, for ever and ever.

To return to the matter in controversy, viz: my opposer Thomas Benton, affirmed that it was a corrupt nature by which those Gentiles—mentioned in Rom. ii. 14—did those things contained in the law, which he confessed was the moral law, or ten commandments. Herein the man was as far out as in the rest of his mistakes; for who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Do men gather grapes of thorns? Or can an evil tree bring forth good fruit? No sure; no more could those Gentiles by a corrupt, unsanctified nature, do those things contained in the righteous law of God; which requires sincere and entire love to him, and true love to our neighbours as to ourselves. If by a corrupt nature, this law may be performed, by what nature is it transgressed, where men neither love their Creator nor their neighbours?

The opposer did not well consider the text, Rom. ii. 14, nor the state of those Gentiles, who did by nature the things contained in the law; whom the apostle doth instance in justification; verse 13. Though they had not the law, i. e. in the letter, they had it in the spirit, even in their hearts. And what was the work of the law in their hearts, being written therein? Surely it was a sanctifying work in them, from whence their performance proceeded. The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; Psalm xix. 7. Therefore their performance of those things contained in the law of God, was not by, or in, a depraved nature, but in a converted, sanctified, or reformed nature and state.

Other gross mistakes and errors were at that dispute committed by Thomas Benton, as, that those mentioned, Rom. i. 20, saw the invisible things of God by a natural light; and that natural men might clearly see the

eternal power of God as a Creator, but not Christ as a Mediator.

Herein his mistake is notorious; for the invisible things of God there mentioned, are his eternal power and deity, or Godhead, and they who understood and saw them from the creation, were of those Gentiles who knew God, and yet liked not to retain him in their knowledge, but became vain in their imaginations, whereby their foolish hearts were darkened; and so they became miserable apostates. The sight and knowledge they sometimes had of God and his eternal power, was not by a natural light or knowledge; but by a spiritual divine light, given them of God; and their knowledge they had of God, and their understanding and sight of his invisible things, originally sprang from a divine principle in them; seeing, that which might be known of God was manifest in them, for it was God that showed the same unto them; Rom. i. Inasmuch that they themselves were without excuse in their declension from the same. For it is plain, that the natural man neither receiveth, nor can know the things of the spirit of God, they being spiritually discerned; 1 Cor. ii. 14. And surely vain by nature are all men who are ignorant of God, and cannot know him, that is, by the good things that are seen; Wisd. xiii. 1.

Men must be changed and renewed in the spirit of their minds, in some measure, before they can clearly see or know the invisible things of God, or of his spirit. It is not by the spirit of this world, nor by the wisdom thereof, nor yet by any mere natural light, that those things of God, which he has freely given unto us, are made known unto us, but by the Spirit, which is of God; 1 Cor. ii. Which Spirit being obeyed, we follow God's teachings and drawings thereby, and shall not fall short of the knowledge of Christ our Mediator, nor be deprived of the great benefit or fruit of his mediation; who said, "Every man that hath heard and learned of the Father, cometh unto me." And Christ Jesus the Son of God, being the way to the Father; "No man cometh unto the Father but by him."

Again, our adversary's doctrine reflects upon God, and in effect charges him with injustice, as requiring an impossibility of men; in his saying that, all men may believe in Christ, if they will or can; but all men have not power; "As, said he, I may travel an hundred miles before night, but I cannot." Yet men are reprov'd and condemn'd for the sin of unbelief, because they believe not in him, i. e. Christ, whom God hath sent.

But how will it stand either with the mercy or justice of God, to reprove men for a sin they cannot avoid, or for not believing in, or

obeying Christ, if they have not light or power given them to believe and obey when they are willing. But it is their sin if they will not; as it was their sin and rebellion, who would not be gathered by Christ, nor come unto him that they might have life, when they might have come at his call, who gives men both light and grace to persuade and enable them to believe and obey. It is the work of God to believe in his Son Christ Jesus; but it is our act of obedience, we must be exercised in this work of God, in the obedience of faith. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; otherwise it is unrighteous to charge God with condemning men for their unbelief, if he did not give them light and grace, or power to believe.

And as unjust and erroneous doctrine it is, to teach, that where Christ said; "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved;" that by world here, is meant only the number of believers, which is a manifest perversion of Christ's testimony in this place; for God sent his Son into the world of unbelievers and sinners, to call them to repentance, and he called such to repent and believe the gospel; Mark i. 15. Christ is the author of faith; he comes to work faith in the hearts of people by his light and grace; the world are not believers until he works faith in them. Shall he find faith on earth when he comes? No sure; he finds men unbelievers. It would be injurious to Christ's words, and impertinent to turn and limit them thus, viz: God sent not his Son into the world of believers, to condemn the world of believers, but that the world of believers through him might be saved. Christ's testimony is more general, and an indication of the universal and free love of God to mankind, where he likewise saith in the place mentioned, John iii. 16; God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. He does not say here, that this is only the world of believers, or the world of the elect, as some of these partial, narrow spirited, pitiful preachers have done. But this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil; John iii. 19. Surely he did not mean the world of believers, that this is the condemnation of the world of believers, or that believers loved darkness rather than light; no surely; for they are children of the light, they all love the light, they walk in the light, and bring their deeds to the light, who are true believers, and children of the light, and of the day.

The second question: Whether he be a true minister that takes money, gifts or tithes, for preaching?

Answer. I deny that he is.

To which question Thomas Benton replied, that ministers may take money or tithes for maintenance, for the labour of preaching the gospel. Yet that he claims not tithes by a divine right, but yet for aught he knew, they belong to the priesthood of Christ the antitype, because they were received by Melchisedec in the type. But herein he was not fully resolved or clear, for he desired to receive more light from George Whitehead in it.

Thus it appeared in those days, how ready some persons who pretended to be gifted men, and to a reformation above the parish priests, were to lay hold of their lucre, gain and revenues, by tithes or otherwise, so as their avarice might be answered and satisfied. And seeing such persons who were not bred up to the priesthood, but were tradesmen, some of the inferior sort, as butchers, tailors, weavers, &c., yet pretending to be gifted by the Spirit, were set up by the seeking people to be preachers in their pulpits, like priests in some parish churches, so called, chiefly because they made them believe they were spiritually gifted, and had not their ministry by human learning at universities; and honest minded people were betrayed and misled by such pretenders, to set them up and promote them, until they became as corrupt and covetous as the parish priests; and then they would evade Christ's command to his ministers,—“Freely ye have received, freely give;” and his ministers' example agreeably thereto. A free ministry would not be allowed by such mercenary ministers, when the people had promoted them for their pretended gifts, many then having a secret belief, that the Spirit's teaching and gifts were not all ceased; upon which their selfish, mercenary teachers took advantage to get into preferments. Then tithes and forced maintenance became acceptable, though not *jure divino*; that divine law and right the priesthood of Levi had—requiring tithes and oblations—being abolished and ended by Christ, according to the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters of the Hebrews.

Although tithes be granted to be typical, being received by Melchisedec in the type, yet now, quoth Thomas Benton, for aught he knew, they belong to the priesthood of Christ the antitype.

How can that be, when they cannot be claimed by a divine right, according to his own confession; but if in the antitype they belong to Christ's priesthood, then that must be *jure divino*. But for that we have no Scripture proof, no more than for turning a

type into an antitype, as this my opposer seemed to do, in making tithes that were a type in Melchisedec's receiving them, the antitype in Christ's priesthood. If he could thus turn types into antitypes, he might as well turn legal shadows into gospel substances.

But his instance of Melchisedec's receiving tithes of Abraham, being the tenth of the spoil taken in war, will not parallel or warrant the case of tithes as now it stands. It is not that sort of tenths the priests now take, but of the choicest fruits of the earth, corn and cattle, pigs, geese, wool, and lambs, &c. Then I showed Thomas Benton that, although Melchisedec was a type of Christ, his receiving the tenth of the spoil taken in war, which Abraham freely gave him, is no ground for priests now taking those tithes they do, nor any warrant or proof for Christ's ministers to take tithes of any sort, either of spoils or otherwise.

When I answered Thomas Benton to this purpose, he replied thus, viz: “George Whitehead, your answer is like his who was asked how many miles it was to London? and he answered, a pope full of plums;” whereby he showed his levity and impertinency.

When he could not maintain his claim to tithes, as due to the priesthood of Christ, by Scripture or divine right, then his chief plea was, that the tenths were never the people's, which is not true, but given the ministers by the magistrates or state; and that if the people will be so base, that they will not maintain their ministers, then they are to be forced by the law to do it.

It was not the practice of Christ's faithful ministers to force maintenance from people; neither coveted they any man's money or gold, meat, drink, or apparel, but preached the gospel freely, without making the same chargeable, being under a necessity, which Christ laid upon them, to preach the gospel. Yet they were allowed and had power to eat and to drink, and to be relieved by such as were worthy to receive them; and also to reap where they had sown, for their necessary relief, but not to compel or force maintenance from any, whether unworthy, base, or worthy; but the worthy need no compulsion to be charitable and kind, especially to their friends and brethren. And for such as are base and unworthy, who reject Christ's ministry, both they and theirs are rejected; and no more credit can any priests gain, by compelling tithes or maintenance from such as they deem base and unworthy, than by persecuting those who are none of their hearers, because they cannot for conscience sake follow them, nor sit under their fruitless ministry.

Yet Thomas Benton blamed our friend Richard White, and accused him of unrighteousness, for detaining tithes from the priest that sued and persecuted him for the same, when it was known Richard was then no hearer of the priest's; he had no work done by him, therefore the more unjust in the priest to demand wages of such for whom he did no work.

As for Richard White, he was well known; he received the truth in true love in early days, among the first stock of our friends in High Suffolk; and because for conscience sake to Christ Jesus, and with a true regard to the gospel and new covenant dispensation, he refused the payment of tithes, and denied that priesthood that takes them, and yet pretend to be Christ's ministers; he suffered long imprisonment in Ipswich jail, and otherwise, wherein he bore a faithful testimony for Christ Jesus, and the truth of the gospel.

Our meeting and dispute ended peaceably, and the eyes of many were opened, to see the corruption of such ministers as opposed the light of Christ in man, and the universal grace of God to mankind, and pleaded for tithes and forced maintenance for preaching.

When it pleased the Lord to send some of us, his faithful servants and ministers among them, who were really partakers of his spiritual gift and ministry, many honest minded people in those parts left those ministers, who under pretence of being spiritually gifted, grew selfish, corrupt and covetous, preferring their gain to godliness, and gathering to themselves, and not to Christ Jesus, nor to his light, grace, or spirit, in their hearts. Many serious people even in those days came out from among those self-exalted ministers, teachers and priests, and were turned to Christ, their light, and he became their Minister, High Priest, and Pastor: to whom be glory and dominion for ever.

A short time after the said public dispute at Pulham, Robert Duncon and I went to visit Thomas Benton at his house, where we had some moderate discourse, and I endeavoured to inform his understanding in some weighty matters of Christianity, at which he seemed not offended, but rather friendly, and accordingly we parted peaceably.

After which, for his further information, I wrote a brief answer to those points in controversy at our public dispute, to remind him of his deficiencies and inconsistency in divers points; and in the conclusion of my answer, I wrote him the following lines, viz:

Thomas Benton,
Where is thy equity or righteousness?
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Who would have a priest take tithes of such as he doth no work for, nor are taught by him? Surely if thou didst hearken to the equal and just principle in thee, it would teach thee better lessons than this thou hast taught; but from that principle thou art erred. And this I must tell thee, since thou art got into the old, dirty road of the priests, and art not only a partaker with them, of their covetous practices, but a preacher up thereof, thou art grown as dark as they are, upon whom the sun is set. Thou hast lost the sincerity of the truth, that hath been in times past stirring in thee; for now many of the honest hearted begin to loathe thy covetousness and hypocrisy, for which the Lord will judge thee; dryness and withering are already come upon thee. Remember from whence thou art fallen, and consider thy sad apostacy, if happily thou mayest find repentance. From a friend to thy soul,
GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

The 8th of the Eighth
month, 1659.

One James Bedford, priest of Bluntisham and Erith in Huntingdonshire, having made a great boasting and clamour against the people called Quakers, to render them ridiculous and odious, some of our friends had some public discourses with him, in order to abate his clamour, yet notwithstanding he persisted in his reviling and ostentation against us, as if he could refute and run down the Quakers. At a dispute which our dear friend, John Whitehead, had with the said priest, at the steeple house at Haddenham, in the isle of Ely, where I was present, but did not much interpose, the appointment being between the priest and John, I observed the priest to be a mere empty, confident boaster and reviler, and made but poor work of it.

The dispute being over, the priest went to justice Castle's in the town, and I went thither after him, in order to have some discourse with him before the justice, which I obtained, and discovered his ignorance, of which the justice was made sensible in some measure; yet seemed a little to speak in the priest's favour, but could not vindicate him.

Nevertheless the priest continuing a boasting, clamorous adversary, and being a notorious persecutor of our friends for tithes; it was desired by some Friends that I might have a public meeting with the said priest, to dispute with him; and also I understood that our dear friend and brother, George Fox, senior, was desirous that I should meet him. After serious consideration thereof, I found the Lord gave me freedom to meet this priest publicly, whereupon I wrote him a few lines,

importing my willingness or desire to meet him at his own parish church, so called, on a certain day mentioned in my note.

But to divert my intention and disappoint me from meeting him on the day that I had pitched upon, the priest craftily appoints another day, viz: the 14th of the twelfth month, 1659-60, whereon he understood, being told, that I was engaged to be at a meeting at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire. The priest by his note, published in Ives market the day of his own appointment, pretending that he and George Whitehead were to have a dispute that day at Bluntisham church; though he did not expect I should meet him that day, knowing that I was otherwise engaged in Cambridgeshire, if the Lord pleased; that being always the condition of my appointments aforehand, to be at meetings; I used to write, or say, if the Lord will, I intend to be at such a meeting.

Having notice of the priest's fraudulent appointment, the day before that which he had appointed, and my dear friend John Crook, being then with me in Cambridgeshire, I entreated him to ride to Erith or Bluntisham, the next morning, and the Friend that gave us notice thereof to go with him, being about eight or nine miles, and that John would excuse me to the people, when met, and show them how the priest had circumvented me, as to the day and time of meeting; that day he had appointed not being agreed upon, and I otherwise pre-engaged to another meeting.

John and the other Friend willingly took horse and rode to Erith, and I to Cottenham, in order to be at the meeting appointed for me; but when they got to Erith, they considered or understood the priest would take great advantage and insult over Friends, if I did not meet him that day, and pretend I was afraid to meet him, which was far from me.

Whereupon John Crook and the other Friend immediately took horse again, and came to me at Cottenham before the meeting there was begun, and told me the necessity of my going to meet the said priest that day, on the considerations before mentioned, it being then near-mid day, and John said he would stay that meeting at Cottenham in my stead.

I forthwith took my horse, and the said Friend with me, and we hastened to Erith and Bluntisham, about five miles, and quickly got thither; and I was in the steeple house about half an hour before the priest came, and sat down quietly in a pew. When he came in with his books or tools, to make a noise against us, smiling and bowing toward the people, I only looked at him, and sat down again quietly in the pew.

The priest mounted the pulpit like some conqueror; and not expecting antagonist or

combat, vauntingly called for George Whitehead. I sat still a while, being out of his sight, to hear how he would boast or insult. He called over and over, "Where is George Whitehead?" At last Henry Foster forwardly answered, "He is here;" thereupon I stood up and said, Here I am; but the priest would not own that I was the George Whitehead that was to meet him. I saw then he was surprised, being disappointed in his fraudulent design; yet still he questioned as if he would have shuffled me off, or shifted disputing; saying, "You are not Whitehead, though you have a white face." Justice Castle being present, said; "Yes, he is the man; Mr. Bedford, look to yourself."

Seeing the priest so vain and trifling in his talk, before he would enter into dispute, I called to him, Leave thy babbling, and let us come to matter.

Then the priest took out his watch and laid it before him, and proposed for each of us to declare one quarter of an hour at a time, and not exceed, and he would begin first; and I should have the like time to answer. I told him I should not be limited to a quarter of an hour, perhaps I might answer him in less time; but if what he alledged against us required more to answer, I ought to have time allowed accordingly. I did not know but in a quarter of an hour he might accuse us with so many particulars, as might require more time to answer. However, he would keep to his quarter of an hour, as he pretended.

Then he began to read divers accusations and perverse stories out of a book or books, against the people called Quakers, written by some invidious adversaries, priests or others, and with contempt and derision he descanted upon what he read against the said people. The heads of his accusations are abstracted as follows.

James Bedford manifested his ignorance and irreligious frame of spirit, by scoffing at quaking and trembling without distinction, judging the same to be of the devil. He derided the Quakers' silent meetings, terming the same a ridiculous foppery. He falsely accused the Quakers with treading under foot the Word of God, which was for their confessing Christ to be the eternal Word, which was in the beginning, and not the Scriptures. He affirmed that all the Scriptures, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelations, is the Word of God; and that the devil's words recorded in Scripture, are the Word of God. He denied that every man is enlightened with a spiritual light; and affirmed, that the light within led men to murder; his proof was, John xvi. 1, 2. And Paul's, instead of Saul's, persecuting the saints.

Having made some scornful reflections upon these accusations, until his quarter of an hour was out, I gave answer in brief, to the following effect, viz :

His accusation and judgment against quaking and trembling, appeared grossly erroneous and blasphemous, for many of the servants of the Lord did tremble and quake at his powerful word; see Isa. lxiv. 2, and lxvi. 2, 5, Job xxi. 6, Jer. v. 22, and xxxiii. 9, Ezek. xii. 18, Heb. iii. 16, 1 Cor. ii. 3, Phil. ii. 12.

He also derided the practice of many of the Lord's people and servants, who kept silent and met in silence, waiting upon the Lord; first to hear him speak and minister to them, and to endue them with his power and spirit, before they spake or ministered to others; see Jer. viii. 14, Lam. iii. 28, Hab. ii. 20, Zech. ii. 13, Isa. xli. 1, Luke xxiv. 49.

The Quakers confessing Christ the Son of God, to be the Word which was in the beginning, before the Scriptures were written, cannot be any treading under foot the Word of God; for the holy Scriptures testify the same. See John i. 1, Rev. xix.

He was greatly out in affirming all the Scriptures—which are writings—to be the Word of God, without making any exception; for though the Scriptures contain the words, doctrines, commands, divine precepts, and faithful sayings of God and of Christ; yet the Scriptures themselves make distinction between these and the devil's words and sayings, and blasphemies of wicked persons, which are also historically recorded in Scripture; and therefore it is blasphemy to call the devil's words the Word of God.

His denying a spiritual light to be in every man, is contrary to the holy evangelist's testimony of Christ the true light, &c.; John i. 4, 9; and in his affirming that the light within led men to murder and persecute, from John xvi. 2, he puts dark and murderous, persecuting thoughts, enmity and madness of persecutors for the light, and consequently he puts darkness for light; whereby this priest showed himself in great darkness. See Isa. v. 20.

When I had made my first defence, and refuted the priest's invectives, justice Castleton saw he could not stand to maintain his cause against us, and went his way before the debate or meeting was ended; concluding "the priest had enough, as I was told, seeing he could make no reply, but took care to stop me when the quarter of an hour was ended; calling to me, "Will you break faith and truth?" But he rambled into many other accusations and impertinent stories against the Quakers, wherein he exceeded his quarter of an hour, and took up much more time. His chief complaint against the Quakers was, that

a Quaker called him a beast, and he took up some time to prove himself no beast.

Seeing he had broken his faith and truth by so much exceeding his own appointment of a quarter of an hour, I several times called out, and desired I might be heard; but he went on in his rambling and reviling discourse, and would not suffer me to be heard, to give answer, until the people grew impatient and disturbed at his tedious impertinences, and called out several times, "Pray, Mr. Bedford, hear him, or suffer him to answer." He would not regard them for some time, but went on with his ramble and clamour, complaining against the Quaker that called him a beast.

I told the people, if I might be heard, I would prove him a beast; at which the people—some of his chief hearers—were the more earnest to persuade him to be silent, that I might be heard prove him a beast; but he eagerly strove to hold on in his prating against the Quakers, on purpose to take up the time, and prevent me; so that some of the people said he was mad, or they thought him mad; but they prevailed at length with him to be silent, that I might be heard prove what I had promised against him.

Whereupon I first proposed, that some men were termed beasts in Scripture, i. e. for several causes or crimes: and if I proved James Bedford guilty of the same, or the like, then I proved him a beast according to Scripture.

Then to prove that some men or persons were termed beasts in Scripture, I instanced Titus i. 10, 11, 12; There are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, &c., whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, the Cre- tians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.

Now if I prove James Bedford guilty of these evils, for which these were called evil beasts, then I prove him such a beast as they were.

First then, it is evident to this auditory, that James Bedford has showed himself an unruly and vain talker, having taken up a great deal of time here in vainly talking and prating to no purpose, without giving any reply.

That he teaches, or has taught things which he ought not, in teaching that the light within led men to murder, which is contrary to the light of Christ in man, and to holy Scripture; [and no better than blasphemy against that light.]

That his teaching is for filthy lucre's sake, is manifest by his covetous practices, and his persecution for filthy lucre, against such as dissent from him: witness his and his men's taking away by force and violence, wheat, barley and pease, in great quantities, as much

as he and his men pleased, for tithes, from John Cranwell, besides four lambs and wool, what his men pleased in quantity, without account of the value; and also three cows with calf, and a cart and wheels, in all amounting to £20 worth of goods, for £12 demanded. And besides all this oppression and extortion, he imprisoned John Cranwell in Huntingdon jail, to show how legally he pretended to proceed, when he had so arbitrarily and illegally proceeded by force, to spoil and take away his honest neighbour's goods, to gratify his own avarice and revenge against him.

Thus it was apparent this priest taught for filthy lucre's sake, such things as he ought not; consequently he was openly, before his own hearers and others, proved a beast, according to the sense of the apostle Paul, and the Scriptures of truth; and I may add, that consequently he merited the character of an evil beast.

And when according to the preceding argument and instances, I made proof of my charge against the said priest Bedford, instead of making any reply or defence for himself, he quickly came down, fled away, quitted the place, and left the assembly; so that his former boasting and insulting was at an end, as I really believed the Lord would stop his mouth; for I felt the zeal of the Lord and his power with me at that time, as at many others, in vindication of his blessed truth and people. To the Lord our God, who stood by me, and hath hitherto helped me, I do ascribe the praise of all, and over all; blessed for ever.

After the priest got away and left the assembly, I had a very good and quiet opportunity to declare and demonstrate the truth, and preach the gospel to the people, and all were peaceable; and when I had thereby cleared my conscience to them, I gave them public notice of a meeting I intended, if the Lord pleased, the next day at the same town. We all went peaceably out of their steeple-house, without any disturbance, affront, or molestation; and the next day, according to appointment, we had a very good and serviceable meeting in the town, to which divers men of account came.

After I had travelled and laboured some time in the work of the gospel, in Cambridge-shire, Huntingdonshire, the isle of Ely, and some parts of Lincolnshire, as that called Holland, &c., also in some parts of Northamptonshire, I was much pressed in spirit to endeavour for a meeting in the city of Peterborough, though I heard of no Friends there to receive me or our friends. But upon inquiry, there was found a sober, honest minded man, of reputation and quality, who was willing to have a meeting at his house, which accord-

ingly was appointed to be on a first-day of the week; I know not whether it was in the first or second month, in the year 1660. It was in the spring time, and many Friends from adjacent parts resorted to it, out of the Fens, and some out of Rutlandshire.

In the week before the meeting, I had a great weight and sense upon my spirit that we should have some trial and exercise, by suffering at that meeting, being sensible of the great darkness and wickedness that was in that city, though but a little one; and so it came to pass. When our friends and I had begun to meet in the house, the mob and rude people gathered about it, and in the yard, in such a rude and turbulent manner, as if they were minded to pull down the house, so that we thought it best to remove the meeting into the court yard adjoining, being unwilling the honest man's house should be any ways damaged by that rude crew. I was resigned in the will of Lord, rather to be given into their hands, than that the family where we met, should suffer on account of the meeting being there.

After we had removed into the yard, I was moved to stand up on a stool, and in the name of the Lord to preach the truth for some time, near an hour. The Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so that I was enabled livingly to declare the truth, with a free resignation also to suffer what violence or evil he should permit the wicked to do, or inflict upon me; for I had often before that time resigned life and liberty for the gospel's sake.

While I was declaring the truth, a tall man, who they said was an innkeeper, with a rude company after him, rushing violently and furiously, came into the meeting, aiming chiefly to pull me down. The meeting being somewhat crowded, and several Friends in his way, he could not readily get at me; in the mean time, others threw dirt and eggs, thought to be rotten, at me, by which my head and face were greatly daubed, yet I went on declaring the truth. The furious man still striving to come at me, took up a stool by the feet, and heaving it up to strike such as were in his way, a Friend standing by, caught hold of the stool as he was making his blow, to prevent it; yet he gave an ancient woman, a friend of ours, a blow with the edge of the stool, on the side of her head, which made such a cut and wound on her temple, near her eye, that it was thought if his blow had fallen directly on her head, it might have beaten out her brains; but the Lord providentially prevented that.

The man's fury and rage seemed to be chiefly against me, and his struggle to get at me; and rather than he should do more mischief,

I desired the meeting to, make way, that he might come to me, for I was above the fear of any hurt he or they could do to me. Then he and his company came and violently pulled me down, and when I was in their hands I felt much ease in my spirit, being sensible the Lord, who stood by me, was secretly pleading my cause with them, so that their fury was immediately abated, and their spirits down, and they were restrained from doing me harm. They haled me out of the meeting, through part of their cathedral church, so termed, there being a passage open near one end, and then they quickly let me go.

There were some soldiers, as it was said, of Lambert's, or the old army, then quartered in Peterborough, who were spectators, and beheld how I and others of us were treated and abused at the said meeting. Some of them took compassion, and had us to one of their quarters, where I got to the pump, and washed the dirt off my face, but could not then wash my head, to get my hair clean.

Some Friends with me, were then directed into an upper room in the inn, where we sat together, waiting upon the Lord for some time, I think near two hours, and the Lord comforted and refreshed our spirits, and he put it into my heart to return again to the same house, from whence I had been haled away out of the meeting. Several sober people were gathered there in the afternoon, and I had a good meeting and service for the Lord, in bearing testimony for his blessed truth among them; and we held the meeting quietly, and parted peaceably, without molestation.

That evening, after the meeting was over, I left Peterborough, and some other Friends with me, much comforted and refreshed in the Lord my God; having felt his living power and presence with me and my friends, to our preservation and deliverance out of the hands of unreasonable men. Though they had so much shown their fury and madness against us that day, they were not suffered to do us much harm, except the ancient woman Friend being wounded in her head; but so far as I know, she got well again in a short time. The same evening we rode a few miles to an honest Friend's house, I think his name was John Mason, who had left the army, received the truth, and became a serviceable Friend.

Next morning Isabel Hacker, the wife of Col. Hacker, who had been at the said meeting, bestowed some labour to get out of my hair, the dirt which was thrown at me the day before, at the said meeting. After that, I rode with her and company to Oucorn, to her house in Rutlandshire, whither the priest of the town came the next day, with whom I had

some discourse in the presence of Col. Hacker. The priest being high and proud, was apt to get in a passion, which made him incapable of holding any fair discourse. I told him of it, which he would not acknowledge, but told me I was in anger, because I spake somewhat earnestly to him. I told him he could not provoke me to anger if he should rail against me from morning till evening; so our discourse quickly broke off, and I did not perceive that Col. Hacker, or any one present, could excuse the angry priest.

When Presbyterian and Independent ministers had the design to reform from corruptions, immoralities, profaneness and superstitions, which were increased and spread under Episcopacy, there appeared some sincerity and zeal, in their way, for the practice of religion and piety; and their preaching was against drunkenness, sabbath breaking, swearing, lying, envy, pride, covetousness, idolatry, superstition, &c. What care and caution did they show toward their hearers, to prepare them to be worthy communicants, that they might not eat and drink unworthily, nor damnation nor judgment to themselves, as those that discern not the Lord's body; though that discerning has been long wanting, since the apostacy from the substance.

In those early days of the designed reformation from Episcopacy, some of those reformers, in their zeal, believed the Lord was with them, and that his presence attended their ministry. And while there was a zeal in any of them against vice, and for promoting virtue, no doubt a secret presence of the Lord, in measure, attended the ministry of such, which had some good effect toward a reformation.

But when the teachers and leaders of several sorts and societies, got to be parish priests, and into pride and covetousness, into high places, great livings, to preach for lucre, forced maintenance, tithes, oblations, obventions, revenues, &c., being favoured therein by the revolutions of the government, their zeal grew cold, corruption and covetousness increased, their ministry and preaching became dead and barren, and many well disposed people began to see their declension and corruptions, and grew weary of them.

Then the gospel harvest drew near and came on, for many to be gathered to the life of the Christian religion, and the power of godliness; from darkness to the true light; from the flesh to the spirit; from dead forms to the living power; from shadows to Christ the substance; from dead ways and false worships, into the living way and worship of God in spirit and truth. For this end and purpose God was graciously pleased, in an acceptable time, to raise up living and faithful

witnesses and ministers of the everlasting gospel, to open the eyes and understandings of the people, To turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that thereby truly repenting, they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among the sanctified, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the true light. And the ministry of these faithful witnesses was very acceptable and effectual to many, whose hearts God had prepared and opened to receive the love of the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus.

Then were the proud and covetous priests, and mercenary preachers of all sorts, greatly disturbed. The very report of a people risen in the north of England, called Quakers, and of their increase and spreading, and the prevalence of their testimony, caused a fear and consternation to seize upon the spirits of many of those preachers, when their trade was in danger, and their gain lay at stake, as Christ's free gospel ministry took effect and place in people's hearts. Then rung the pulpits; lectures were promoted and conferences; complaints and petitions were exhibited to magistrates against the Quakers, under the unjust and false pretences of their being antichrists, come in the last days; deceivers, seducers; dangerous to church and state. Some of them being conscious of their decaying ministry, and that they were declining and going downward in the eyes and esteem of the people, their hearers, they became the more afraid and jealous of their standing; especially knowing partly their own corruptions, that whatever good words they could use, yet that they lived bad lives. They thus pleaded with their hearers, to excuse themselves, "You must do as we say, and not as we do;" thereby rendering themselves but in the state of the scribes and pharisees, who sat in Moses' seat. And as therein they represented Moses' law being then in force, they bid people observe the same, which was what they were then to observe and do; but said Christ, Do not ye after their works; for they say and do not: Mat. xxiii. 3. See the whole chapter, how sharply and zealously our Lord testified against those hypocrites, with divers woes to them; so far was Christ from owning them for his ministers.

I very well remember some of the heads of a remarkable conference, among some of those called Independent ministers or pastors, which it appears occurred when they were declining from the sincerity and zeal that had been formerly moving among and in some of them. I had the account from our dear, ancient, and faithful friend, Robert Ludgater, senior, of Great Coggeshall, in Essex, in effect following, viz:

That divers Independent ministers or priests,

at a meeting at Coggeshall, had a conference, which was chiefly on a question first put by one Samuel Crosman, pastor of a church at Sudbury in Suffolk. The question was this, viz:

"What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend or accompany our ministry now, as it did at first, or in the beginning?" To which—he that put the question—first answered;

"At first we had respect to good lives and conversations—to be good examples therein; and then we sought the good of the people's souls; we coveted *them*, not *theirs*; we then preached in the simplicity of the gospel, in plainness and sincerity, without affected high strains of eloquence, or words of men's wisdom; for it is a great pity any man should stand up in a pulpit to preach, and not preach the plainness and simplicity of the gospel.

"But now the case is altered with us; though we speak *good words*, we live *bad lives*; we are not good examples to our hearers. We covet *theirs* more than *them*. We now affect flourishing eloquence, rhetoric, philosophy, or school learning, more than the plainness and simplicity of the gospel, in our preaching; for these reasons the presence of God does not go along with us in our ministry now, as at first, or formerly."

Another of the company, the minister or parish priest of Coggeshall, repeated the question, "What is the reason why the presence of God doth not go along with our ministry now, as it did in the beginning?" And then proceeded, "I would add this question; What was that presence of God that did accompany our ministry in the beginning?" To which he answered, "It was an enlightening presence; it was an enlivening or quickening presence; it was a strengthening and confirming presence; and all this is now wanting in our ministry."

Another professing minister of the company, repeated the question, but varied in his answer, from his two brethren before, viz:

"What is the reason why the presence of God does not now go along with our ministry, as it did at first?"

Which he answered to this effect; "Our ministry is God's ordinance, and we may not suppose God will forsake his own ordinance; but there are many persons or people turned against us, who deny the ordinances and tell us, Your ordinances are barren ordinances; they are wilderness ordinances; your ministry is a barren ministry; it is a fruitless ministry, a dead ministry; and therefore, to such it must needs appear ineffectual and barren." But he concluded to this effect; "Although our ministry or ordinances appear to you to be

but as barren ordinances, wilderness ordinances; yet you should continue, or persist, in the observation thereof."

Another of the company, esteemed a great pastor among them, at last repeating the question, "What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend our ministry?" answered to this purpose, in contradiction to the two first; "God has not forsaken our ministry, he has not withdrawn his presence from his own ordinances, though it does not now appear so effectual as at first, or not to have the like effect. That is because our ministry has had its effect upon the elect, for their conversion, who were ordained to eternal life or salvation; but for those who are otherwise predestinated to damnation, it is not to be expected that our ministry should take effect upon them, for their conversion or salvation."

The first and second answers to the foregoing question, were ingenuous and honest, but the two last cloudy and prejudicial, especially the last, relating to the predestinarian notion, which is repugnant to the free and universal grace and love of God in Christ Jesus, to mankind; and to the free proffers thereof, conditionally, in his gospel preached universally unto all.

Great notice was taken of the said Samuel Crosman, who first put the question, as to his further declension from his former zeal, sincerity, and professed reformation, independency, and dissent from Episcopacy. After king Charles the second came to the throne, and suffering by persecution began upon the most conscientious dissenters, and conformity was required and imposed, Samuel Crosman fled the cross, evaded his dissent and independency, conformed and temporized, left his congregation and people at Sudbury, and removed to the city of Bristol, and there showing himself a zealous conformist, got preferment under the bishop, and became a parish priest in that city.

At a certain time being at Bristol, and visiting Bersha Speed, widow, Samuel Crosman came into her parlour, where I was sitting, and demanded Easter reckonings of the widow, which I argued against, as unreasonable, as well as unscriptural, to demand that of her, who was none of his hearers or communicants. And I took occasion to relate to him the fame I had heard and understood concerning him; as what an eminent minister he had been among the Independents at Sudbury, questioning how he could now be such a Conformist, after all his high profession of reformation to the contrary; or how he could quiet his conscience therein.

He gave me a smooth, but evasive answer, no ways satisfactory or sincere, making it but

as a matter of indifferency to conform to the church of England; and the ceremonies thereof but indifferent things, that might be dispensed with, provided he might preach the gospel. Such like allegations have many of the temporizing priests used to excuse themselves in the like case.

Having the opportunity, I reminded him of the passage before mentioned, and repeated his question and answer to himself, according as Robert Ludgater had related them to me. I was the more particular with the said Samuel Crosman, he being the person immediately concerned; to see if he could deny any part of the matter related upon his question, "What is the reason why the presence of God does not attend our ministry now, as it did in the beginning?" This, together with his answer, I reminded him of, and he did not deny any part of it; whereby the truth of Robert Ludgater's account was the more confirmed to my satisfaction.

In humility and thankfulness to our great and most merciful Lord God, I must confess to his power and goodness, yea, and his special providence in helping me hitherto, and strengthening me in his work and service, and in preserving and delivering me, through many trials, sufferings and persecutions, that I have not been delivered to the will of my enemies and persecutors, who sought my destruction; not only breathing out cruelty against me, and others of the servants of Christ, in our early days; but, to their power, have acted maliciously and cruelly against us; but the remainder of their wrath hath the Lord so far restrained, as not to suffer them to execute the utmost thereof against us; the Lord having reserved for me more service in my day, as well as trials, suffering, and exercises of divers kinds. The persecutions and hardships which I had undergone, were not suffered to put an end to my days, or service in the gospel of Jesus Christ, but to make the same more observable and effectual, through the Lord's power and tender mercy unto me and his people; and for the sake of many poor souls.

The hard imprisonments, confinements, tumults, cruel stripes, beatings, stonings, bruising, and evil treatments, of divers sorts, I say, were not suffered to put a period to my days, but the Lord's power sustained and preserved my spirit, in faith and patience, in all those afflictions and jeopardies, to obey and serve him with sincere resolution in the gospel and work thereof. Let my soul forever bless and praise the worthy name and power of the Lord my God.

I proceed now to some account of my further progress and exercises for the blessed truth.

In the year 1660, the commonwealth government, under which many of us had suffered persecution, being nearly expired, preparation was made for the return and reception of king Charles the second, upon his declaration, in substance as follows, viz :

In king Charles the second's letter from Breda, that was sent to the house of peers, and read in the house, May the 1st, 1660, and ordered by the lords in Parliament assembled, that the same should be forthwith printed and published, for the service of the house, and satisfaction of the kingdom, it is declared; "And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion, in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and, that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence."

This declaration and promise made way for the king's more easy and free reception at his return and restoration; many dissenters having a hope and expectation of the performance thereof.

But in a few months after his coming to the crown, it so fell out, that a few, about the number of thirty-five persons, called Fifth-Monarchy men, made an insurrection and disturbance in the city of London, against the government, pretending for the monarchy and government of king Jesus; and thereupon being confident that one should chase a thousand, misapplying the Scripture, they made their attempt with great fury and violence, until suppressed and apprehended.

From which insurrection occasion was taken by the king, to issue out a proclamation; some of the heads whereof follow, viz :

"Prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretence of religious worship, &c.; giving for a reason thereof, That some evil effects have already ensued, to the disturbance of the public peace, by insurrection and murder, by reason of the meetings of Anabaptists and Quakers, and Fifth-Monarchy men, and such like appellation.

"And to the intent, that none of these persons who have presumed to make so ill a use of our indulgence, may be strengthened in such their proceedings, &c., no meeting whatsoever, of the persons aforesaid, under pre-

tence of worshipping God, shall at any time hereafter be permitted and allowed, unless it be in some parochial church or chapel in this realm, or in private houses, by the persons there inhabiting; and that all meetings and assemblies whatsoever, in order to any spiritual worship and serving of God, by the persons aforesaid, unless in the places aforesaid, shall be esteemed, and are hereby declared to be unlawful assemblies, and shall be prosecuted accordingly; and the persons therein assembled, shall be proceeded against, as riotously and unlawfully assembled.

"And we do will and command our justices, that they cause the oath of allegiance to be tendered to every person so brought before them," &c.

Hereupon the most irreligious and profane sort of people were animated, and took occasion against our religious and peaceable meetings, eagerly to endeavour to suppress them, being encouraged by the new justices and magistrates then got into commission. The most vile and profane, as drunkards, swearers, cursers, and the most wicked of all sorts, being exalted in their spirits upon the restoration of the king, and his accession to the crown, were then triumphant and insulting against all religious dissenters; and especially threatening the Quakers and their meetings with ruin. Seeing what a great flood of wickedness and debauchery was broken forth, and religion and virtue despised, we expected no other but severe and hard treatment from our persecutors, whose hearts were set to ruin us, or to root us out of the land; dark clouds then appearing and threatening a great storm.

At a certain time, when I was travelling alone on the highway, and in earnest supplication to the Lord, and spreading our case and my complaint before him, in deep humility and contrition of spirit, I said in my heart and in expression, O Lord, this wicked, persecuting spirit that has got up and is let loose, will seek to lay waste and root thy heritage and people out of the land. O Lord, plead our cause; plead the cause of thy people, thy seed and heritage. Whereupon the Lord revealed and gave me this answer. The wicked shall not have their evil designs accomplished against my people; I will frustrate their wicked purposes; they shall not root my heritage out of the land, though they be suffered for a time to persecute and try my people; I will stand by and defend, and in due time deliver them. Yea, and to this purpose, and much more of the same tendency, has the Lord often livingly signified and revealed to me by his Holy Spirit, even in times of deep suffering and trials, that under any of them I might not faint, or be discouraged; but still to be-

lieve to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, where praises ever live to him.

After the insurrection, and the offenders were brought to punishment, and the proclamation was issued, persecution, outrage and violence quickly broke out in the land. Then the roaring, raging, busy persecutors bestirred themselves to hunt up and down after religious meetings, assemblies and congregations, which they unjustly termed seditious conventicles, to break up and disperse them, and cause many to be imprisoned in filthy jails, where great numbers of innocent persons suffered, in most counties of England and Wales, especially of the people called Quakers, whose meetings were most open and easily come at.

Friends were not wanting to plead and make known their innocent cause, to the king and government, both by word and writing; and to show how clear their religious meetings were, as they always have been, from any sedition, plots, conspiracies, or contriving of insurrections against the government or nation, and consequently they are no such meetings as are by law deemed conventicles, unlawful or riotous meetings. So that those persecutions inflicted upon us, because of other men's crimes, who are a people wholly innocent, appeared to be no small perversion of justice, as well as injury, done to many hundreds of honest, industrious families, whose innocent cause the Lord in his own time, pleaded in those days; and since hath not been wanting to stand by and help his faithful people in their times of need.

I proceed to give some account of my own share of suffering and exercise in those days, and of the manner thereof.

A brief account of my commitment to Norwich castle, with other Friends, the 20th day of the Eleventh month, 1660.

George Whitehead, John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, and William Barber, with many more of our friends, being peaceably met together in the worship and service of God, at a meeting at Pulham-Mary, Norfolk,—while we were calling upon the Lord in prayer, one in the office of chief constable, with a company of horsemen and footmen, without warrant from any justice, came with halberds, pistols, swords, pitchforks, clubs and hedge stakes, and haled us and others of our friends out of the meeting. The next day we were carried on horseback several miles, and had before Thomas Talbot, justice of peace, near Wymondham, or Windham, who committed us to prison, upon information which the constable gave him in writing, touching the

meeting; wherein we were falsely accused of being unlawfully met together. There appeared none to prove the charge against us, nevertheless we were next day sent to Norwich castle; persecution being then generally stirred up against our friends especially, throughout the nation, and most prisons were filled with them, because of their religious meetings. To this jail of the castle of Norwich many of them were committed, and their meetings disturbed and broken up, from one end of the county to the other, and likewise in the city of Norwich, which is a county distinct. We were so crowded in the castle, that we had not convenient room for lodging, thirty or above, being crowded in that old, nasty jail; and there being a hole in a corner of the castle wall, called the vice, we four Friends betook ourselves to that place to lodge in, though a narrow hole, without any chimney in it; yet there we got up two little beds, and lodged two in each. It was a very incommodious habitation and lodging room, for want of a chimney; and having an old decayed stone arch over it, the rain came so much in upon us, that we could not well keep it off our beds, though we set basons to catch what we could. In the cold weather we burnt a little charcoal in the evenings, which we found somewhat injurious and suffocating, having no chimney to vent the smoke or steam; and in the day time we endeavoured often to keep ourselves warm by walking upon the castle hill, and under the wall, being within the liberty of the prison; though it was but a cold bleak place in winter, yet we were glad that we had that benefit of the air.

Although the hole in the wall was so incommodious, we chose it for our lodging, partly for the relief of our friends, who were too much crowded in a better room below, within the castle walls. Here we had many good and comfortable meetings together, without disturbance, several friendly persons being let into prison, met with us, on first-days especially; so that at that time the prison became a sanctuary to us, as prisons and jails were to many of our poor, innocent, suffering friends, when persecution was hot, and persecutors raging and roaring abroad; and we praying and praising the Lord our God, in prisons, jails, and holes.

Our friends William Barber and John Lawrence, having been men of note, and captains in the commonwealth's day, it appeared in them a piece of great self-denial and subjection to the cross of Christ, patiently so to suffer for his name and truth sake, in such a poor, incommodious lodging. I remember one morning when we were in bed, Joseph Lawrence, after his pleasant manner, said to his brother John; "O captain Lawrence, I

have seen the day that thou wouldst not have lain here;" that is, in such a contemptible place, or mean lodging as that was; for both brothers, and William Barber, were well accommodated at their own houses in all respects; though then partakers of the sufferings of Christ's followers.

In the time of that imprisonment in Norwich castle, near the latter end of winter, or about the beginning of the first month, 1661, I was taken sick of an ague and fever, which brought me so low and weak, that some friends who came to visit me, were ready to take their last leave of me, thinking I should die in that prison. Elizabeth, the wife of John Lawrence, being one day at my bedside, said, "Ah! poor, dear George, I fear we must part with him; his travelling among us is near at an end." But in a few days, it pleased the Lord that I had some recovery and strength given me; yet each other day a very sick fit of the ague and fever continued for a little time. One night after I was in bed, I was sorely affected with the smoke of a little charcoal fire in the room, and earnestly called to have it put out presently, otherwise I questioned whether I should live till next morning; so it was immediately put out, and I was quickly eased.

The time for our appearing at the spring assizes at Thetford drawing near, I believed I should be enabled to ride thither; for we were all to appear there, who were prisoners for our religious meetings; and in order to my going to the assizes, my horse was brought to the prison door three days before the assizes began. I rode with John Lawrence to his house at Wramplingham, on the seventh-day of the week, being five or six miles on my way toward Thetford, and stayed there the next day and night following. That day I had again a very sick fit of the ague, but grew better before the next day, and then we took horse for Thetford, being about twenty miles from Norwich. The weather being cold, a hail shower overtook us, and I was again taken with a fit of the ague on the road, before we got to Thetford, yet with the Lord's help I held on, and grew better by the time we came to Thetford; and that afternoon could readily walk up to the top of the noted mount or hill which is by the town. We met the rest of our friends, who came from Norwich castle, at Thetford prison, where we were in the day time, after the assizes began; but at night had liberty to lodge at our friends' houses in or near the town.

Judge Hale and judge Windham, i. e. Wadham Windham, were the two justices who served at the same assizes, and judge Windham sat on the crown side. In his charge he

terribly threatened dissenters, and such as would not go to the parish church and conform, or that kept conventicles or unlawful meetings; giving the country notice of divers ancient severe penal laws made against such, and causing some of them to be read in court. An ancient Friend, Elizabeth Hawes, then living at Snare Hill near Thetford, gave me a full account with tears, after she had heard the said charge; being very sorrowful to see how they were bent to persecution. To encourage her, I signified the Lord would plead our cause and stand by us, and I would have no Friends discouraged, but be faithful to the Lord, and valiant for the truth upon earth; as I had often exhorted Friends.

Friends were divers times called into court before the assizes were over; I was called four times, and particularly questioned for what cause I came into that county from my own; to which I gave the judges a sober and conscientious account, that I was called of the Lord to preach repentance, and to bear testimony to the truth, against hypocrisy, sin and wickedness.

Being required to take the oath of allegiance, I told the judges, that Christ hath commanded us not to swear at all, and his apostle James, who well knew the mind of Christ, exhorted, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation." From whence I inferred, if we may not swear by any other oath, then not by the oath of allegiance. Therefore I cannot swear at all, nor take any oath, either that of allegiance or any other; the judges did not dispute the point or the argument. But seeing that I and the rest of our friends then prisoners, were all of a mind in that case, that we all refused to swear, choosing rather to suffer for conscience, we were remanded to the prison in Thetford.

Before the assizes was ended, some of us were again called into court, and an indictment read against me and some others of us, stuffed with false and bitter accusations and invectives, because we refused to take the oath of allegiance; that being the snare generally laid against us, for which we were charged with obstinacy and contempt against the king, his crown and dignity, and such like injurious charges. Being required to plead guilty or not guilty, I began to distinguish upon the indictment, that some part of it was true, that we refused to take the oath, but it was not out of obstinacy or any contempt against the king or government, but for conscience sake, in obedience to Christ's command. Judge Windham urging us to plead

guilty or not guilty, to prevent me from opening our case, I waved pleading in those terms, unless he would suffer me to plead specially, with distinction, on the several parts of the charge, in order to manifest the inconsistency thereof, and our clearness and innocence, who were the sufferers. The judge then grew offended, because I was not willing to be confined only to plead guilty or not guilty, and he was for having me taken away and remanded to prison; whereupon I returned him this answer, that Paul when a prisoner, was permitted to plead and speak for himself before king Agrippa; Acts xxvi., and before the Roman or heathen magistrates and rulers. It is therefore a hard case, that we may not be suffered to speak or plead for ourselves before you, who profess yourselves to be Christian magistrates. The judge appeared angry and disturbed; I was quickly removed out of the court. Take him away jailer, was such a knocking argument in those days, that it must not be disputed; yet judge Hale behaved himself more mildly and gently toward us.

It was observed that when several of us, the prisoners, were called into court together, some of the country justices on the bench, particularly one of them, would be accusing us to judge Windham, to incense him against us, and especially against John Hubbard senior, of Stoak ferry in Norfolk, and others for receiving and entertaining the Quakers and their preachers at their houses. Our loving, honest friend John Hubbard, seeing the envy of those persecutors, who would make him an offender for entertaining strangers, as the apostle taught, was stirred up with zeal to answer his accuser, and plead a good conscience toward God and man, as being known to be an honest man, fearing God. Testifying with zeal and courage, it gave a check, at that time, to his accusations against innocent prisoners. But it was no unusual thing in those days, for ill-natured, persecuting justices, to be both accusers and judges upon the bench, against our friends; and like invidious informers, endeavour to incense the judges against us, by unjust insinuations and accusations, with the intent to induce hard usage against us, and often to prejudice our case, before judicially heard or tried.

Although in the time of the assizes at Thetford, the persecuting spirit was eagerly at work in our adversaries, I daily felt the Lord's power over all, whereby I and my fellow prisoners were supported, strengthened and preserved in innocence and great peace, to the praise of our most gracious God. Although I could expect no other but that our persecutors would be suffered to strengthen and prolong our bonds, at least against some of us, whom

they designed to make terrifying examples, yet I was not at all discouraged nor dejected in spirit, under that persecution; but returned cheerfully to prison to Norwich castle, and was better every way as to my health and strength, than when I came out from thence, to go to the assizes at Thetford.

It was to me a very remarkable and memorable token of the merciful Providence and love of God, that although I had been very weak and sick in prison in the said castle but a few days before, and rode to Thetford assizes in a weak condition, yet while I was attending upon the assizes, I quickly recovered my health, so that my ague and fever were quite removed, and I had not the return of one fit all the time of that imprisonment, but was restored to perfect health, which continued for several years after.

Six of us, to whom the oath was tendered, and who were indicted, were, with some others, remanded to the castle; and the rest were released, being mostly labouring men, farmers and tradesmen; our persecutors having picked out such to send back to prison as they esteemed to be the most noted among the Quakers, as John Lawrence, Joseph Lawrence, William Barber, Henry Kettle, senior and junior, John Hubbard and several others, because of their love and kindness to their friends, and entertaining meetings at their houses. The time we were detained prisoners in Norwich castle, in the years 1660 and 1661, was about sixteen weeks, from the eleventh to the third month.

Our release was obtained by the king's proclamation of grace, as it was termed, wherein, notwithstanding his grace or favour expressed towards the Quakers, it was not without a menace or threat, i. e. not intending their impunity, if they should offend in future in like manner as they had done. This was chiefly their religious meetings, intended only for the worship of the living God, according to their consciences and persuasions; and for this cause our impunity or lack of punishment was not intended, as afterward in a short time it more fully appeared.

One thing I may not omit some account of; when we were together in Thetford prison, in order to appear at the assizes, I met with Henry Kettle the elder, a prisoner there, who was an ancient man, and had been mayor of the town and a justice of peace, before he was in communion with us. After he had received our friends and had meetings at his house, having a love to truth and us, he was committed to prison; where he and I walking together in the prison yard, he opened his condition and exercise to me; how he was beset with relations, and pressed to take the oath

of allegiance, otherwise they feared that he and his family would be ruined; whereupon the trial came the harder on him, considering his own weakness. However, he tenderly told me, he had considered Christ's words, He that putteth his hand to the plough, and looks back, is not fit for the kingdom of God; concluding therefore he must not look back; he must not draw back, or decline from the truth.

I was very glad to hear him voluntarily give such an honest account, both of his trial and good resolution, having well understood his weakness, how he had been wavering and halting in his mind; and how hard it was for him, being a person of great note, to give up to the cross of Christ, so as to endure reproach and persecution for Christ Jesus and his truth. Yet now when he was given up to suffer for Christ, by him he was assisted and strengthened, rather to suffer with the rest of us, than to lose his inward peace, by declining Truth's testimony; so that because he could not submit to the will of his persecutors, he was, contrary to law, removed from Thetford, the corporation where his residence was, to the county jail in Norwich castle, where his son Henry was detained prisoner with the rest of us.

At the ensuing quarter-sessions held at Norwich castle, for the county of Norfolk, Henry Kettle the elder, was called into the court of sessions, where, to ensnare him, it was required of him to take the oath of allegiance, with endeavours to impose it upon him. But he stood it out, and would not be imposed on, telling the justices, that he was removed out of his own respective corporation, to which he belonged, contrary to law, and therefore was unduly brought before them in that court. It was a breach of his and the corporation's privilege, to remove him thence to that quarter-sessions, to be prosecuted or tried; and expressly contrary to Magna Charta, whereby the liberties and privileges of corporations are to be upheld and maintained, and not violated.

I and another fellow-prisoner being then on the Castle-hill, heard him plead after this manner, and hold them closely to the point; but instead of answering him legally, or vindicating their proceeding by law, they still obtruded and imposed upon him, saying, It is no matter; it is no matter how you came here, that is not our business to inquire after: now you are here, we have power to tender you the oath. Mr. Kettle, will you take the oath of allegiance, ay or no?

He answered, Let me be returned back to my own corporation, the town of Thetford, and there I may answer. But otherwise he

esteemed himself not bound to answer in that court of sessions, held for the county of Norfolk, being unduly removed thither out of his own.

This is the substance of their procedure against Henry Kettle, sen., at that time, so near as occurs to my remembrance; and I gave serious attention to the discourse between him and the justices, who when they could not by persuasion or menaces, prevail with him to take the oath, returned him to the castle jail, to remain prisoner with the rest of us.

I was glad and comforted, that he stood that trial as well as he did, and that the Lord supported him so as not to fall into the snare laid for him; but to avoid swearing, and evade their striving to impose an oath upon him, contrary to his conscience. I was sensible he thereby gained more strength in the Truth, and his prosecutors were not suffered to bring him under the penalty of a *premunire*, no more than the rest of us, who were prosecuted in order thereto, but all discharged by the proclamation aforesaid.

I was sensible the Lord had regard to Henry Kettle, sen., and his family; for they retained their love to the Truth and Friends; as did in particular his son Henry, and daughter Anne, who was a sober virtuous maid, though she lived not many years after she received the Truth; but her brother Henry lived to old age. And their mother, an ancient woman, had so much love to Friends, that she not only kindly entertained them, but when her son Henry was prisoner with us in Norwich castle, she came on foot from Thetford, to visit him and us in prison, manifesting her love and kindness thereby to us; and so far as I understood, she bore his suffering patiently, as well as she did her husband's afterward, beyond expectation, considering her weak condition. One cause of her coming on foot to visit us in prison, I suppose was, her age and weakness, not being able to endure riding so far on horseback. The Lord showed mercy to that family, as he did to many others in those days, who since are gone to rest from their labours and sufferings.

A copy of John Lawrence's letter to Justice Talbot, after we were committed prisoners to Norwich castle, which I thought meet to insert in this place.

Friend,

I could not have believed that any magistrate would have acted so unjustly as thou hast done toward us, in sending us to prison, when no witness did appear against us, to prove us transgressors. Surely the magis-

trate that desires to do uprightly, and as he would be done unto, would not have sent men to prison upon so slight an information as thou hadst against us.

And whereas thou didst accuse us for meeting in contempt of the king's proclamation;—I answer, that our meeting was not in contempt of the king, but in obedience to the Lord, whose presence is enjoyed among us in our meetings, and from whose presence thou canst not separate us, although thou hast sent us into a noisome prison. For know assuredly, that we have much peace in our sufferings, and are not afraid what man can do unto us; for our trust is in the living God, who made heaven and earth, and will plead the cause of the innocent; and will not let persecutors go free.

There are also three men who were haled out of a peaceable meeting, and were sent to prison by thee. Two of them are poor men, and have great charges of children to maintain only by their labours; and if they be long detained prisoners, their children may famish for want, and thy oppressing will become thy own burthen; but thy rage and envy is such, that it is likely thou dost but little regard either old or young, if they be contrary to thy principles. And it is likely if these men had been taken drinking, or drunk, in an ale-house, they had been let alone, and not punished; for how does wickedness abound in that town? Are there none to punish or imprison, but those who meet in the service and worship of God? When those that feared the Lord often met together, the Lord hearkened and heard; and a book of remembrance was written before him for them; as thou mayest read, Mal. iii.

Our sufferings are for righteousness and conscience-sake; and although we should suffer the loss of all outward things we enjoy, and of our lives also, yet, neither thou, nor any other, can take our peace from us.

It is not long before thou must give account for all thy unrighteous actings; therefore, while thou hast time, prize it; and slight not the day of thy visitation, but mind God's witness in thy conscience, which shows thee sin and evil, and that will bring to thy remembrance all that ever thou hast done, and will let thee see how thou hast spent thy time, and how unprofitably thou hast walked before the God of heaven all thy days. If thou wilt return at God's reproof, and forsake the evil of thy doings, thou wilt find mercy; but if thou dost persist and go on, provoking the Lord, then woe and misery will assuredly be thy portion.

Written in love to thee, by a sufferer for

the testimony of a good conscience, who am a friend to thy soul.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

Norwich Castle, the 25th of the Eleventh month, called January, 1660.

The substance of a letter to the Mayor of the city of Norwich, when he was busy in persecuting and imprisoning our friends there, A. D. 1660.

Friend,

Dost thou not own thyself to be a Christian magistrate? But hast thou acted like one in sending the servants of Christ to prison in this city; separating poor men from their wives and children, who can hardly subsist for want of them. And for what cause, but for meeting together to worship God in spirit and in truth, as the primitive Christians and saints of old did; or for not swearing the oath of allegiance, which in conscience to Jesus Christ and his doctrine, they could not take, nor any other oath; Matt. v. James v. How hast thou acted like a Christian magistrate, in causing our friends to suffer imprisonment, because they could not in conscience, transgress the doctrine and commandment of Christ and his apostle, which forbids all swearing? What malice and envy hast thou shown, in sending for poor harmless men, on purpose to ensnare and imprison them, upon the oath of allegiance being required of them; and for conscience sake refused by them.

How dost thou herein act like a Christian magistrate? What compassion dost thou show to the needy? Or how dost thou break off thy iniquities, by showing mercy to the poor? Mayest thou not justly expect, that the cries of the poor and needy, whom thou hast thus oppressed, will be heard of the Lord against thee, and his judgments fall heavy upon thee, if thou dost not speedily break off thy sins by true repentance, and thy iniquity, by showing mercy to the poor and needy, and setting the oppressed free? For hadst thou any more against those our friends, whom thou hast imprisoned for meeting, than thou mightest have had against the apostles and primitive Christians for the like practice, hadst thou been in their days? And mightest thou not as well have persecuted and imprisoned them upon the same account, as thou hast imprisoned these?

We knowing that our justification is with the Lord in our meeting together, which is to wait upon and worship him, can challenge thee, and the whole nation, to prove any evil against us therein; or any thing done by us contrary to the Scriptures of Truth, or the

doctrine of Christ or his apostles, whose divine law against swearing at all, is to us, and to all true Christians, of more weight than all contrary laws of men, for swearing.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were never intended to ensnare and imprison poor harmless men, and Protestants; nor is our refusing to swear for conscience-sake to Christ, any proof of our being papists—for they can swear; and our averseness to Popery is well known, more than theirs who do swear, and are ready to tender oaths to others upon every turn; and also our innocence in patiently suffering under the several sorts of rulers or governments, manifests our clearness from wicked plots and insurrections.

Thy lying in wait to ensnare our friends with the oath, manifests that it is more out of envy than justice, and will bring no honour to thee, but shame and disgrace, and in the end misery, woe and confusion of face, if thou dost not speedily repent, and return to the light of Christ, which calls for humility, moderation, equity, and love toward all men; and to do to all men as thou wouldst be done by. Let not the sun go down upon thy wrath, lest thou give place to the devil, and the day for ever become dark over thee.

This letter is given out of tender affection and love which I bear to thy soul, and not from any contempt or prejudice against thy person.

From a friend to thy soul, who am a sufferer for obeying Christ.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

1660, in the Eleventh month.

The substance of a letter, in answer to the Mayor of Norwich, when our friends were prisoners there.

Friend,

Whereas in answer to my letter, thou hast sent the late proclamation of the king, prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles, under pretence of religious worship, &c., this will be no warrant in the sight of God for what thou hast done against our friends. Seeing thou ownest thyself to be a Christian magistrate, thou shouldst have acted according to Christ's law, and done as thou wouldst be done by. Wouldst thou be so hardly dealt with for thy religion and worship, as thou hast done by our friends?

Thou hast not proved our friends' meetings, which thou hast broken up, either unlawful or seditious, or contrary to the meetings of the primitive Christians. Neither hast thou acted according to this proclamation, which thou ownest as thy rule, especially in imprisoning our friend Robert

Turner, of Lynn, who was not taken by warrant out of a meeting, but sent for to thee, he being come to visit us and our friends in prison. And we know no warrant whereby he was taken according to the king's latter proclamation, which we have also seen; and since that came forth, our friends have had meetings in peace at London; so it doth not appear that thou hast acted according to either of these proclamations, especially against Robert Turner.

Yet if thou shouldst say or think, he was at an unlawful meeting, in his being amongst us in prison, when he was sent for to come to thee, then it would thence follow, that those magistrates who have imprisoned so many of us together, have caused unlawful meetings in prisons; for instead of breaking up or dissolving our meetings, under pretence of being unlawful, they have crowded so many of us in prison, that we can scarcely get room to lodge.

Surely the Lord takes notice of this grievous oppression and persecution, under which the innocent suffer; and to him we commit our cause, who in his own time will plead it. Take heed how thou goest on persecuting the innocent; for there is that witness of God in thee, which will trouble and judge thee for it. Consider it while thou hast time.

From a friend to thy soul,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

During our imprisonment we not only faithfully warned our persecutors against their hard proceedings, with information of the innocence and righteousness of our cause, so that they were left inexcusable; but also the king was acquainted therewith, and the general sufferings of our friends laid before him, and their innocence pleaded, as a peaceable people, not having forfeited their interest in his promise of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion. Some of our friends at London, reminded him thereof, and by solicitation and frequent complaints of our persecutions and hardships, he was induced to issue the proclamation of grace for our release out of the prisons. It also contained a threat, that impunity was not intended us, if we continued to practice, as we had done, upon the score of religion.

So it came to pass that it was but a short time after we were set at liberty, that we could enjoy our religious meetings quietly; the irreligious, persecuting spirit, being at work in the nation among priests and magistrates, who would have all compelled to go to church, and conform. The pretence was, for all to be of one religion; when there was but little of the life, substance, or purity of reli-

gion designed in the case; but rather empty form, ceremony, and an outward show and pretence, to palliate covetousness, pride, looseness of conversation, manifold corruptions, and fleshly liberty, then abounding, and more and more manifest. The libertines of those days boastingly told us, You must all go to church, or else you must lose your estates; or you must be hanged or banished; with many such threats and cruel mockings; yet still it was a stay to us, and sure ground of faith and hope, that we knew Him, in whom we livingly believed and hoped for salvation and strength.

So precipitant was the persecuting spirit, and eager to be at work, and that too under some colour of law, that in the first parliament chosen after the king's restoration, they soon contrived a bill for suppressing our meetings; and many of the persons chosen to be members of that parliament, being known to be persecutors, they swayed and carried it by vote, so that the bill was committed, and at last passed into an Act, which is entitled,

An Act for preventing mischiefs and dangers, that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.

"Whereas, of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers, and other names of separation, have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and among others, that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful and contrary to the Word of God; and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens that truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed.

"And whereas the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers, in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering of the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence among themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations and usual places of divine worship. [It was therefore enacted,]

"That if five or more Quakers, of sixteen years of age, or upward, assemble under pretence of joining in religious worship, not authorized by law, the party offending, being convicted by verdict, confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall forfeit for the first offence, the sum imposed, not exceeding five pounds: and for the second, the

sum imposed, not exceeding ten pounds, to be levied by distress and sale of the goods: and for want thereof, or non-payment, within a week after conviction, shall be committed to the jail or house of correction; for the first offence, three months; for the second, six months; to be kept at hard labour. And if after two convictions, they offend the third time, and are convicted, they shall abjure the realm, or the king may order them to be transported in any ship, to any of his plantations."

This Act was levelled against the people called Quakers, when nothing was justly chargeable against them, nor could any matter of fact be proved, but what concerned religion, and worship toward Almighty God, according to their conscientious persuasions; therefore it was purely for serving and worshipping him according to our consciences, that we suffered greatly by this Act for a time.

Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and myself, having notice, and understanding the matter contained therein, when it was formed into a bill, attended the parliament, and solicited against the same, that it might not be passed into an Act; discoursing with many of the members, and showing them how unreasonable and injurious it would be, to pass such an Act against us, an innocent people; our religious assemblies being peaceable, and only intended for the worship of Almighty God, according to our consciences, and in no wise tending to the terror of the public, in appearance or action.

When the said bill was committed, we sundry times attended the committee, on the 10th and 13th days of the fifth month, 1661, and each of us were permitted to appear, and our reasons to be heard before the same, concerning the bill, why it should not pass against us.

What I declared to the committee, I kept this account of, viz., the first time I signified, "That our meetings are in and for the worship of God, which really is a matter of conscience and of great weight to us, and that which in tenderness of conscience to Christ's command, we practice, for no other end but singly for the worship and service of God, according to the example and practice of the primitive saints and Christians; and that we behave ourselves peaceably towards all men; therefore we ought therein to have the liberty of our consciences, according to the king's promises of liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion.

"And that if we suffer for our peaceable harmless meetings, which are only for the worship of God, according to the saints' prac-

tice, who met often together for that end, we suffer for the cause of God, and shall commit our cause to him, and know that he will plead and avenge it against our persecutors, or to the same effect, exhorting them to act in the fear of God, &c. With other words of concernment to them.

"The second time we were before the said committee, I told them as concerning our meetings, which their intended law chiefly was against, that we met together in the name and fear of the Lord God, and in obedience to him, as the saints of old did; so that they might as well go about to make a law, that we should not pray in the name of Christ Jesus, as to make one to hinder or suppress our meetings, which are in his name, and from which we may no more refrain, than Daniel could forbear praying to the true God, though it was contrary to king Darius' decree."

One called Sir John Goodrich being one of the committee, stood up, and most busily inveighed against us, accusing our meetings, calling them unlawful, and contrary to law, tending to seduce people from the church, and to seduce such as are orthodox, and the like.

To which I answered, "That if our meetings be contrary to law, then that implies there is some law, they are contrary to. If so, it seems superfluous and needless for you to go about to make another, if there be some law already in force against them. But no such thing, we hope can be proved against us, as that our meetings are unlawful in themselves, being in obedience to the Lord our God, only for his worship, and agreeable to the practice of the primitive Christians, recorded in the Scriptures of truth. Such meetings are not unlawful, and such are ours, as we can prove, and therefore not unlawful.

"If your intended law come to be put in execution against us, for our peaceable meetings, it may produce sad sufferings upon thousands of innocent people in the nation, and endanger the ruin of many families; and the loss of some lives,—and so it did—by persecution and imprisonments. Of what a bad report will this be, that an innocent people should thus be oppressed for their consciences, when no matter of fact, or crime, worthy of suffering for, can be proved against them, or to that purpose.

"And further, if this intended law be effected against us, it will elevate and strengthen wicked, malicious and lawless persons, to take occasion to persecute us beyond the law,—to exceed the severity thereof, as they have lately done—as for instance, when great numbers of us were imprisoned upon the king's Proclamation, for meeting together, some of our

friends were taken out of their beds, by rude fellows, and committed to prison; some poor men were taken from their callings, and from their poor families, whom they were to maintain, and sent to prison; and others were taken travelling on the king's high-way, about their lawful occasions and committed to prison, contrary to law, and which the king's Proclamation did not warrant them to do. Now if you make a law to cause us to suffer for our peaceable meetings, how much more will rude and lawless persons, take encouragement thereby, to act their cruelty and persecution against us, both beyond and contrary to what the law requires; and it is not your intended law that will satisfy that malicious spirit.

"Therefore seriously consider and weigh our cause; these things I leave to your serious consideration."

Not having a particular or full account in writing, what my friends Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn declared to that committee, I cannot insert the same with mine, otherwise I would have done it; but I remember the last time we were before the committee, Edward Burrough told them to this purpose, that if they made a law against our religious meetings, he should esteem it his duty to exhort our friends to keep their meetings diligently.

Notwithstanding what is before related, and more also that was urged by us before the said committee against the bill, they went forward, being intent upon it, in order to make their report to the whole house; and we being given to understand what day the bill was to be read in the house, were concerned to attend that day; and to endeavour to obtain leave to be heard in the house, before it was passed into an Act.

The day appointed, being the 19th of the fifth month, called July, A.D. 1661, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn and myself, with Edward Pyott of Bristol, who had been a captain, went up to the Parliament House, and spake to some of the members, whom we knew were friendly to us, to move for our admittance to be heard in the house, before the bill was passed, for which we gave them in writing, a proposal to this purpose, viz:—"That we desired to have the liberty that criminals are allowed, that is, if they have any thing to say, or offer in court, why sentence should not pass against them, they may be heard; so we desire that we may be heard, what we have to say, why the said bill ought not to pass against us."

Whereupon a motion being made in the house, and leave given that we might be called in, and heard; accordingly we were forthwith called in before the bar of the House of Com-

mons, there being a full house, and all in a quiet posture, ready to hear what we had to offer.

As Edward Burrough began to plead in vindication of the Quakers' meetings, on occasion of the bill before them, and against the same, some of the members said to him, "You must direct your speech to Mr. Speaker:" he told them he would. The point he chiefly insisted upon was, "That our meetings were no ways to the terror of people, as was suggested in the preamble of the bill, but peaceable innocent meetings, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, and as we are required by the law of God, placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God, enjoining us to worship him, for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding to us, to disobey the law of God: for which he mentioned and quoted to them that ancient law book, Doctor and Student, which he had then in his hand: where, treating of the law of God, the law of reason, &c., written in the heart of man, it is said, "Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place or time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute or custom may not prevail; and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, statutes, or customs, but things void and against justice."

Wherefore Edward Burrough told them, that if they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God, and void, or ought to be void, *ipso facto*.

I remember this was the import of what Edward Burrrough pleaded to the house at that time.

And what Richard Hubberthorn argued, was upon this point, viz: "It being suggested that we were numerous, and holding a close or strict correspondence among ourselves, our meetings might be the more dangerous, to contrive and cause insurrections, &c., as is implied in the preamble of the bill."

To which Richard Hubberthorn gave a fair and ingenuous answer, That there could be no such danger in our meetings as the contrivance of insurrections or plots against the government; for our meetings being public, where all sorts of people may resort, and come to hear and see what is said or done, it is not likely or probable we should plot or contrive insurrections in them, in the sight of the whole world. And if our meetings should be reduced to such a small number as but four or five persons, besides those of the family, it could not break our correspondence, but

we should have more opportunity privately to correspond, and to plot and contrive insurrection or mischief, if we were a people of such bad principles, or so evilly principled; which we are not. Therefore it is most reasonable to suffer our meetings to be public, as they are, and not to punish us on causeless suspicion of danger, when there appears no reason for the same; nor to make a law to limit them to small numbers: or to this import.

After Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn had spoken against the bill, which was chiefly designed against our religious meetings, George Whitehead began thus, viz: I have a few words to offer to you, relating to what hath been said, and I desire I may be heard, for I shall use as much brevity as I can.

Speaker. Then offer them, and do not reiterate.

George Whitehead. We desire you in the fear of the Lord, to consider us, as we are an innocent and suffering people, and have been so under the several governments since we were a people, as our patience and innocency towards our persecutors in all our sufferings, have plainly manifested. For both under Oliver Cromwell and since his days, have we endured much hard suffering, persecution and imprisonment for our conscience; and yet we have not rebelled or sought revenge against our persecutors; but in all our undeserved sufferings, have committed our cause to the Lord. And therefore what an unreasonable thing is it, that a law should particularly be made against us, when we have done no evil, nor any injury against any man's person; nor could any such thing be proved against us, in respect to our meetings, that ever we were found guilty of. So that for you to make a law against us, tending to our ruin, and to go about to trample us under foot, when we are innocent and peaceable in the nation, and no matter of fact worthy of suffering proved against us, will neither be to the honour of the king, nor add any thing to your security. Nay, what a hard thing is it, for you to make a law to add afflictions and sad sufferings upon us, when there are divers laws already, whereby we are liable to suffer, as those for tithes, oaths, and others; so that to make another law to afflict us, when nothing worthy of suffering is proved, seems to us very hard and unreasonable.

And moreover, we have neither forfeited our liberties, nor abused the king's indulgence, in any thing acted by us. And the king having promised liberty to tender consciences, on condition that they do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and we not having forfeited our

interest therein, ought not, therefore, to be hindered of our liberty in matters of worship and conscience towards God. We can prove that our practice of assembling ourselves together, and our principles also, are grounded upon the righteous law of God, and agreeable to Christ's doctrine; and we are willing to vindicate and demonstrate them according to truth, if we might have liberty here; and that for the satisfaction of such as oppose or scruple them.

In the fear of the Lord consider what you are doing, and seek not further to add affliction to us, lest you oppress the innocent. However, if we suffer for our conscience, in obeying Christ, we shall commit our cause to the Lord our God, who will, no doubt, plead it against our oppressors.

After Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberton and George Whitehead had declared to the House of Commons as related, Edward Pyott was also permitted to speak a few words to them, which he did very weightily, on this subject; reminding them of that golden rule which Jesus Christ has laid down, and requires us all to observe; which is, To do to all men as we would be willing they should do unto us; thereupon cautioning them, that as they would not be persecuted, oppressed or made to suffer for their religion or conscience, or have a law made for that purpose against them, no more ought they to make a law against us, to punish us for worshipping God according to our consciences or inward persuasions. This Edward Pyott pressingly urged upon them.

As we were withdrawing out of the house, some of the members near the door gently pulled me by my coat sleeve; I turned and asked them what they would have with me? They said, "Nothing, but to look upon you:" I being but a young man about twenty-four years of age.

We appeared and declared what was upon our minds, in great simplicity and sincerity; and the Lord's power and presence were with us, and helped us in our endeavours; and I saw clearly that what we declared innocently to them, had some effect upon, and reached the consciences of divers of the members, who appeared serious and sober in their carriage toward us. I had an intimation afterwards, that some of the members confessed that, what we had declared was very reasonable; and if they had feared God, or regarded his counsel, and suffered Him to rule among them, they would not have made that act against us.

But we had only a very few in that Parliament who appeared openly to be our friends, or friends for liberty to tender consciences, in

those days; namely, Edmund Waller, senior, Esq., who was termed Witt Waller; he was principled against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, and always kind to us; and one Michael Mallett, Esq.; who afterward was convinced of the truth, and frequented our meetings, even in suffering times, when our meetings were kept out of doors in the streets, in Westminster and London. And sir John Vaughan, then a young man, appeared also for us, and afterward was convinced of the truth, and went to our meetings when we were persecuted upon the conventicle act, and was imprisoned in Newgate with our friends, for a little time, being taken at a meeting at Mile-end. He continued afterward among our friends, and visited us in prison; and though at length some of his relations drew him aside, to his great prejudice, yet he retained a kindness, even when he came to be earl of Carberry, and continued friendly to us when he was an old man, and until his latter end; not wholly forgetting what conviction and knowledge of the truth he received when among us.

There were also some few more of the members of that Parliament, friendly toward us at that time when we appeared before them; but the majority being resolved and bent to persecution, they passed the bill into an act. Upon which great persecution and imprisonments followed.

In the year 1662, our meetings in and about London were broken up with force and violence, by the trained bands and officers, especially on the first-days of the week; which though professed to be their Christian sabbath, no holiness was observed, but rending and tearing innocent people out of their religious assemblies, and haling them to prison. Such furious work of persecution they commonly wrought on that day, which they pretend to be their Christian sabbath and the Lord's day, and to be kept holy, as Israel was required to observe and keep the seventh-day for the sabbath, according to the fourth commandment. Yet these our persecutors made no conscience of violating and profaning their professed sabbath, by their works of violence and persecution. Even after an act of Parliament was made for the better observation of the Lord's day, as it was termed, those self-condemned, pretended Christians, in many places furiously went on in their persecution and cruelty, against their fellow creatures and honest neighbours, without regard to God or religious worship, on any day; to the great reproach and scandal of the profession of Christianity.

Pursuant to the aforesaid act, as was pretended, my beloved brethren, Richard Hub-

berthorn, Edward Burrough and myself, with many more of our faithful friends, were haled out of meetings and imprisoned in Newgate, London; where so many of us were crowded together, both in that called justice-hall side, and in the chapel side of the prison, that we were hard put to it for lodging room.

The chapel was on the top of Newgate, where many Friends lay crowded in hammocks; and Richard Hubberthorn and I lay on a small pallet bed, in a little hole or closet behind the chapel, and opening into it, so that the breath and steam of those that lay next to us, in the chapel, came much upon us. We chose to lodge on the chapel side for the encouragement of many of the poorer sort of Friends who were there, and that they might not be offended or troubled, as we thought they might, if we had taken up our lodging among the richer sort of our friends, on justice-hall side. We had many good meetings in the chapel, and the Lord was with us, to our great comfort and encouragement in his name and power, for whose sake we suffered patiently.

It being in summer time, and a hot season, when we were thus crowded in prison, some of our friends who were prisoners too, fell sick of a violent fever, whereof some died; and were viewed by the coroner's inquest. And when some were removed out of prison on account of sickness, they quickly ended their days, after their close confinement.

In those days of hot persecution, one called sir Richard Brown, was chief persecutor in London, and gloried much in his persecuting and imprisoning our friends, insulting over them. I remember one time when several of us were called into the court of sessions in the old Bailey, one Friend was moved to testify against their persecuting and oppressing the righteous seed and people of God, calling out to the magistrates on the bench, "How long will ye oppress the righteous seed," &c., with other words on the same subject. While he was so speaking, the said sir Richard Brown in derision, began to sing, "Ha you any kitchen stuff maids? Ha you any kitchen stuff maids? Hey, Wall fleet oysters, will you buy any Wall fleet oysters? Will you buy any Wall fleet oysters," &c.

And he tuned it out much like the women that cry kitchen stuff, and Wall fleet oysters, up and down the streets in London. I thought it very strange, indecent behaviour for a justice of peace and alderman of London, thus antiely to show himself upon the bench, in a court of judicature, in the presence of the lord mayor and the rest of the magistrates, many people being present in court. But it showed how, in this persecuting spirit, a prin-

cipal persecutor triumphed in his own iniquity, and gloried in his shame.

Many of us were committed for three months imprisonment in Newgate, being our first commitment upon the aforesaid act. Before the time of that imprisonment was expired, my dear friend and brother, Richard Hubberthorn, was taken sick and died; and our dear brother, Edward Burrough, who was detained prisoner after I was released, was also taken sick of a fever and died. Thus the Lord was pleased by death to release both these my dear brethren, companions and fellow labourers in the gospel of Christ Jesus; whose death was lamented by many tender friends, respecting the great service which they had in their day.

And though I had a full share in suffering with my friends and brethren in those days of hot persecution, and was carried through such imprisonments and sufferings as ended the days of several, yet my days have been lengthened much beyond my expectation; so that I have been ready humbly to inquire, Lord for what end am I so long spared alive, and my days prolonged, when so many of thy faithful servants are removed? Whereupon he has showed me that my trials and service in his church, and for his people, were not yet finished; and he has often made me sensible of his merciful providence in my preservation through many trials and exercises, being supported by the word of faith and of his patience, in the kingdom and patience of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. O my soul, praise thou the Lord, my life, my strength, and my salvation, and let all that is within me bless his holy name.

In those days of hot persecution it was observable, how furious some of the judges were against our friends, when brought prisoners into court, and they wanted evidence of matter of fact against them upon trial, and some of our friends would not answer interrogatories to accuse themselves, but asked for their accusers, or where are our accusers. Some of the judges would use the words, "Sirrah, sirrah, you are an impudent fellow, leave your canting;" threatening them, with severe menaces, and frowning on them; much unbecoming a justice or judge, who ought to be impartial, to do equal justice and right, without premeditation or partiality against any person.

The act against Quakers, to fine, imprison, and transport them out of the land for not swearing, or for their religious meetings, did not satisfy those rigid persecutors, when they had made trial of it. The process of three months and six months imprisonment, before

it came to transportation or banishment, was too slow a procedure to answer their invidious designs. They could not thereby so expeditiously rid the land of us as they would, though many suffered hard imprisonments; and therefore in a short time they procured another engine to shorten their work against us, to wit; an act entitled an act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles; of which act, and the administration thereof, some account may be given hereafter.

A relation of my imprisonment with other Friends, in the White Lion prison in Southwark, near London, for assembling together in the worship and service of Almighty God, and of our treatment in prison, will show the manner how our friends, being often apprehended, were treated in those days, for our innocent, religious meetings.

Upon the 3rd day of the fifth month, 1664, being the first-day of the week, our friends were peaceably met together at their usual meeting place at Horsleydown, according to their wonted manner, waiting upon the Lord in his fear. And after some time, George Whitehead spake to the assembly by way of exhortation, in truth and righteousness. In the interim, a company of soldiers with muskets and lighted matches in their hands, rushed in, and before they came to the inner door, one of them fired a musket; and two of them violently pulled George Whitehead down, and haled him and some others out of the meeting, and carried themselves very rudely, pushing and threatening our friends, forcing many out of the meeting, and raging at and pushing women when they came near their husbands, whom they had taken into custody. George Whitehead asking them to show their warrant for what they did, a soldier held up his musket over his head, and said that was his warrant.

Then they whose names are mentioned in the mittimus hereafter, with several more, some of whom they took near the meeting-house door, and others in the street, were had to the main guard on Margaret's hill; where they kept them for some time, until those called justices came, who asked our friends whether they were at the meeting aforesaid? To which answer was made, that they desired to hear what evidence came against them; for some were taken in the street, and not all in the meeting; but they put it upon George Whitehead to confess, if he was not present at the meeting; to which he answered, What evidence have you against me, and I shall answer further? Whereupon some of the soldiers were called to give evidence concerning him, and the rest with him; they witnessed, that he was taken in the meeting-house

speaking to the people; which was all the evidence that was given against him.

George Whitehead excepted against the soldiers, as being incompetent witnesses; for they came, said he, in a rude and inhuman manner, with force and arms, and so apprehended us illegally, without any justice present, or warrant for what they did, but one holding up his musket, said that was his warrant, when they took us. They came in a terrifying manner among a peaceable people; which was both contrary to the late act, upon which they pretended to proceed, contrary to the king's proclamation, which prohibits the seizing of subjects by soldiers, unless in time of actual insurrection, according as was told them. By the said act the deputy lieutenants and militia officers and forces are not required to be assisting in suppressing meetings, unless upon a certificate under hand and seal of a justice of peace, that he, with his assistants, are not able to suppress them. It was also told them, that no dwelling house of any peer or other person whatsoever, shall be entered into, by virtue of the said act, but in the presence of one justice of peace. But there was no justice of the peace present when they were taken, neither was their meeting seditious or tumultuous, as those are which the militia officers are required to be assistant to suppress. The words of the act were mentioned to them, and George Whitehead required justice against those who had so illegally apprehended them, and broken the peace thereby.

Friends also complained against one of the soldiers for firing his musket near the meeting door in the entry, and shooting a bullet through two or three ceilings and a dwelling room, which bullet was found near a child's cradle, where the child used to be laid; and one present had the same to show them, as it was bruised.

George Moor, one of the justices, answered, that it was done accidentally, and not intentionally; but how it could be that it was not intentionally done, does not appear; seeing the rest of the soldiers held their matches apart from their muskets. If accidentally done, consider whether such a man who had no more discretion or care, was a fit person or officer, to come in that manner with a musket charged, among a peaceable, harmless people, assembled to worship God? But George Moor excused their having their muskets loaded. And to George Whitehead's saying that there was no justice present when they were apprehended, George Moor answered, that he was present; George Whitehead told him, they did not see him there; and the soldiers being asked if he were present among them, they said no; but he said

he was present, for he was near the meeting, or but a little way off. And when George Whitehead required justice against those soldiers that had broken the peace, and desiring that they would correct or stop such proceedings for the future, for, said he, if any hurt be done by the soldiers, it will be required at your hands; answer was made by some present, that our friends might take their course, and have the benefit of the law, if they would swear the peace against them.

As to the charge against George Whitehead, that he was at an unlawful assembly, and there was taken speaking; he answered, that it must be some unlawful act done by the persons met that could make the meeting unlawful; and therefore desired to know what unlawful act they had committed in their meeting. He told them that it was neither simply the meeting, nor the number met, whether five or five hundred, that could reasonably be judged unlawful, if the act or occasion met about was lawful; but it is an unlawful act that makes an unlawful meeting. As to the act of Parliament, which is named, An act to prevent Seditious Conventicles, the name should signify its nature and intent, and the preamble the reason or cause of it, and that is against such as under pretence of tender consciences, do contrive insurrections at their meetings. The preambles of laws are esteemed the keys of laws. One of the justices said, he did not know but that our meetings were to that intent. George Whitehead told him, whatsoever he or any other might suspect against them proves nothing. Suspicion proves no fact; we are an innocent people, fearing God.

Some of the justices alledged upon the evidence, that George Whitehead was at the meeting, and taken speaking, and the meeting was above the number of five. To which George Whitehead said, That proves nothing of the breach of the law against him, unless they could prove some unlawful act done or met about; for it is not the number makes the transgression, but the fact, if it be unlawful; and if three be met about an unlawful act, it is an unlawful meeting, or a riot; which Friends urged several times, that it must be an unlawful act that must make a meeting unlawful. Thereupon they excepted against the evidence as insufficient for conviction, or passing sentence of imprisonment upon them, in order to banishment. And it was urged as a matter of weight, which concerned them to consider of.

Whereupon George Moor with some others, commanded the people to depart, and caused the soldiers to disperse those who stood civilly by, to hear and see what became of our

friends—that they might not hear their trial, and would have had George Whitehead taken away. George Whitehead being several times accused for speaking in the meeting, desired the justices to ask the witness what he spake in the meeting; but they would not ask the question, neither could the witnesses answer to it when it was propounded by our friends; so that no breach of the law was proved against them. One Friend told them, We suppose you will not account it a transgression to speak, where nothing can be proved against what is spoken, unless you would have us dumb, and not speak at all.

And then as to meeting to the number of five or above, under colour or pretence of religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy, which incurs the penalty of the act, George Whitehead questioned what manner of religious exercise the liturgy did disallow of; and granted that he was at the meeting, and there did speak, having a word of exhortation to the people; but that still they fell short in their proof, either that the meeting was seditious or tumultuous, or that the exercise of religion or worship that we practised was disallowed by the liturgy. For, said he, the liturgy allows what the holy Scriptures allow of; and if I had a word of exhortation to speak according to the gift of God received, this is allowed by the Scriptures, therefore not disallowed by the liturgy, so that you have not proved the transgression of the law against me. To which they gave no answer. The clerk said it was a dilemma. Some Friends they let go, because the soldiers could not testify whether they took them in the street or in the meeting.

But seeing they resolved to proceed against some of our friends, George Whitehead told them that if they had so much moderation in them, they needed not, neither were they enjoined, to proceed to the rigour of the law, so as to imprison them for three months, seeing the law allowed any time not exceeding three months. But if they would imprison them to the utmost, George Whitehead demanded that they might have sufficient prison room, and not be stifled and destroyed by many being crowded together, as several were before in the same prison; for if they were, he told them, it would be required at their hands, and God would plead their cause, and call them to account for what they had done against them.

After several passages betwixt them, more than are here mentioned, Friends refusing to pay five pounds fine each, were committed to jail without bail or mainprize. While the justices were committing them, there was exceedingly great thunder, lightning and rain, and the water was so high in the street that the soldiers could not get them to prison, but kept

them in the street in the rain, and afterwards had them back to a house until the water was fallen; and then they were had late to prison very wet.

The two keepers, Stephen Harris and Joseph Hall, after a little space demanded of each of them, 3s. 6d. a week for lodging, or 2s. apiece for the bare room, the best whereof overflowed with water. But they could not yield to the jailer's oppression, or pay him down ten shillings, which he required for that first night, but desired to be left to their liberty; and if they received any courtesy or accommodation from him, they should consider him as they found cause; but could neither pay for a prison, nor uphold oppression in it.

Stephen Harris threatened them with the common ward, where the felons lie, and commanded them to go into it, which they refused, as a place not fit for true men to be in; yet he turned them into the common ward among the said felons. Friends warned him not to suffer them to be abused, but they made light of it, saying, "It is your own faults," and seemed to encourage the felons against our friends.

Soon after the keepers had turned their backs the felons demanded half a crown apiece, swearing what they would do to them; and because Friends could not answer their unjust demands, they fell upon them, searched their pockets, and took what money they found from several of them. When they had so done the keeper came to the window, and the felons confidently told him what they had done and how much they had taken, and that they must have more from them, for which he did not at all reprove them. They said they hoped he would stand by them in what they did; he made them return the cloak they had taken from one Friend, after they had taken his money; and laughed upon them when they threatened Friends, and swore and cursed; the keepers also swore at them, and threatened to make them bow; whereupon the felons gave a shout, crying, God a mercy, boys, we'll be upon them again.

Besides these abuses which our friends met with from the jailers and prisoners, the ward was such a nasty, stinking hole, and so crowded with those felons, and several women lying among them, which some called their wives, that our friends had not whereon to lay their heads to rest, nor a stool to sit down upon; but when they were weary, were fain to sit down on the floor, among the vermin, in a stinking place. Of which gross abuses, complaint being made to some of the justices that committed them, the next night the jailer

was made to let Friends have room to lodge apart from the felons.

A copy of the mittimus follows.

SURREY, SS. To the keeper of his majesty's jail for the county aforesaid.

Forasmuch as George Whitehead, George Patteson, Joseph Dunsdale, Gilbert Hutton, George Rawlins, Edward Pattison, Timothy England, were this day taken at a seditious assembly or conventicle, and are convict for the same before us; wherefore, according to the said act, we have fined them at the sum of five pounds apiece, which they do refuse to pay down unto us. Therefore in his majesty's name, we command you to receive their bodies into your said jail, and them safely to keep without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months from this present day. And hereof see that you in no wise fail, under the pains and penalties in the said act mentioned. Dated the 3rd day of July, 1664.

JOHN BROMFIELD,
JOHN LENTHAL,
GEORGE MOOR.

A few days after my commitment to White Lion prison, another trial befel me. I was had out of the prison, before John Lenthal, about the plot in the north of England, A. D. 1663, being unjustly accused by a Yorkshire man, a sort of an attorney, or lawyer, to have been concerned in that plot, because I was a Westmoreland man born; and though he could not make out any proof against me, yet he persisted in his own evil jealousy and surmise, that I was such a person, whom he named, and said was in the plot; affirming that my name was not Whitehead, but another name. I was then carried in a boat to White-hall, guarded with musketeers, and the jailer also with us, and there had into a room near the secretary's office, where the jailer waited with me. The lawyer, who had falsely suggested the crime against me, went in, and after some time a person was sent out to examine me and my accuser with him. Then I was questioned about my name, the examiner, looking in a list of names which he had in his hand. I gave him a just account of my name and clearness, yet my accuser would confidently contradict me, saying, "Your name is not Whitehead, but Marshden," or such a like name. I told him surely I knew my own name, as I had declared it. Presently stepped in one who seemed to be an ancient gentleman, hearing my accuser tell me my name was not Whitehead, and contradicted him; saying, "Yes his name

is Whitehead; he has written divers books, to which his name is in print;" which gave a check to him, and prevented further examination.

This busy, false accuser and prosecutor, went in again to the secretary's office, and in a little time came out and warned the jailer not to discharge me until he had order from the secretary. Whether he had order so to caution the jailer was questionable, for the man appeared very busy against me without cause, or any previous knowledge of me, or I of him. But seeing he was so confident in his unjust prosecution, I questioned in my thoughts whether he might not be suborned to prosecute me, or did it to get himself a name or some reward for a pretended discovery. However, I esteemed it best and safest for me to trust in the Lord my God for preservation, and to be resigned to his will; and I desired if he suffered me to be prosecuted and tried for my life, I might have opportunity to vindicate and clear our holy profession and friends, and my own innocency also, from all such works of darkness, as plots and conspiracies against the king or government. And this I thought to do, if brought to a place of execution; nevertheless I wrote a letter from prison to the lord Arlington, then Secretary of State, to clear my own innocency from those false suggestions and insinuations which were made against me, about the plot before mentioned, which was delivered to him, and I heard no more of it, but was released out of prison with the rest, when the three months were expired, for which we had been committed.

On the 16th day of the eighth month, 1664, being the first-day of the week, our friends were met together in the fear of the Lord, according to their usual manner, in their meeting place at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, London, and George Whitehead being there, declared the truth in the power and dread of the Lord God. After some time a great company of men with halberts came into the meeting, and a little after shut the meeting-house door, and kept out many people that would have come in. The halberteers stood and heard quietly for near an hour, as it was thought; only one rude fellow attempted to pull George Whitehead down, but did not. Afterward came the lord mayor and a company with him, and Richard Brown followed. In a little time after the mayor came in, a rude fellow violently pulled George Whitehead down from speaking, and haled him near the door; the mayor asked him his name, which he told him.

Richard Brown came somewhat rudely into the meeting, reviling and deriding our friends; whereupon one of them giving testimony for

the presence of the Lord in our meeting after this manner, viz: "The Lord brought us hither; and the presence of the Lord is among us; and this is my testimony." Richard Brown answered, "The devil brought you hither; and the devil is among you, and this is my testimony;" laughing, and swinging his arms. To his words, The devil is among you, our friends presently replied, "It is since thou camest then among us." He threatened some to send them to Bridewell, but George Whitehead exhorted the said Richard Brown and the mayor to moderation and civility towards us; Richard Brown answered, "If you will be civil to us, we will be civil to you." George Whitehead desired the mayor to produce the law they had broken, and that they might have a fair trial. Richard Brown answered, "Yes you shall have a fair trial at the sessions to-morrow," it not being then ended. Then some of the halbert men had George Whitehead and some of his friends into the street, and after they had kept them some time, they sent them in companies to Newgate, without sending warrants with them, being fined one shilling each, or six days imprisonment.

At the same time a particular warrant was sent to the jailer, from the mayor and Richard Brown, to detain William Smith, James Carter, William Parker, Elizabeth Chapman, and Jane Boadle, prisoners, for a pretended third offence, until delivered by due course of law.

In such manner both our men and women friends were frequently imprisoned, and jails filled with them in those days; for their persecutors were in great heat and haste to get them banished upon the second act of Parliament made for that end.

If they could bring them under conviction for a third offence, as they termed our meeting to worship the only living and true God; which if any one among us did but confess, it was enough to make him or her an offender, and to be convicted presently thereupon, either for a first, second, or third offence. The shortness of our last imprisonment, as well as the smallness of the fines of one shilling apiece, seemed designed to despatch us the sooner out of the land by banishment, after conviction for three pretended offences.

Now it may not be improper to give some account of the contents of the second act of Parliament, designed not only for our imprisonment, but also for our banishment out of the land of our nativity; and that with more expedition than could be effected by the first act, though the Lord our God would not suffer that design of banishment to take any such general effect against us, as was desired by our invidious persecutors; for by his judgments in

a great measure he frustrated our adversaries. Howbeit many of our innocent friends were sentenoned for banishment, yet but few in comparison, actually shipped or banished out of the land.

The preamble and penalties of the said act follow, 16 Car. 2, ch. iv.

It is styled, An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. In the preamble, the 25th Eliz. ch. i. is declared to be in force: and also for providing of further and more speedy remedy against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings continue insurrections, as late experience hath showed. Thus far the preamble and reason given for the act.

Thereupon it is enacted, that if any person of the age of sixteen years and upwards, being a subject, &c., shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the church of England, every such person being convicted before two justices of the peace, to be committed to the jail or House of Correction, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for any time not exceeding three months, unless such person pay down to the said justices such sum of money not exceeding five pounds, as they might fine the offender at.

And for the second offence, the person convicted incurred the penalty of imprisonment for any time not exceeding six months, without bail or mainprize, unless the person convicted pay down such sum of money, not exceeding ten pounds, as the justices would fine him.

The penalty for the third offence, was imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the next general quarter sessions, assizes, jail delivery, &c., there to be indicted, arraigned, &c., and when convicted, judgment to be entered, that such offender should be transported beyond the seas, to any of his majesty's foreign plantations—Virginia and New England only excepted—there to remain seven years.

And the said respective courts were also empowered to give out warrants to the several constables, &c., where the estate, real or personal, of such offender so to be transported, should be; commanding them to seize into their hands the profits of the lands, and to distrain and sell the goods of the person to be transported, for the reimbursing the sheriff's charges for conveying and embarking the person to be transported.

And it is also enacted, that in case the

offender convicted for the third offence, shall pay one hundred pounds in court, he shall be discharged from imprisonment, transportation and judgment for the same.

And it is further enacted, that the like imprisonment, judgment, arraignment, and proceedings, shall be against every such offender as often as he shall again offend after such third offence; nevertheless is dischargeable and discharged by payment of the like sum as was payed for his or her said offence, next before committed, together with the additional and increased sum of one hundred pounds more upon every new offence committed.

But this severe act was made temporary, being to continue in force for three years only after the end of that session, and to the end of the next session of Parliament, after the end of the three years, and no longer.

And indeed it was time that persecuting, cruel law should expire; for the execution thereof tended to the great oppression and ruin of many of the king's innocent, peaceable subjects and families, especially of the people called Quakers, of whom the persecutors, in that three years time, while the said act was in force, furiously endeavoured to rid the nation, by banishment, or to force them to conform to that church whereof those persecutors were members. By their frequent imprisonments in order to banishment, they brought no great honour to their church, priesthood, or profession; but made many widows and fatherless, as well as poor, even of honest, industrious families, by their persecutions, cruelties, imprisonments, fines, and many times spoil of their goods. Our religious assemblies have been often disturbed and broken up by the persecuting agents, officers and soldiers, many of us apprehended and brought before the magistrates, witnesses called and examined, and no matter of evil fact proved against any of us, either of any breach of the public peace or sedition, much less of any contrivance of insurrection, or of any other dangerous practice whatsoever. If the meeting was taken altogether in silence, the persecuting justices would endeavour to make it a seditious conventicle, when they could have no proof of any sedition or unlawful act, or colour of evidence thereof against it, or any of our meetings whatsoever.

The manner of their proceeding to conviction against many of us, has been thus; when apprehended and convened before the magistrates, and the officers or witnesses called, they declare they took such persons in a conventicle or meeting. The magistrate asks, What did they do there? If the witness answers he took such an one preaching or teaching, or praying, and he be asked, What did he say? Commonly the witness or wit-

nesses cannot remember one sentence, preached or prayed. However, the persecuting magistrate takes it for granted it was a seditious conventicle, though he has no proof of any sedition preached, taught, or uttered in prayer, nor any evidence or knowledge what was said, yet presently he passes judgment, enters conviction, and imprisons the persons convened.

If any of the persons taken confess they were met to worship God in spirit and in truth, or to wait upon God, the persecuting magistrates presently lay hold of this and say, That is enough, or they have confessed enough to convict them of a conventicle or unlawful assembly.

If the witnesses or informers, have no evidence to give of any overt act, or religious exercise done in the meeting; but only that all was in silence, as many times hath been, yet the persecuting magistrates or justices would either make a riot or unlawful assembly of such a silent meeting, when there was not the least appearance of a riot, force or violence, nor any thing acted or spoken *in terrorem* or injury of any one's person or property, whatsoever.

When a persecuting justice with a constable and others, comes huffing and stamping into the assembly, whether all be in silence, or one preaching, and either commands the people to be pulled out of the meeting, or the doors to be shut, to keep them in, and their names to be taken, the officers and other rude persons either pull and hale people out till they are tired, or take names until they are weary, according as they have command. The justice then either imprisons or fines many of the persons who are most noted, though he saw no act committed of any evil tendency.

Persecuting justices would easily receive information against our religious meetings, how ignorant and impertinent soever they were. If an envious informer told the justice the Quakers were met under colour of religious exercise, contrary to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, the informer or witness presumes to be judge both of law and fact; when probably he does not understand what the word liturgy means, nor can explain the practice of the church of England, which is not limited to reading the common prayer only; and if the witness declares there was preaching or praying in such a meeting, yet remembers not one word or sentence expressed in either, as it has often happened, nevertheless such silly, ignorant, and impertinent evidence has been often accepted for conviction.

It was observable as well as memorable, that as the rulers in those days were often warned of the impending judgments of God, if they would not leave off their persecution,

so when they were making haste to have us banished out of the land, and especially out of the city of London and the suburbs, in the years 1664 and 1665, and for that end the jails were often crowded, whereby many innocent persons suffered death; God was pleased even then, in the year 1665, to hasten his heavy judgment and sad calamity of the great plague or raging pestilence upon the city, and some other places in the land, whereby many thousands of the inhabitants died; sometimes above six thousand in a week, of all sorts, both of good and evil men and women, besides innocent children. The calamity being common, the righteous and the good were taken away from the evil to come, though it went ill with the wicked, who for all this would not return to the Lord; neither would the cruel persecutors repent of their abominable cruelties; but persisted therein what they could, disturbing our meetings and imprisoning, until they were frightened with the plague. Even during its prevalence many of our innocent friends were confined in jails; which seemed no small piece of barbarity and inhumanity, especially when the contagion so greatly prevailed in the city. I have told some persons in authority of this cruelty, to manifest what mercy their church then showed us, and that men of moderation or any compassion would be ashamed thereof.

I well remember, that having some times of respite between my imprisonments before the sickness in London, I travelled to visit our friends in the country, and sometimes into the northern counties, and near the beginning of that summer, A. D. 1665, when the pestilence was begun in London, I was in the county of Surrey, and having a meeting at John Smith's house at Worplesdon, his brother Stephen Smith and his wife came to the meeting; where Stephen and his wife were convinced of the truth, which the Lord enabled me to declare, and livingly to demonstrate at that time, as at many others. And the Lord having laid upon me to come to London, as I signified to some friends present, after the meeting, Stephen questioned how I could venture to come to London, seeing the plague was then broken out there. I gave account of my submission to the will of God, and of my faith and trust in him for preservation; upon which Stephen appeared more satisfied and confirmed in the belief of the truth, borne testimony to among us at that meeting.

I soon came to London, and my lodging was at the house of William Travers, tobaccoist in Watling street, who with his wife Rebecca, kindly received and entertained me, as did also her sister Mary Booth, who lived

with her, and the whole family were loving to me and friends. And the Lord preserved that family, that none of them were infected with the pestilence, though it greatly increased, and the mortality thereby, so that in a few weeks great numbers quickly died.

It was a time of great calamity, sorrow and heaviness, to many thousands of all sorts; and that which added to our friends' affliction, was the hardness of our persecutors' hearts, their cruelty and barbarity in imprisoning and detaining many of them in prison, both in Newgate, London, and the White Lion prison in Southwark, after the plague was greatly broken forth, and many people swept away by it.

I had not then freedom, satisfaction, or peace to leave the city, or friends in and about London, in that time of great and general calamity, no, not when the mortality was at the height; but was concerned and given up in spirit to stay among them to attend friends' meetings; to visit friends in prison, and at their houses; even when many of them lay sick of the contagion, both in prison, and their habitations. And in all that time the Lord preserved me by his power, through faith, from the infectious distemper; which mercy I esteemed great and wonderful, and hope ever thankfully to remember, in a living sense of the divine hand which upheld and preserved me.

Although it was judged the prisons were then infected and poisoned with the contagion, I was freely given up to suffer imprisonment; and on first-days took my night cap in my pocket when I went to meeting, not knowing but I might be apprehended at some meeting, and committed to prison. The Lord gave me faith to be resigned to his will, either to live, or to die for his name and truth sake; and through all those dangers and difficulties, to bear my testimony in faithfulness to his blessed power and life of righteousness, and thereby sustained and wonderfully preserved my life, when the cry and sound of mortality was round about us, from one end and side of the city to another.

As the contagion and sickness increased, many of our persecutors were so terrified, that their hands were for sometime weakened. Still many of them were so hardened, that they were resolved to proceed against us to banishment, as when Pharaoh saw there was respite, he hardened his heart. So did our persecutors, when the calamity did not come upon themselves, though they saw how it was abroad, greatly destroying the inhabitants; for it was observed in the weekly bill, that when the plague was most hot and violent in and about London, seven thousand one hundred and

sixty-five died thereof in one week; and in that year, 1665, of the same distemper, sixty-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-six, according to the yearly bill.

One evening after I had been visiting Friends in some places in the city, I was taken sick in my stomach and head, and was concerned, lest any of the family where I lodged should be frightened, so as to fear the sickness had taken hold upon me, and I spake to my friend Rebecca Travers, to desire her sister, Mary Booth, not to be afraid on my account; for said I to her, I shall be well to-morrow, wishing her to tell her sister so. And through the Lord's mercy I was very well next morning, though I had been very sick over night.

I was then deeply concerned to visit our friends who were sick in prison, and out of prison, even when some of them were very near death, being often in great suffering and travail of spirit, with earnest prayer and fervent supplications to God for them, who were sufferers by imprisonment and that visitation, that God would appear for them, and plead their innocent cause, and afford them speedy help and deliverance. Being then a witness of that love which casts out fear, through the great mercy and love of my heavenly Father, manifest in his dear Son, I was not afraid to visit my friends when sick and in infected prisons. The Lord bore up my spirit in living faith, above the fear of death, or the contagious distemper; and my life was resigned in the will of him who gave it, for my friends and brethren, for whose sake true Christian love would engage us to lay down our lives to save theirs, if required of the Lord so to manifest our unfeigned love one for another. For it is not only in words and outward appearance that true love is really manifest, but in deed and in truth. But many who profess Christian love and charity, light and truth, in these days of liberty, have not had their love tried, as the love of our friends and brethren was in those days of sore persecution and great calamity; wherein the Lord, notwithstanding, gave us great consolation, comfort and courage—having received certain testimony and evidence in our hearts of the love of God, which we did partake of in Christ Jesus, from which we believed no wrath of man, no persecutions, calamities or distresses, should separate us. In those times of severe trial, the questions and answers given by the apostle, were often remembered; Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things

we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us. For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord: Rom. viii. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

Further to show my exercise and concern for our friends in that time, the two following epistles are next inserted.

A few seasonable words to all the tender hearted, whose spirits are saddened and cast down at the trials of the present time.

O dear friends,

You that have received the testimony of God's love and salvation, and have tasted of the power of an endless life, look not out, nor be discouraged at the deep suffering and trial of the present time, though many have a deep sense thereof upon their spirits, and the hearts of many be saddened to see how universal this calamity and overflowing scourge is, in this day of sweeping, sifting and trying; wherein the faith of many must be thoroughly tried, and their patience proved, to the resignation of life and all unto the will of the Father, in whose hands we are, who knows what is best for his children. His ways are not to be measured nor found out by the wisdom of man; for his works and proceedings are in a cross to all carnal reason and expectation, and to the confounding thereof. But they who in the faith and patience of the elect seed, give up in his will, as those that live by faith in him, and whose hope and refuge the Lord is, shall never be confounded nor afraid, though the earth be removed; nor yet discouraged or unsettled, because of the wicked, who make a great flourish like a green bay tree, when he is in great power; for he passeth away and shall not be found. And he that enters into the sanctuary of the Lord, and there abides, shall see the end of his enemies and persecutors, who stand in slippery places, though for a time they have seemed to prosper in the world.

And dear friends and tender hearts, who have a sense of the sufferings of the righteous Seed, which bears the afflictions, sorrows and sufferings of God's people through all, and hath been bruised and wounded under the weight and burden of people's iniquities, though He has been deemed as one plagued or smitten of God; all of you keep in the sense of the power, by which you all may feel your preservation through faith in Him, that is given for a covenant of life and light. All

retire to Him that is manifest for a sure hiding place to the upright, in the day of calamity and hour of temptation; and in Him you will witness plenteous redemption and refreshments of his life, over all the troubles and sufferings of the present time, and over all fears and doubtings, which would beset any of you, to weaken you either inwardly or outwardly. And none are to let in unbelief, or hard thoughts, or to be shaken in mind, because of the deep sufferings of many of the dear servants of the Lord at this day, who are as killed and crucified, and all the day long accounted as sheep for the slaughter; nor at the great calamity and mortality in this fading city, which extends to the upright and innocent, in divers places, as well as to the unrighteous, to both infants and others; and to divers of the sufferers for truth in their confinements, who have not contributed to the cause of God's displeasure herein, but are taken away in mercy, as to them, and from the evil to come. They are delivered and set in safety, from the future cruelties and wicked designs of their oppressors and cruel minded persecutors, who have hunted for the blood of the innocent; and may not only be charged with not visiting Christ when he was sick and in prison, but also with killing and murdering him in prison; inasmuch as it is done to any of his little ones, by their cruel confinement in pestilential or poisonous places. But we know that for the faithful, there assuredly remain victory, triumph, and everlasting safety, though it be through death to many of them, who know that it is neither tribulation nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor death, nor life, that shall be able to separate them from the love of Christ. And hereof we have a sure evidence and living confidence, in the name and power of the Lord our God, to whom be glory and praises for ever.

So dear and tender hearts, think not the trials strange that attend us at this day, nor be discouraged thereat, as if the Lord had either forsaken his heritage, or left his people desolate; for his love and fatherly care are known to his own, both in giving and taking away, as he pleaseth; and he is not to be limited, nor the creature to point him out his way or manner of taking away, or removing any of his own. But he is in freeness of spirit to be submitted unto in all things, that no flesh may glory or boast before him, seeing all flesh is grass, and the glory of man as the flower that fades. Nor are any to retain a self-confidence, but live in the pure fear of his name, and wait upon the Lord in singleness of mind, even in the light in which God

dwells, and wherein the secret place of the Most High, and shadow of the Almighty are known; where his own seed, his offspring dwells with him, in whom our safety and dwelling place is, above that which is elementary, earthly, corruptible, or fading, and above the fears and terrors which are in the darkness, and deeply seize upon the children of the night, whose habitation is not in the light. They know not whither to go or run for a habitation, the terror and fear of death doth so surprise them, because of the plague in their own hearts; and the pestilence that walks in darkness lies nearer than that of the outward sickness or bodily distemper. For it is the guilt of sin and fear of death, which make that the more dreadful to them that are in bondage therein, which is not the effect it hath upon the innocent and blessed of the Lord, whom he will strengthen upon the bed of languishing, and whose bed he will make or turn in sickness.

Thus they whose eyes are towards God, do see what contrary effects the same common calamities, outward afflictions, or distresses, have on the minds and spirits of persons, as they differ in nature and spirit. Though the trials of the innocent this day are a stumbling block to them who have shut their eyes against the light; and some whose minds are out of the patience, stumble at the outward afflictions and deep sufferings of such as are innocent, as they did who, instead of comforting Job in his affliction, upbraided him because thereof, as one not upright or innocent. Howbeit, the righteous shall go on in his way, and the upright shall grow strong in the Lord, by whose love and mercy all their trials are sanctified to them; and all you that trust in him shall be in safety, and it shall go well with you. Therefore be not dismayed, nor any of you disconsolated, whose hearts are tender towards God, nor let your souls be cast down by the enemy, but live in the innocent life of Christ Jesus, the incorruptible seed, in whom redemption, out of the world's corruptions, stands. For though this be a day of deep trial and desolation to many, the Lord will yet show forth a signal manifestation of his power and love for his own seed's sake, and in the prosperity of that righteous testimony, for which many have suffered and given up liberty and life, as we have done, whose generation and testimony shall never be extinguished or abolished. So that as the chosen and faithful who dwell with the Lord, and inherit his blessing, you may be preserved in the faith and patience of his own seed, as constant followers of the Lamb, to whom the victory and everlasting dominion

belong, is the travail and desire of our souls, who are your dear friends,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
ALEXANDER PARKER.

London, the 19th of the
Sixth month, 1665.

In the year 1665, that very summer in which the plague and mortality were so great, the persecutors in London were busy to send away our friends whom they had sentenced for banishment, and closely detained in prison for that purpose; they accordingly began early in the year to force our friends on ship-board.

The first Friends they shipped were, Edward Brush, Robert Hayes, and James Harding, who, on the 24th day of the first month, 1665, early in the morning, without any timely warning given them, were hurried down from Newgate to Black Friars' stairs, by some of Newgate turnkeys, and from thence to Gravesend, and there forced on ship-board. Edward Brush, a very aged man, and a citizen of good repute among his neighbours and many persons of quality, was thus sent away and banished from his dear wife and child. But a more lamentable instance of the persecutors' cruelty in this undertaking, was, that Robert Hayes being taken fasting out of prison, and weak in body, having been under a course of physic, was carried forth upon the water to Gravesend, the season being very cold, and having no outward refreshment or relief afforded him by the way on the water, within a very short time after he was put on ship-board he died there, and his body was brought up to London and buried in our friends' burying place.

I knew this Robert Hayes; he was a very innocent, loving man, a goodly person, had a fresh, comely countenance, seemed healthy, and in his prime and strength when first imprisoned. I was very sorrowfully affected when I heard how quickly he was despatched out of the world, by that shameful cruelty and inhuman usage inflicted upon him by those merciless persecutors.

On the 18th of the second month, 1665, seven more of our friends were taken out of Newgate, and carried to Gravesend, and there put on ship-board for banishment, as the others were before.

It was remarkable, that not many days after those Friends were embarked, Judge Hyde, one of the grand persecutors, was suddenly cut off by death; and who, it is said, was seen well at Westminster in the morning, and died in his closet about noon.

About this time the plague began to increase more and more, and the first that was

known to die thereof in the city, was within a few doors of Edward Brush's house, who was one of the first that was sent away, and banished as before related. The plague increased, until of that and other distempers, there died eight thousand in a week, in and about the city of London. Oh! the hard-heartedness, cruelty and presumption of our persecutors, who in that time of the great calamity and mortality, in the fifth month, 1665, took fifty-five, men and women, of our friends out of Newgate, and forced them on board the ship called the Black Eagle, which lay some time at Buggby's Hole, where they were so crowded, and the sickness being in Newgate, whence they were carried out to the ship, wherein also the distemper broke out among them, that the most of them were infected; insomuch that about twenty-seven of them soon died on ship-board, some at Buggby's Hole, and the rest beyond Gravesend.

I visited these Friends, and had a meeting with them when on ship-board; and the Lord my God preserved me both from the distemper and from banishment, wherein I do humbly confess his power and special providence, to his own praise and glory alone.

The second epistle, printed in the year 1665, after the heat of the contagion was over, entitled, An epistle for the remnant of Friends and chosen of God, whom he hath yet preserved to bear their testimony, in and about the city of London. To whom this is a testimony of the dear love and tender care which flows forth, and is extended toward them, and all tender hearts who are concerned in the like sufferings, temptations and trials. From their faithful friend and servant in the Lord,
 GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

My dearly beloved friends, brethren and sisters, among whom my soul hath travailed, and suffered for the afflicted's sake, whose burdens and trials are still with me in spirit, as also the love, tenderness, care and freeness of spirit, that have appeared among you towards the afflicted and harmless sufferers, who have been led and driven as sheep to the slaughter, for the witness of Jesus and of a good conscience.

Dear hearts, I feel towards you all, in the spirit and unity of true love in the elect seed, wherein life and dominion are felt by all that wait patiently upon the Lord, in true subjection to his eternal power and counsel, in all the exercises, trials and hardships, that the righteous seed is beset withal; that being thoroughly tried, you may come forth as gold thoroughly refined, and the righteous through

all these things may go on in their way, and the innocent and clean in heart may grow stronger and stronger in the Lord, that truth and righteousness may for ever shine forth among you, and all his elect, to the praise of his name. He beholds, feels and bears the sufferings of his people, in his long suffering and patience, wherein the spirits of his chosen ones are exercised, and by which they shall overcome, and be more than conquerors, where neither calamities, distresses, life nor death, shall ever be able to separate from that love, virtue, life and glory, revealed in the faithful in Christ.

My dear hearts, the glory and weight of God's righteous testimony of life and salvation, being in his light truly and evidently manifested in and among you, you have great cause for ever to prize his love and glorify his name, and stick close to him therein, whatever perils, trials, oppositions, sufferings or temptations, you meet withal. Be of a constant spirit and upright mind, in the unchangeable truth to the Lord God of life, in whom your preservation and safety stand; knowing that no weight of affliction or suffering here, is comparable to the weight of eternal life and salvation in Christ Jesus, which you are called unto, through the glorious appearance of God's power and gospel of peace and salvation; for the true sense and enjoyment thereof, doth certainly out-balance and far exceed, all the sufferings and trials of the present time, though they are very many and deep.

Let none of you be discouraged or shaken in mind at things of this nature, nor because of the seeming advantage or occasion, that the wicked and rebellious and envious spirits, or such as are in prejudice, do take against us, because of that common calamity and late mortality, which has befallen many of the righteous, as well as the unrighteous, as to the outward man, in the city of London. For God's testimony and glory shine, and will shine and break through all these clouds of afflictions, sufferings and reproaches, with which the habitation of the righteous hath been, and is encompassed. Yet the faithfulness and uprightness of many innocent lambs of Christ, in and about that city, are never to be forgotten, which so greatly did appear and shine forth in standing to their testimony, and keeping to the truth in tenderness of conscience and sincerity towards God; who hath called us to meet together in his fear, and in his everlasting name and power, with a real respect to his glory and righteous cause, which is concerned in the obedience of his people, both in that and all other duties and acts required by him. Their obedience and

spiritual worship, many have not denied or declined, neither under the trials which have proceeded from men, nor under those which came from God; but whether they have been liable to fall into the hands of God or men, for the proof of their faith, they have not departed from Him who makes up his jewels through trials and tribulations. In all these his fatherly care is felt, and his tender mercy and compassion is seen towards his own, as to his peculiar offspring, tender babes, sons, and faithful servants, whom he loves, and therefore chastiseth and trieth, not in anger and fury, but in love, fatherly care and pity; so that those whose eyes are open in the true light, and in a right mind and spirit, have thoroughly weighed the state of the suffering seed among us, which is in the faith of Abraham, brought forth by the immortal power of an endless life; considering the faithfulness and godly sincerity of a remnant, whose life hath testified for God herein, both in doing good, and suffering for well-doing. Such who have thus weighed this suffering state, do plainly see, that neither satan nor his instruments, have any real advantage against any of the remnant of this seed, through any of these trials or sufferings, either from the hands of God or men. Many have kept their integrity to the last, and have embraced their trials and afflictions in God's tender love, and have had such unity therewith, that they have been far from either blaspheming or cursing God, as the wicked many times have done and will do, when plagues, woes, torments and pains seize upon them. Neither satan nor his instruments have their evil designs answered therein, as the devil would have had against Job under his affliction, when he sought to make him curse God to his face. The truth of our God, and the innocency of his people, who know the redemption of the soul, which is precious, shall stand over both men and devils, inasmuch as the truth is over the devil himself—who hath the power of death and darkness—even to the confounding and stopping their mouths, that all who are actuated by the power and spirit of enmity and darkness, may be convicted, confounded, and left without excuse before the Lord our God, who will be known to be clear when he judges.

Yea, blessed for ever be the name of our God, who hath given us strength and courage to stand in an evil day, over hell and death and the devil, with all his fiery darts and fierce assaults against the righteous. The Lord hath spared and will spare a remnant, to bear his mark and name upon earth, and to hold forth a living testimony for his glory and praise amongst the sons of men, for which many have not loved their lives unto death,

but have offered up their lives, as many manifestly did in that city of London, the last summer, when such a sore visitation was upon it. Many offered up life and all for the truth, and their afflicted brethren and sisters; for whose sakes my soul has been often greatly bowed down and afflicted, and my bowels yearned for them, and I was so moved with compassion and brokenness of spirit, that neither life itself, nor any outward privilege, did seem too dear to me to resign for their sakes.

And though the sickness was so hot in the city and prisons, some of the persecutors at that time appeared cruel and wicked against the innocent, to destroy them in these pestilential places of confinement, in which and also on ship-board—wherein so many were confined for banishment—many laid down their lives for the witness of a good conscience. Although the wicked may for a time be lifted up in their wickedness, and insult over us, because of our deep trials, and the death of so many innocent persons, yet their being so elevated and hardened against us—who are the people of the Lord—does but the more make for their own destruction and misery, as I have often said; and been sensible of. Their torment, which slumbers not, is greater than that of many who have died of the pestilence, by which many, both of good and bad have been removed. To those that are yet alive and remain in their sins, without taking warning thereby, it will prove the greatest plague and judgment, who are the least considerate, being insensible of the hand of the Lord in it, or of their states and conditions. As to this particular calamity or sickness, it is in itself not the worst of judgments which God hath in store for a sinful, provoking, rebellious people or nation; and God's controversy is not yet ended in this nation, nor the vials of his displeasure emptied upon his enemies and the persecutors of his seed. What a sure and heavy judgment is it, and what misery does it presage to many in this nation, that so many innocent or righteous persons in it should be taken away, as those of whom the world is not worthy; but such are taken away from the evil to come, and from future calamities, and set in safety for ever, from them that have puffed at them, and made a prey of them in their life time.

And as for us that yet remain, who fear the Lord and stick close to him always, eyeing and setting him before us, in the greatest of our perils and sufferings, we know his goodness endures forever, though the mighty and exalted of the earth boast and insult for a time over us; but the more the suffering is, the greater will be the consolation and glory to them that continue faithful to the end.

And whatever conclusions are brought forth against us, either by wicked men, or any who in prejudice turn against us, and take occasion from the mortality which has come upon so many Friends in the time of this great calamity, as if it were in God's wrath, indignation, or fury against the body of Friends, or any of us who are come to the communion of the body of Christ, which we are members of; or if any that profess the name of the Lord be so clouded, biassed and prejudiced in their minds, as to conclude this is a fulfilling of some such prophecies of wrath and indignation against Friends; such spirits and evil tidings are plainly seen, and they to be presumptuous, and no prophets sent of the Lord; and therefore cannot make us afraid, who confide in the name of our God, and in that living faith wherein our unity and victory stand. Our innocent life stands over them in true judgment, against all that, which among some has crept in at unawares, to create divisions and enmity against the faithful servants or people of God, where it is received in any unstable or brittle spirits; and therefore my soul saith, the Lord rebuke thee satan, who envies the heritage of God. Why dost thou subtly present thyself amongst the sons of God, to trouble the innocent, endeavouring, with thy fiery darts and temptations of this nature to turn them against their Maker? Why dost thou subtly make use of instruments in this thy wicked work, to effect thy treacherous designs? The Lord will rebuke thee by his mighty power; for we are sure that where God's faithful witness in the conscience is owned, which ought to be judge in the case, and must decide the controversy, it does bear witness with us and for us, and to the justification of all the faithful amongst us, who are really of us, and belong to the seed of election; and therefore will not go out from us, who abide in the truth of God which changes not, being of the seed of Jacob after the spirit, which is beyond revolting Israel after the flesh. For herein are we heirs of promise, and then who shall condemn or prophesy wrath, where God justifies, and not bring condemnation on themselves? For God's love was felt by many under that trial and visitation, of which they died about that city, and many were sensible of God's love and favour to the very last.

And the life, peace, satisfaction and comfort that many innocent Friends felt, and that some expressed and signified on their death beds, I am a living witness of, for them; having sometimes, as the Lord hath drawn me in his love, been present with many of them when they were very low in the outward man, and with divers when upon their

death beds, in that destructive prison of Newgate, and some other places. Yea, when sorrow and sadness have seized upon my spirit, and my heart and soul have been pierced and wounded when I have seen the sad sufferings of so many harmless lambs, on their sick beds in these noisome holes and prisons; yet at the same time having a deep sense and knowledge of the Lord's love and care to them in that condition, and truly felt his life and power stirring amongst them; this, on the other hand, has refreshed and revived my spirit, knowing that Christ their salvation and redemption was manifest to and in them, though in that suffering state, as they have followed and obeyed him through sufferings and tribulations. With such, to live, was Christ in that state, and to die was gain; it being through death that the Lord had appointed the final deliverance of many, from the cruelties and rod of their oppressors, and from the miseries and evils to come.

The faithfulness, uprightness, and innocence of divers of those that were taken away, their constancy of spirit to the Lord and his living truth, their unfeigned love to the brethren—by which it was evident they had passed from death to life,—and that living and faithful testimony they bore for the Lord in their life time, being well known and manifest amongst us; their memorial is truly precious to us, and never to be forgotten; and we are satisfied that they were counted worthy for the Lord, and the world was not worthy of them.

And besides some whom God hath restored and raised up again, who yet remain alive with us, who were under the same trial and sickness, can testify to God's tender love to them; how freely they were therein by faith given up to the Lord, under it in his love and favour, which they partook of, either to die or live, as he should be pleased to dispose of them, knowing that some that were very dear to the Lord, even some of his choice jewels and peculiar treasure were removed by it.

So that I must say what I have seen and felt, that as to the state of faithful Friends in this case, some by faith according to the will of God were given up, and desirous rather to die than live; and therein freely embraced the outward affliction, which was but for a moment, in comparison; knowing that to die would be a great advantage and gain to them, that thereby they should be freed from future sufferings and evils, and their spirits should rest in everlasting peace, joy and triumph. Others by faith were singly given up in the will of God to die, if he should so dispose of them, not in themselves expecting life or recovery, and yet in so being given up, have been restored, to bear their testimony amongst

us, having known and felt that in patience to resign to the will of God in self-denial, abasement and humility in their affliction, was most consistent with their peace. And some others of us by faith according to the will of God, have been kept over the distemper, and hitherto preserved alive; not for any respect that we may assume to ourselves in the matter, nor for any reason, as I know, that can be shown for us more than for some innocent persons that were taken away, but that the Lord had a respect to his own glory and further service for himself, which he had for us to do and be employed in; and that he will preserve a remnant as he hath determined, to bear his name and hold forth his testimony amongst men, in their innocent lives and holy conversations. The glory and praise we give to the Lord, desiring all of us may faithfully serve him in godly fear and true humility, the days we have to sojourn here, that we all may ever be to his praise, in whose hand we are, whether we live or die. For he makes all things work together for good, to them that love Him, who are not offended in Him in any of their tribulations or temptations, when the hour of temptation is upon all flesh, to try them that dwell upon the face of the earth. He that has committed unto us the word of his patience, who is Israel's keeper, is our preserver, support and refuge through all these things. He has made us co-workers together in one and the same spirit of faith and life, wherein he is obeyed and submitted to, by his faithful people and servants in their several states, trials and exercises; and among whom the various effects and fruits of the same faith are seen and brought forth, according to his will, who gives life and preservation.

And now, if such as take advantage against us, whether they be open or secret smiters or enemies, did either rightly or seriously weigh their conditions, and let God's witness judge in the case, they have no cause to boast or insult over us, for they are not their own keepers, nor is their life continued by their own power; and how soon their time may expire, and their judgment overtake them, they know not, nor how soon their days may be cut asunder. Their condemnation slumbers not, who in the pride of their hearts and presumption of their spirits, turn against the suffering seed of God, under what profession and pretence soever, though under pretence of the name of the Lord, or profession of the truth itself; and knowing also, that many who were of their own spirit and principle, have also been taken away under the same calamity—for it has extended to all sorts, both holy and profane—they have cause to

dread and fear before the Lord, and not to be high minded or presumptuous. For the mouth of the boaster and exalted must be stopped, and all flesh and carnal reason is to be silent in this matter, for God's power is over it all, and over that which has threatened or brought evil tidings against his Israel. We know the same spirit that turns against us, and watches for occasions, and prophecies our destruction, would have it come to pass, so as to be reckoned a true prophet; and that is the murderer that kills the poor, the same that is in our open enemies, and the same that was in Cain against his brother; and he that is in this spirit, or principle of enmity or prejudice, hath no eternal life abiding in him. O let this thing be published in the ears of God's people, and let friends feel my innocent intention and end herein; having written the more of this nature for prevention of the enemy's subtlety and temptations of this kind, that the tender and weak may not be ensnared thereby; and having seen how satan besets such with temptations upon these deep trials, to undermine their hope, and to beget unbelief and despair in the mind, to turn them from the truth, and how he makes use of his instruments in the same way, to effect his evil end against us; but the Lord will rebuke him, and bruise him under the feet of his own anointed seed and faithful people.

A common calamity or distemper, as this, which has brought such great mortality, as it hath been appointed and permitted of the Lord, has extended and operated according to the spreading and contagious nature and property of it, to the bodies of both old and young, good and bad, nocent and innocent; yea, to many that know not their right hand from the left. But the iniquities and abominations of the wicked were the cause of God's anger and displeasure herein, and the original cause of this calamity; the creation being oppressed under their wickedness, and the earth defiled under the inhabitants, which cause Heaven to frown upon the world, and the curse to go forth, and blessings to be withheld from them. The taking away of good and merciful men, and many innocent persons, though it be in love to themselves, yet it is in judgment against the other, who have brought innocent blood upon their own heads, by their cruelties and persecutions, and whose hearts are hardened and become implacable against truth and righteousness, and all them that walk therein, whose souls have been daily vexed and oppressed, through the ungodly and unchristian conversation of the wicked.

God, who spared not his own Son Christ Jesus, but delivered him to suffer, and to be

numbered among transgressors, both in life and death, and his soul to be an offering for the offences of many; hath also given many of his dear children not only to believe on, but also to suffer with, his own Son. He hath borne our griefs and sorrows, and with him he has suffered them to be reckoned and numbered among transgressors, both in their life and death, that his followers might bear his reproaches and partake of his sufferings, who made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death. And they were esteemed as smitten or plagued of God, though as to their own conditions it is, and will be well with the righteous for ever, having obtained witness thereof, and their justification from the Lord God, by whose righteous witness it is known and manifest in secret in men's consciences, where he visits in wrath, or distributes sorrows in his anger, and where he visits, tries, or chastises in love, favour, and tender mercy. This witness discovers where the guilt of sin and disobedience is, where deceit, treachery and revolting from truth are, which occasion terrors and fear of death, and which incur the anger and wrath of God upon the guilty therein, and also bring suffering upon the tender and innocent. These knowing the guilt taken away, every affliction and trial that they meet with is sanctified to them, through the tender love and favour of God, wherewith their cup is mixed; the dregs of which their implacable enemies and persecutors shall drink without mixture. Now the difference of the two states is felt and discerned in the invisible spirit, by that which judgeth not by the sight of the eye, or hearing of the ear, nor barely from the outward appearance of common afflictions—which sometimes come alike upon all—but in righteousness and truth that judgeth. As it hath been said of old, concerning the righteous, whose souls are in the hand of God, that in the sight of the unwise their departure is taken for misery, and their going from us to be utter destruction, but they are in peace; for though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality; and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded; for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself; as gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt offering. Yea, such are they who shall judge the nations and have dominion over the people, whose Lord, that takes care for his elect, shall reign for ever.

Now my dear friends and tender hearts, commit your way to the Lord, and cast your burden upon him, and he will bear you up, and sustain you by his own right hand of

power. Live in the immortal seed and spiritual communion, where life and peace are daily received, and your mutual refreshment and consolation stand, and wherein the spirits of just men are seen and felt, and the life of God's faithful servants and martyrs, and such as have finished their testimony with joy and peace, is enjoyed, even in this spiritual communion, which reaches beyond all visibles, and is above all mortal and fading objects or things. So in the dear and tender love of God, which dwells and lives in my heart towards you, and all the faithful every where, I commit you to Him, in whom our help and deliverance are; and in the kingdom of Christ's patience, I am your dear and faithful friend and brother,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

Let this be read distinctly, in the life and authority of God—from whence it came—among Friends in and about the city of London, and elsewhere, as any Friends are moved in the life.

The next year after the city and suburbs of London were so greatly depopulated by the plague, the dreadful fire began, and broke out in Pudding-lane, over against the place where the Monument stands. In a few days time, a very great part of the city within the walls, was burnt down and the habitations consumed, except a few streets and parts of streets; to the great amazement, terror and distraction of the inhabitants, who were forced to flee for their lives, with what goods they could save, into Moor-fields, and the out parts, and there to lie abroad with their goods for several nights and days; the country bringing in bread for their relief. My soul greatly pitied the inhabitants, when I saw them lie in the fields, in that poor, mournful condition, as they did.

One morning as my friend and brother, Josiah Cole and I were at Gerard Roberts', in Thomas Apostles, London, and going up toward the top of the house, observed how violently the fire went on toward Thames street and those parts of the city—and hearing what rattling and crackling the fire made in the houses, Josiah said, This looks like a Popish plot or work; and we were both in the same mind. I observed afterward the fire broke out in divers places, distinct one from another, so that it was very probable several wicked agents were at work in carrying on and putting it forward.

One passage I may not omit by the way, because it has been misrepresented, and false reports spread about it. One Thomas Ibbott, or Ibbit, a Huntingtongshire man, who was

convinced of the truth at a large meeting which I had at Thomas Parnell's, in his barn at King-Rippon, in Hunts, a considerable time before the fire—came to London two days before the fire, in great haste, being on a sixth-day of the week, and alighted off his horse, with his clothes loose, and was supposed by some to be a person under distraction or discomposure of mind, as I understood by divers. He hastened very much or ran through the city, toward Whitehall, in such a posture as many of the inhabitants were forced to flee from the fire when they had scarcely time to put on or fasten their wearing clothes about them. Such a sign he appeared to be, and foretold his vision he had before, that the city would be laid waste by fire, as I was informed; for I did not see him until that morning when the fire broke out. But the evening after Thomas Ibbott had passed through the city, I met with some of our women Friends at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, who gave me a pretty full account of him. He had been with them that day, and told them his vision of the fire, and message to London; and to them he appeared very zealous and hot in his spirit, when he told them thereof; and they were afraid he was under some discomposure of mind, which made them somewhat question or doubt of what he told them.

When they related the same to me, I had a fear and caution upon my spirit, so that I durst not oppose or question his vision or message, but told them, I knew the man; he was convinced by me at a meeting at King-Rippon, in Huntingtonshire, and is a sort of a manly person, zealous and somewhat of a hot spirit, or to this effect I said. So that his spirit is nearer to those destroying angels, or fiery spirits, that are ministers of wrath and severe judgments, than those Friends are, who have attained to a further growth in the spirit of the Lamb, Christ Jesus. And he might sooner have a discovery of such an evil or judgment, or mischief permitted to come upon the city, than they whose spirits are more meek and gentle, and more settled in quietness and peace. I very well remember this was the import of my answer to them, who gave me an account of the man, and his vision and message, as he told them; so far was I from opposing the same, as has been falsely reported concerning some of us, who then were in London, and concerned in public testimony for the blessed truth of our God, and Lord Jesus Christ; Josiah Cole and I being then in the city. Yet I was not at that time without secret fear concerning this Friend, Thomas Ibbott, lest he might run out, or be exalted by the enemy, into some conceit, or imagination, especially when he saw

his vision coming to pass the next morning, when the fire broke out as aforesaid, from the place where it began, and early in the morning was got down to the bridge and Thames street, the wind being easterly, and so high, that it drove the fire violently and irresistibly before it, blowing great flakes over houses, and from one to another.

That morning the fire broke out, some of us met at Gerard Roberts' house, where Thomas Ibbott met us, and told us he must go to the king with a message, which was to warn him to release our friends out of prisons, or else the decree of the Lord would be sealed against him in three days time, to his destruction or overthrow. Upon which I was afraid he would be too forward, and give occasion against Friends, and cause others to reproach truth and them. Whereupon I earnestly charged him, if he went, not to limit a time, if he had a warning to give the king to release our friends, there being many then in prisons—that he would set no time of the king's death or end, or that might be so taken or construed as a prophesy thereof; for he might cause truth to suffer if he did. I was indeed greatly concerned for truth and his own sake, poor man! lest he should be hurried into distraction; for I clearly saw where his danger was, though his vision of the fire was apparently true, which I never opposed, but rather granted that it might be foreshown him. Also I observed in a letter of his a few days before the fire was over, that he mentioned the true number of days when the vision of fire should be accomplished; so that he had a certain vision and discovery given him in that particular. And to show that there remained a sincerity in the man, after his mind came to be settled, he wrote a letter to some Friends in London, wherein, after he remembers his love to G. W., J. C., and S. H., he hath these words following, viz:

I dare not much stir up or down any ways, for people's looking at what was done, lest the Lord should be offended, further than my own outward business lies. I have been much tempted and exercised; yet through mercy have found help in the needful time. Whatsoever slips or failings Friends saw in me, in the time I was with them, I would have none take notice of, for I was under great exercises, and often ran too fast, which the Lord in his due time, gave me a sight of. In the love of my Father, farewell.

T. I.

When the city was burnt down and laid in ashes, we had our meetings on the fourth-day, weekly, near Wheeler street; our usual place, the Bull and Mouth, being then demol-

ished by the fire, at which place our meetings had been most disturbed; and at other out parts off and about the city, we kept our meetings at the usual times and places, as at the Peel in St. John's street, Westminster; Horsleydown on Southwark side; Ratcliff, Devonshire house, Old Buildings; and had then some respite and ease from violent persecution and disturbance for a time, until the city came in a great measure to be rebuilt.

Yet still the persecuting spirit and design of persecution remained in our adversaries; so many of them were not cut off by the plague, who took no warning thereby, nor by the following consuming fire, which had laid waste the best part of the city.

Though the Lord our God was pleased to give our friends in London, faith and courage, as well as resolution to build our meeting-house in Whitehart court, by that called Gracechurch street; yet we were not then without expectation of further persecution and suffering, for meeting in that, as well as other places in and about the city. And so it came to pass after the meeting-house was built; our meetings were frequently disturbed, especially on the first-day of the week, by the trained bands and informers, and many of us by force haled out, and our meetings often kept in the street, where sometimes we had opportunities openly to declare the truth and preach the gospel, as well as publicly to pray to Almighty God; yet not always suffered so to do; but often violently pulled away whilst in the exercise of the gospel ministry. Likewise when we have been in solemn prayer to Almighty God, we have been laid hold on and violently taken, and many of us had to the Exchange, and there kept under a guard of soldiers until the afternoon; and then had before the mayor, who would be ready to fine or imprison us, or to bind us over to appear at the sessions, or rather to take our words to appear, if he was a person of some moderation towards us. The latter obligation we chose; that was conditionally to promise we would appear if the Lord pleased, rather than be bound by recognizance or bond to appear, because commonly in their recognizances, they would put the words, And in the mean time to be of good behaviour. But we could not assent to be so bound, because we knew they would interpret our religious, solemn meetings a breach of good behaviour, which meetings we could never yield to decline. But as for me, my share has been imprisonment, oftener than liberty upon parole or promise; being more cautious of being any ways ensnared thereby, contrary to my Christian liberty and testimony, than of imprisonment or outward confinement; which was not only

my own care, respecting my inward peace and liberty in Christ Jesus, but it was also the care of all faithful friends and brethren in those days, to keep out of all such snares as would infringe that liberty. We chose rather to expose our persons to be trampled on in the streets, by our persecuting adversaries, if permitted, than to bow down our souls at their command; Isa. li. 23.

Although in those suffering times I was much concerned to attend our disturbed meetings in and about London, yet at times I had a concern laid upon me to visit our friends and their meetings in the county of Surrey, particularly on that side where our dear friend Stephen Smith and his family lived; they having not long before that time, in great love received the truth, through my testimony, as before related. I visited and had divers good and blessed meetings, both at Stephen Smith's house at Purbright, and other places towards Guilford and those parts, where the Lord was with me, and helped and comforted me in his work and service, as at other times and places.

I was committed to prison at the Marshalsea in Southwark, with several other Friends, for a meeting in the said county of Surrey, on the 22nd day of June, 1668.

After we were apprehended at the meeting, being on the first-day of the week, by one of the justices, George Vernon, we had liberty to meet him and the other at Guilford the next morning, where they consulted and made a warrant, and sent us to the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, for the time appointed, which was but short, and the imprisonment pretty easy, the keepers being civil to us; but the shortness of the imprisonment was usually upon the act for banishment, not so much designed in our favour, as to rid the land of us, which the Lord frustrated.

The Lord showed me that my place and service, as well as suffering for the testimony of Jesus Christ, would be much in the city of London, as it had been before, to the conviction and conversion of many to God, by the testimony he had committed unto me, and attended with his blessing and presence, though I had travelled much about in this nation, and deeply suffered also. Seeing the city of London then to be the principal place of my stay, wherein I was also freely given up in service and suffering for the blessed truth; the Lord was also pleased to show me that it would be well for me to marry an honest, approved Friend of London; and accordingly that faithful servant of the Lord and his people, Anne Greenwell, then a widow, was presented to my mind, and after serious consideration and seeking the Lord for full

satisfaction, having also the approbation and encouragement of several ancient, faithful brethren, I made known my mind to her, which, upon due consideration, was by her accepted.

Though there was a disparity as to age between us, she being several years above my age; I looked beyond that, to what was most excellent in her, and permanent, namely, her virtue and piety, to which she had been very early inclined from her youth; and being one of the first receivers of the truth, in the spirit and power thereof, after our friends first came to London, she approved herself faithful and very serviceable, and was accordingly greatly approved by faithful Friends.

On these and other weighty considerations we were well satisfied to proceed in the good order of truth and Friends, to the publication of our intention of marriage, if the Lord pleased, at sundry public meetings of our friends, both of the women and the men, having a Christian care upon our spirits to be exemplary for good order, love, unity and peace in the church among Friends; and we proceeded to accomplish our marriage, which was solemnized at a meeting appointed for the same, in our Friends' meeting room, at John Elson's, at the Peel, in that called St. John's street, where, on the 13th day of the third month, A. D. 1670, we solemnly, in the fear of the Lord, took each other, and entered into the covenant of marriage, in the presence of the Lord our God and many faithful witnesses then present, promising with God's assistance, mutual love and faithfulness to each other. And the Lord blessed our marriage and meeting, and us toward each other therein.

As divine Providence led me in the choice of a person, whom I believed would be a suitable companion and help to me, and that would be willing to sympathize and bear part with me in my sufferings on truth's account, so she proved not only a faithful wife, but as a dear sister, and like a tender mother to me, after our marriage, in all my sufferings, both by imprisonments and spoil and loss of goods. All this she bore patiently, being resigned with me in the will of our God, who enabled us by his power to stand faithful through all; blessed be his glorious name for ever, in whose love we were preserved and continued towards each other to the end of her days; having lived in peace and comfort, and in true, mutual, and constant love, until parted by death. I cannot forget the tender care which this my dear companion had over me, and for my liberty, when I was divers times confined in prisons for my testimony on the Lord's account, whose mercies in all respects I greatly prize, and hope shall never forget. In a

printed treatise, entitled, *Piety Promoted*, the life, service, and death of my said wife are largely related, and testimonies given thereof by many faithful Friends.

My dear wife was married to me seventeen years and nearly two months, and was faithful and loving until death, and ended her days in great peace, the 27th day of the fifth month, 1686, having by faith in, and faithfulness to, our Lord Jesus Christ, obtained a good report in her place and services in his church and people.

I remained a widower two years, wanting about a week, in which time, I was for a while in a strait, whether or no I should ever marry again, and earnestly sought the Lord to resolve and direct me, both in the matter and in my choice, if I should marry. I found freedom and clearness in the fear of God, being also encouraged by some loving friends and brethren, to propose marriage to Anne Goddard, an honest and virtuously inclined maid. She then kept a shop in White chapel, London, and came of a good, honest, and reputable family, being the daughter of captain Richard Goddard, clothier, and Anne his wife, of Reading; who were then deceased.

After our agreement, and due procedure towards marriage, in the way of truth, and unity of Friends, our marriage was solemnized in a large public assembly at our meeting-house near Devonshire square, London, the 19th of the fifth month, 1688. She was an ingenuous and careful wife, and we were mutually comforted together in true love and tender affection, becoming so near relations. The Lord so sanctified our disappointments and afflictions to us in this world, that he gave us faith and patience, with submission to his providence, to enable us to bear them, and to look beyond all external objects of delight and afflictions here below, which are but momentary, unto an eternal inheritance in his heavenly kingdom; glory to his excellent name for ever.

To return to the design of this history, relating to my concern in sufferings, trials, and exercises, with many others, for the truth of God. Our persecutors did not take warning, either by the plague and great mortality thereby, or by the devouring fire, which destroyed and laid waste the greatest part of the city of London, as before mentioned. They did not desist from their inhuman work of persecution, but when they could not prevail to banish or destroy us by their two former edicts or acts of Parliament, then a third act was devised to impoverish us in our estates, by mercenary as well as merciless informers. The title of the third act is, viz:

An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 22 Car. 2, 1670.

The preamble, viz., For providing further and more speedy remedies against the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and other disloyal persons, who, under pretence of tender consciences, have, or may at their meetings, contrive insurrections, as late experience hath showed.

The matter of fact assigned therein, viz: Any subject of this realm, of the age of sixteen years, or upward, being present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy of the church of England. Five persons or more being assembled together, in any house inhabited, or uninhabited, field or place.

The manner of conviction, viz: Any one or more justices of the peace, or chief magistrate, required and enjoined, upon proof to him, or them, of such offence, either by confession of the party, or oath of two witnesses, or by notorious evidence, and circumstance of the fact, to make a record of every such offence, under his, or their hands and seals; which record so made, shall be taken and adjudged to be a full conviction of every such offender, for such offence. [Whereupon fines were imposed, and heavy distresses made.]

The penalties, by fines, &c., viz. A fine of five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second: which fine and fines, for the first and every other offence, to be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; or in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person convicted of the like offence at the same conventicle—so as the sum to be levied, amount not in the whole, to above the sum of ten pounds for one meeting.

One third part of the monies levied, for the use of the king.

Another third part thereof, for the use of the poor of the parish, &c.

And the other third part thereof, to the informer and informers, and to such person or persons, as the justice, or justices, &c., would appoint, having regard to their diligence and industry, in the discovery, dispersing, and punishing of the said conventicles.

And that the preacher, or teacher in any such meeting, assembly, or conventicle, must for every such first offence, forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, &c. And if the preacher or teacher be a stranger, and his name and habitation not known, &c., or shall be thought unable to pay the same, the justice, justices, &c., are empowered and required to levy the same by warrant, upon the goods and chat-

tels of any such persons who shall be present at the same conventicle. And the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid. And if such offender shall at any time again commit the like offence, or offences, he shall for every such offence, incur the penalty of forty pounds, to be levied and disposed as aforesaid.

Every person convicted of wittingly and willingly suffering any such meetings, &c., to be held in his or her house, out-house, barn, or yard, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to be levied as aforesaid: and in case of his or her poverty, upon the goods and chattels of such persons who shall be convicted of being present at the same conventicle; and the money so levied, to be disposed of in manner aforesaid.

And it was provided, that no person by any clause of this Act, should be liable to pay above ten pounds, for any one meeting, in regard of the poverty of any other person, or persons.

It was also enacted, that justices, chief magistrates, constables, headboroughs, and tithing-men, by warrant, should, and might, with such aid and force, as they thought fit, break open, and enter into any house, or other place, upon information of any such conventicle, and take into their custody the persons there assembled, to be proceeded against, &c.

And it was further enacted, that this Act, and all clauses therein, be construed most largely and beneficially, for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof.

Thus I have recited so much of the contents of the said Act, as may show the nature and tendency of it, and which in the execution thereof, did severely affect us as a people, merely for our religious concern in serving and worshipping Almighty God, according to our religious persuasions and consciences, for which end our meetings were held, both peaceably and innocently, on our parts. And it was observable that the design of this Act was,

1. To force a general conformity to the liturgy and practice of the church of England.

2. The agents employed for that work, were generally a company of idle, loose, profligate, and mercenary informers, by that law let loose to seek honest people's ruin, by making great havoc and spoil of their goods.

3. Those informers were the more bold and confident in their course of persecution, eagerly pursuing peaceable subjects, and the

ruin of their families, where they had some proud persecuting justices to encourage them, ready to grant them warrants, and to force officers to assist them.

4. That which animated and emboldened those informers in their prosecutions, was the clandestine course of conviction, upon the oath of two of them made before a justice or two, having for their own interest and gain, a third part of the fines; though such clandestine and partial prosecution, conviction and punishment, against free-born subjects of England, were expressly contrary to their just liberties, the great charter, and to the common law and justice of England; being also destructive of their property and birth-rights.

5. Many of those mercenary informers not only very ignorantly gave information upon oath, but also many times swore falsely in fact; and divers of them upon trial afterward, were proved guilty, and legally convicted of perjury, and stood in the pillory for the same, being prosecuted by other dissenters, not Quakers. Though we afterward proved many of the informers forsworn in several informations given upon oath, wherein they swore notoriously false in fact; yet this prosecution and proof was made, and took effect against them to weaken and discourage their proceedings after the heat of persecution was much over; of which I intend a further relation hereafter.

It was observable, that many of these informers came to beggary, and some of them to miserable ends, when their trade of informing against religious meetings was ended. And what they got by their trade in making spoil upon others, did not prosper, nor turn to the king's profit, nor to that of the poor, no more than their work of persecution did to the honour of the king or church, which they pretended and boasted they were servants to. They in effect telling us, Hey! we are servants to the king, and to the church; we will make you fanatics leave your conventicles and conform; and such like language we have often met with from them.

Upon the 5th day of the fourth month, 1670, our friends being met as usual, in a peaceable manner, at their meeting-house in Whitehart court, in Grace-church-street, (so called,) London, where George Whitehead being moved publicly to pray to God, in time of prayer was laid hold on by some of the soldiers, pulled away, and haled out of the meeting, as they did John Bolton also, an ancient citizen, for declaring the truth to the people, advising them, who were rude, to be sober. They were both had to the Exchange, and there kept six hours, after which, accord-

ing to order, they appeared at Guild-hall, before Sir Joseph Sheldon; George Whitehead called for their accusers, to have them face to face.

Some of the soldiers being called to give evidence, George Whitehead warned them to take heed what they swore; and he also warned Joseph Sheldon, and the rest with him, to do nothing but what they would answer before the great God, who would judge righteously. For, said he, we apprehend that we are taken contrary to law, even to this present Act, by soldiers, where there was no resistance made by any of us: we desire to be heard.

Joseph Sheldon said, If you be illegally convicted, you may make your appeal; endeavouring to stop George Whitehead from pleading.

George Whitehead.—I desire to be heard. But being interrupted several times, he said, I require you in point of justice to hear me, being a free-born Englishman; whereupon they did a little permit him. We would not have you that are our judges, in the mean time to prejudice your own consciences, by an illegal conviction; nor to do anything but as you will answer the great God; for we have a tenderness to your consciences.

Joseph Sheldon.—Well, we must answer for what we do: take you no care for that.

The witnesses being upon their oaths, one affirmed, that George Whitehead was preaching, or teaching, when they took him.

Joseph Sheldon commanded the witnesses to be gone, or depart.

George Whitehead.—I desire the witnesses may stay till I have answered: but Joseph Sheldon urged them still to depart.

George Whitehead.—They have absolutely forsworn themselves; for I was not preaching, nor teaching, when they took me.

Another that stood by the justice, said, You were praying when they took you.

George Whitehead.—Take notice, this man has spoken truth. But the witness has forsworn himself, in saying that I was preaching. Nevertheless, the clerk wrote down, George Whitehead an offender; but what judgment was given by the justices against him or John Bolton, they did not hear, either of fine or imprisonment, at that time. The Lord was pleased sometimes to touch the consciences, even of some of the magistrates and our adversaries, whereby they were stopped in their proceedings, and prevented from running us to the extreme severity and penalties of the persecuting laws.

Upon the 26th day of the fourth month, 1670, being the first-day of the week, our friends being again assembled in their meet-

ing place aforesaid, in Whitehart court, Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor, and some others, having ordered a priest to be there, he read common-prayer and preached a sermon in the gallery, seeming to preach up and excite to love, according to these Scriptures of Paul, Ephes. v. 2., and iv. 2. 15; the commendation of love being the priest's chief subject. But contrary thereto in the time of his preaching, the soldiers being present to guard him and disturb us, were rude and abusive to divers of our friends, for speaking a few words to the priest, to show him how contrary their actions were to his preaching; though he did not rebuke, or stop them from their rudeness and violence to our friends, women, as well as men.

A great concourse of people came and were present at the meeting, many to attend the priest; and many out of curiosity and novelty, to hear and see what work the priest and his company would make. For it seemed a very strange thing to see a minister or priest of the church of England, stand up and read common-prayer, say or sing their service, and preach in a Quakers' meeting, deemed an unlawful conventicle, and therein to preach up love and charity, and at the same time to be attended and guarded with a company of soldiers, to apprehend and persecute the Quakers for an unlawful meeting or conventicle. These proceedings appeared as strange as they were inconsistent.

After sermon was ended, George Whitehead stood up, and preached the gospel of peace and love, to show how contrary thereto persecution was. The people were quiet and still, and gave audience, and the meeting was in a peaceable posture for a little time, until two rude fellows, with the soldiers following them, violently pulled George Whitehead down, and by their force pushed down some women, and carried him to the mayor's, and kept him awhile in his yard. His name, and some false information against him, being carried to the mayor, he quickly sent out a warrant to commit him to the compter, then in the Gate-house at Bishopsgate, for making a disturbance, until he should find sureties, or was delivered by law; and thus far without first calling in, or admitting George Whitehead to be heard in his own defence.

But George Whitehead coming to have a sight of the warrant of his commitment, desired to speak with the lord mayor himself, which some of his officers made way for; when George Whitehead told the mayor, that there was a mistake in the warrant, which was that charge against him for making a disturbance, for there was no such thing; he made no disturbance, but contrarywise quieted

the people by seasonable advice and counsel. To which the mayor said, he would examine further into it after evening prayer; but in the mean time sent George Whitehead to the compter, and in the evening sent for him again, and then said to George Whitehead, Your women have disturbed the minister; asking him further, Do they not disturb you? George Whitehead answered, that there was a concourse of people of all sorts, many not being our friends, who made a noise; but for our women, some did speak something as they might judge it their duty; and probably thought they might, seeing the priest's hearers did speak; the priest one sentence, and they another, and when they cried, Lord have mercy upon us, some of the women did cry, Wo to you hypocrites.

After other discourse between George Whitehead and the mayor, the constable and another with him, were sworn; and all that they could testify was, that he stood up and preached after their minister had ended; but what he preached they could not tell. The mayor said, If the minister had done all, it was a conventicle, and I must fine you twenty pounds. And then after he said, forty pounds.

George Whitehead said, If I had preached sedition, or discord, against either the government, or peace of the nation, if that could be made appear against me, I might justly suffer by this law, being entitled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. But seeing the witnesses cannot tell what I did preach, I may signify the substance and tendency thereof. A necessity being laid upon me, woe had been unto me, if I had not preached the gospel; and it was no other, but the gospel of peace and salvation by Christ Jesus that I preached, to exalt the power of godliness, directing people thereunto, in Christ, that they might not remain under empty and lifeless forms of profession.

The mayor said, I believe both you and others do good, or have done good with your acting.

See then how evident it is, that what we suffer, is for doing good, and not for any sedition or injury.

The mayor said, Well, I must fine you forty pounds, this being the second offence; you were convicted before Sir Joseph Sheldon once before.

George Whitehead.—Must I suffer for preaching the gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition? This is strange. Doth the law make no difference? Besides, I was not convicted according to this law or Act, before Justice Sheldon; for it was there made appear, that the witness forswore himself against

me, as some there that stood by testified; for he swore that he took me preaching, when many could testify, as some there did affirm, that I was praying, and not at that time preaching.

Mayor. But were you on your knees with your hat off when they took you?

George Whitehead. Yea, I was, and the meeting was in a reverend posture of prayer; the men with their hats off, and the soldiers pulled me down when I was praying.

Mayor. However, you were in a religious exercise.

George Whitehead. If praying to God must be accounted a religious exercise not allowed by the liturgy; yet I do not understand that praying is included in that clause that mentions preaching or teaching, &c. As where it is said, "That every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such meeting, assembly, or conventicle, and shall thereof be convicted as aforesaid, shall for every such first offence the sum of twenty pounds forfeit." Now here is no praying mentioned, therefore I desire thy judgment, whether by preaching or teaching can be meant praying.

Mayor. No, praying is not mentioned; however, your conviction is recorded; you may make your appeal.

George Whitehead. To whom shall I make my appeal, but to those that wrong me?

Mayor. I must do according to law; I must fine you forty pounds.

George Whitehead. Then I must be fined for preaching the gospel of peace, as if I had been preaching sedition. By this it is all one case to preach sedition or the gospel of peace. But such a law makes no difference between preaching sedition, and preaching the gospel of peace, I must deny, as being both against reason and against God. And God who judges righteously, and by whom actions are weighed, will judge between thee and us in this thing.

I do not remember that the fine threatened upon this pretended conviction was ever levied upon my goods, though divers others were to great excess.

Another passage, by the way, I think meet to observe. On a fourth-day of the week I was taken out of a meeting at Whitehart court, in Gracechurch street, by an officer abetted by some others, and had before the said Samuel Starling, lord mayor, where information was given against me, that I was taken at such a meeting; and the question being, what did I do there, or what manner of religious exercise had we, the officer answered, he took me preaching. The mayor would needs have it that it was a conventicle,

and our exercise of religion contrary, or not according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England. I answered, The witness does not prove that; he questioned if the liturgy or common prayer was read among us at that meeting. I told him he should not proceed against me beyond his evidence. What says the witness? we are not bound to accuse ourselves. The witness does not say any such thing as that we exercised religion contrary to the liturgy, neither does he evidence that we had not the liturgy read among us. He can only say, he came into the meeting when I was preaching; and took me preaching, but does not know what I preached; so that he came into the meeting in sermon time, and the liturgy or common prayer used not to be read in sermon time. This allegation I used to him, because he deemed our meeting a conventicle, and unlawful, if the common prayer was not read in it; and therefore I urged the evidence he had, which did not prove the matter of fact against me, or any of us who were at the said meeting, so that he could not reasonably proceed against us, upon the evidence given, yet I told him our manner of religious exercise is well known.

I had some religious discourse with the said lord mayor, at some certain times, and endeavoured to possess him with better principles than those of persecution. He being something of a professor of religion, and sometimes touched with truth, carried it more fairly toward me than some other persecutors did, and I had some fairer quarter from him than from some other magistrates. He was not one of the worst persecutors in those days, though sometimes too much concerned with others in that unchristian work of persecution against us.

Upon the 17th day of the fifth month, 1670, being the first-day of the week, Friends were kept without doors in the street, near their meeting-house, at Peel in St. John's street, so termed, by red coat soldiers and a constable; and when two women spake a few words of truth and soberness, the soldiers came and violently pulled them away. As they came to take them, some were so violent that they pushed men and women with their muskets, and tore part of Mary Wicks's clothes, her scarf and apron, and pinched her—bruising some of the men Friends with their muskets, whereupon one Friend cried out to the constable to keep the peace.

George Whitehead, near the latter end of the meeting, being moved in much tenderness and brokenness of spirit to call upon the Lord in prayer; presently after he began, the soldiers came rudely and violently pulled him away into the entry among them.

George Whitehead then told them of their wickedness and incivility toward the women, and how much below both soldiers and the spirits of men they acted, in abusing peaceable men and women as they had done. Presently after they pulled into their sentry or guard, John Scott and Samuel Richardson, and these three were detained in their custody nearly three hours; and then a great company of red coat soldiers guarded them to an ale house near Clerkenwell, where two justices were, viz: justice Foster and justice Boules, with a great company of the king's horsemen or guard before the door.

As George Whitehead and his friends were brought to the door, he called out for justice, saying, I am glad we are come before the civil magistrates; we desire justice of you against the soldiers, who have kept us out of our meeting in the street, and taken us contrary to law, even contrary to the present act of Parliament, which does not require them to meddle with meetings, unless where resistance is made; and upon certificate thereof, as the act mentions. Besides, some of these soldiers behaved themselves rudely, abused several of our friends; and punched some of the women with their muskets, and hurt them. In the next place, we wholly except against these soldiers being witnesses, looking upon them as not fit, nor ought they to be accepted for witnesses against us, having broken the law themselves.

George Whitehead several times called for justice, as they would answer the great God of heaven and earth, who will judge righteously between us. The justice said, "You shall have justice." Whereupon a major on horseback said to the justices, "Sir, he will preach till night if you will hear him."

The justice bowed, with his hat off, to the major, and showed him great reverence and readiness to convict the prisoners. The major and captain, with others, alighted and came in to see the two justices do their work against the prisoners; and the red-coats were called, and many of them came in to bear witness against us; but George Whitehead excepted against them as unlawful witnesses, as before. However, contrary to law and equity, they were put upon their oaths to witness against the prisoners, whom they had abused, and illegally apprehended, the justices not at all cautioning them to take heed what they swore, but the major did. What they informed against George Whitehead upon oath was, that there were about three hundred met in the street; that they took him preaching, standing on a bulk or stall.

George Whitehead answered, That is not Vol. VIII.—No. 9.

true, I was praying, standing on the ground, but leaning on a stall.

Soldiers. We took him praying, but leaning on a bulk.

George Whitehead. See how confused and contradictory they are in their evidence, for preaching and praying are two things; neither is praying mentioned in that clause of the act that is made against such as take upon them to preach or teach.

Justice Foster. You conjured them together to the meeting.

George Whitehead. That is not true, for they were gathered together before I came to the meeting.

Major. He does as much as tell the justice he lies.

George Whitehead. I do not tell him he lies; but I say again, it is false that I conjured the people together. The major reproved the soldiers for going beyond his order, in going out into the street to take our friends, saying, I gave you order only to keep them out in the street, and you to keep sentry at the door.

Justice Boules. Sir, but after you were gone, I ordered them to take those that preached, and I thank them.

Justice Foster. What a devil did you come there to pray for?

George Whitehead. Do these words become a magistrate? We did not meet to hear or sing ballads in the street, nor do we meet at play houses, nor at bawdy houses, nor at drinking houses, to be drunk, where the devil is served; but singly to serve and worship the living God, for which we suffer. The major and some more with him, seemed highly concerned at those words—calling out, Who do you accuse? Who do you accuse for going to bawdy houses? Whereupon some of the company present smiled one upon another.

George Whitehead. I accuse none, but tell you what meetings we do not come at, nor own; and for what end we do meet.

The information the soldiers gave against John Scott, was, that they took him preaching, which was, because when they came with violence, he desired them to be moderate, and what crime did he thereby commit?

Their information against Samuel Richardson, was, that he laid violent hands upon one of their muskets; but this was utterly false, and denied by Samuel Richardson, for he was standing peaceably, as he said, with his hands in his pocket in the meeting.

Then the justices seeming to incline to convict the prisoners upon the act against conventicles, George Whitehead had a few

words with them about it, pleading to prevent their severity. But justice Foster urging to have them convicted, two warrants were made, and the said George Whitehead, John Scott, and Samuel Richardson, were had to New prison by the constable and soldiers: the troopers all the time of their examination standing before the door where they were.

It was observable that in their mittimus, they missed setting down George Whitehead's name; and instead thereof, set down Arthur Cotten, who was a soldier that helped to take them.

The next day after the commitment, being the second-day of the week, and 18th day of the fifth month, and about the sixth hour in the afternoon, the two justices aforesaid came to the prison; and when they had called George Whitehead into the room to them, they asked him his name and place, which he answered, and then they spoke to this purpose; That they had several laws which they could proceed upon against him, and particularly the statute of Oxford, the oath, &c. The clerk having the oath of allegiance in his hand, written with blanks left for the names, and a law book before them.

George Whitehead answered, I desire you would not go about to ensnare us, for the law was not made to make men transgressors, but to punish them, where it finds such. We were apprehended and accused as breakers of the late act against conventicles, let us first be tried upon that act, and cleared, and not have a new snare laid for us.

Justice Foster. We will not lay snares for you; if you will pay your twenty pounds you shall be discharged.

George Whitehead answered something about the said act, as not justly chargeable thereby; but they quickly caused him to withdraw, and called in John Scott, who had a long discourse with them; they accusing him for being an old soldier, and proffered him the oath, according to the Oxford act, made against non-conformist ministers, which he refusing to take, they threatened to detain him in prison six months; after which, they again called in George Whitehead and Samuel Richardson, and asked George Whitehead if he would pay his twenty pounds, and if he would promise to come no more at the meeting at Peel?

George Whitehead answered, I cannot pay any fine or money for praying to God or worshipping him; and as for promising to come no more there, I am not my own; I stand in the will of God, neither can I promise any such thing as to forbear coming to worship or pray to God.

One of them asked Samuel Richardson, "Will you promise to come no more at meeting?"

Samuel Richardson. I can promise no such thing.

Justice. Will you pay your five shillings?

Samuel Richardson. I do not know that I owe thee five shillings.

So, having fined George Whitehead twenty pounds, as they said, but it was not levied, and Samuel Richardson five shillings, they discharged them. But they detained John Scott in prison six months, it was supposed on the Oxford act, though he was no non-conformist minister, nor pretending to holy orders; and what great crime had they against him in his desiring moderation from the rude and violent soldiers?

We were sensible of the Lord's power and presence, and that he stood by us and strengthened us in bearing our faithful, Christian testimony for his name and worship, through all these exercises and persecutions. I was sensible also that the Lord our God would plead our innocent cause, and that he often did plead it, even in the consciences of many of our adversaries, persecutors and judges, and that sometimes they were hard put to it to proceed or carry on their work against us. At that time, and many other times, the Lord our God was pleased so to restrain the remainder of their wrath, as not to suffer them to proceed to the execution thereof, nor of the evils thereby designed; glory honour, and dominion be to our God and to the Lamb, for ever and ever.

In the year 1670, in the eighth month, having been in the country, and returning to London, I was taken with a great pain in my head, whereupon I grew sick, which turned to an ague and fever. I became very weak in body, so that for some weeks there appeared little hope of recovery; this sickness continued, and I remained in much weakness about six months, until the beginning of the second month 1671, and partly the beginning of that summer, and then it pleased the Lord, gradually to restore me to health and strength.

In that sickness, when most weak in body, being well prepared and freely resigned in the will of the Lord to die, that I might ever be with him, I had an opening or apprehension, that when I died my soul should be received into the bosom of my heavenly Father.

While I was in great weakness of body, I was divers times told of the great and cruel sufferings of our friends in Southwark, for meeting together at their usual meeting place at Horsleydown; how barbarously and cruelly they were used, and grossly abused by soldiers and armed men, both horse and foot, being not only kept out of their meeting-house in the street, but both men and women were violently pushed with muskets

and other weapons—beaten, bruised, hurt and wounded, and much blood shed by the blows and wounds from those inhuman persecutors and brutish persons. The accounts of these and such barbarities against the innocent, did very sorrowfully affect me; and I deeply sympathized in spirit with the innocent sufferers, earnestly praying to Almighty God for them, that he would preserve and deliver them, and rebuke that persecuting spirit by which they suffered: earnest prayers with tears being then the church's very great concern, which the Lord our God in his own time, graciously heard and answered; blessed be his name.

The occasion of the barbarous persecutions against our said meeting in Southwark, was by the following order.

At the court at Whitehall, the 29th of July, 1670;—present, the king's most excellent majesty, his Highness, Prince Rupert, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Ormond, Earl of Ossory, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Bath, Earl of Craven, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Trevor.

His majesty being informed that there have been of late, frequent conventicles and seditious meetings, under pretence of religious worship, contrary to and in contempt of the laws established, at a house or building at Horsleydown, adjoining to the Artillery garden; and that the persons who there assemble, behave themselves in such a riotous and tumultuous manner, that if their meetings be any longer endured, his majesty's peace and the quiet of the government will thereby be manifestly endangered. For the prevention whereof, it was this day ordered, his majesty present in council, and by his express command, that Christopher Wren, esq., surveyor general of his majesty's works, do cause the said house or building to be pulled down and demolished, in case from henceforth any persons whatsoever, shall presume to meet or hold any conventicle, or unlawful assembly therein, under colour of religious worship. And it was further ordered by his majesty, that this signification of this his royal pleasure be affixed on the said building, to the end that the owners and occupiers of the same, may take notice thereof, to prevent and hinder such meetings at their peril.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

Which order was both affixed on the door of the meeting-house, and soon after put in execution; for they sent, and very much

spoiled, and pulled down the meeting-house, and took away the boards, windows, benches and forms, and sold them.

It is observable, that here was no judicial trial, or legal proceeding in this hard case; but an order grounded upon information of our meetings being conventicles, seditious, riotous and tumultuous; which information was altogether unjust and notoriously false, and no such things could ever be proved against our assemblies or meetings.

Our innocent friends, as obliged in conscience toward Almighty God, resolved to keep their solemn meetings in his dread and fear; not being terrified therefrom, by the rage and violence of their persecutors, but constantly resorted to their said meeting-house on first-days, while it was standing. After it was pulled down, they removed the rubbish, that they might meet on the ground where their own house stood; which they did until by force haled out, and barbarously used by the soldiers.

On the 25th of the seventh month, 1670, Friends being peaceably assembled at their usual meeting place aforesaid, there came some musketeers, and haled them forth into the street, where the troopers came and rode in among them, in a violent, furious manner, beating and abusing both men and women, punching them in the face and bodies, with their carbines. Soon after the foot soldiers came and fell upon them also, and beat both men and women, in a cruel and outrageous manner—punching them on the feet with the but-ends of their muskets, till they broke some of them; and running the muzzle of their muskets violently against the bodies of many. Then a party of horse came desperately and strove to ride over them; but the horses being more merciful, or naturally more gentle than the riders, would not go forward to tread the people under foot; then the riders turning them, curbed and reined them to do mischief.

The number of those that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, was above twenty persons.

On the 2nd day of the eighth month, they being kept out of their meeting place aforesaid, there came a party of foot and a party of horse, and laid on friends in a violent and cruel manner, knocking them with their muskets and pikes, and the horsemen with their carbines, until the blood lay in the streets; and so they continued for some time, until they broke several pikes and muskets, and one carbine; and several were so beaten and bruised, that their lives were in danger. They that were wounded and sorely bruised this day, were above thirty persons.

On the 9th of the eighth month, the soldiers, horse and foot, came to the meeting at the aforesaid place; and one of them having a shovel, threw dirt and mire upon both men and women, in a shameful manner. After him, both horse and foot furiously fell upon them, striking and knocking down, without regard to age or sex, in a very cruel manner, until they shed blood from many. When some of the inhabitants in pity took them into their houses to save their lives, the soldiers forced open the doors, haled them out again into the street, and plucked off their hats that they might strike on their bare heads, so that many had their heads broken in a grievous manner. Thus they continued for some time, tearing men and women's clothes off their backs, and haling women through the mire, by their horse sides; some of the foot soldiers impudently putting their hands under the women's coats, using obscene expressions and very indecent behaviour. A red coat soldier struck one woman Friend twice on the body with his musket, and once on the breast; another flung dirt in her face, and through their abuses her life was greatly endangered. A man Friend, after he had suffered by blows, was carried into the meeting place, where one demanded his money, and endeavoured to rifle his pockets, cursing and threatening he would stab him, if he did not give it him, again swearing that he would pistol him. The number of those sorely bruised, and that had their blood shed that day, was above fifty persons.

On the 16th day of the eighth month, 1670, being again kept out of their meeting place, there came a party of horse and foot, ready to fall again violently upon our friends, but some constables being there, for some little time, kept them off. Howbeit, at last they broke out into a rage, and some of the foot with the but-ends of their muskets, and the horsemen with great truncheons and staves, did so furiously lay on and beat them who were met, as if they would have killed all in the place, causing the blood to run down about the ears of many. Above twenty persons then received sore wounds and bruises, and one constable endeavouring to stop them from shedding blood, and to keep the peace, they fell upon him also and broke his head; and when they were reprehended for their cruelty, some answered, If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you.

The substance of this foregoing account was presented to the king and his council, and for a time there was some cessation of these cruelties; but afterward they began in the like manner, though not to the same degree, yet with great threatenings to be worse

and worse, in their behaviour towards our Friends; which could not well be, except they directly committed murder on the place.

It was observed, that when the troopers and soldiers have come, and thus abused and wounded the innocent, some have asked them, saying, How can ye deal thus with a people that have love and good will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition? They have replied, We had rather and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose; as if they wanted occasion to imbrue their hands in innocent blood, and have the lives and estates of honest people for a prey. But as they never could get any such occasion against us, so the Lord our most gracious God, for his own name and truth's sake, restrained the remainder of our adversaries' wrath, frustrated their evil purposes, and disappointed their mischievous designs. And in him we have trusted, who has helped and delivered us out of many troubles.

I was the more willing to insert the foregoing relation in this place, because I was very deeply and sorrowfully affected by the frequent accounts which came to me, of those barbarous and cruel persecutions, in the time of my long sickness and great weakness of body. The Lord my God having restored me to health, enabled me again to labour and travel in his service, in the gospel of his dear Son Christ Jesus, and also to suffer with his people, and to attend and solicit the king and government for their relief. The hand of the Lord and his counsel were often with me, to help, encourage, and strengthen my heart in those services, which many times had good effects, the Lord's power going before, and making way in the hearts of both king and council. A further account of which may be given hereafter.

There was but little respite from persecution in twelve years time, from the year 1660, unto 1672, in which was the last war at sea between the English and Dutch. One judgment and calamity followed another; plague, fire, and war, unto great depopulation and devastation, showing God's heavy displeasure against persecution and cruelty, and that spirit which had been so highly at work against innocent, conscientious and honest people, some whereof the Lord delivered by death; yet many persecutors were so hardened, that they repented not of their cruelties, and we have observed in our times, how suddenly the Lord swept away many of that sort.

Howbeit, by this time, A. D. 1671-2, the king seemed to bethink himself, to take other measures than to continue persecution to destroy his own subjects, not knowing what issue the Dutch war against him might

come to; insomuch that he published a declaration of indulgence to dissenters, to suspend the execution of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, entitled, viz :

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, dated March 15th, 1671-2, published by the advice of his privy council: the principal heads whereof are as follows, viz :

Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interest of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion, that we have used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return.

But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all those forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several Statutes and Acts of parliament.

And therefore we do now accordingly issue out this our declaration, as well for the quieting the minds of our good subjects in these points, for inviting strangers in this juncture to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God; to have many good and happy advantages to our government.

And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law, &c.

We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists, or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended. And all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, &c., are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereunto.

And we do declare, that we shall from time to time, allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public worship and devotion; which places shall be open and free to all persons.

To prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated, and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate, our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until the same be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.

And, we do further declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of public places of worship, and approbation of teachers, shall extend to all sorts of non-conformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the execution of the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall presume to abuse this liberty and preach seditiously, &c., we will let them see we can be as severe to punish such offenders, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

Thus far the heads of the aforesaid declaration; from the first part whereof two or three things are observable.

1. His care and endeavours in using those many and frequent ways of coercion, which were severe and frequent persecutions, designed and used for the preservation of the church, i. e., the church of England.

2. Yet for all this his great care for the church, it was made evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that very little fruit came of all those forcible courses, those many ways of coercion, or the frequent severe persecutions. Little fruit indeed could these produce, and none at all to the true conviction of dissenters; but rather such bitter fruit as was very offensive, and highly provoking to the righteous God, dishonourable to the king, and greatly scandalous to that church with which he complied, and to which he had given power in the use of those ways of coercion, and forcible courses; all which proved fruitless and ineffectual to answer the design thereof, i. e., universal conformity to the said church.

3. However, it was well the king at length made such an ingenuous confession, how fruitless coercion or forcible courses were about matters of conscience and religion, though it was from the sad experience of twelve years trial; the sad effects whereof had been prevented, if such courses had never been tried, and his repeated solemn promises of liberty to tender consciences, had been kept and performed.

4. After the said declaration of indulgence was published in print, and took effect, in a short time our persecutors were stopped and restrained, and our religious meetings generally quiet throughout England, Wales, &c., for several years.

Divers good effects followed the before-mentioned declaration, before it was cancelled, and made void, as,

1. The stop put to informers, persecutors and persecutions for a time.

2. The quiet and peaceable enjoyment of our innocent meetings and religious assemblies.

3. The preservation of our goods from rapine and spoil by informers and other persecutors.

4. The king's discharge and deliverance of many of our suffering friends out of the prisons, remitting their fines and releasing their estates, by his letters patent under the great seal, which were forfeited to the king by judgment of premunire. And for the discharge of the aforesaid sufferers, I faithfully laboured and solicited, some account whereof follows.

Soon after the declaration of indulgence was published in print, as I was solitarily upon the road, returning toward London, out of the country, a very weighty and tender concern fell upon my spirit, with respect to our dear friends then in prisons, being above four hundred in and about England and Wales, many of whom had been long straitly confined, under divers prosecutions, sentences and judgments, as to imprisonments, fines, forfeitures and banishments, for meeting, for not conforming, for not swearing allegiance, and divers under sentence of premunire, some having endured ten or eleven years imprisonment, besides those who suffered long for non-payment of tithes.

Whereupon I was moved to write a few lines to the king, requesting their liberty, which I intimated to our honest and loving friend, Thomas Moore, who was often willing to move the king in behalf of our suffering friends for their liberty, the king having some respect to him; for he had an interest with the king and some of his council, more than many others; and I desired him to present my few lines to the king, which he carefully did; and a few days after, both he and myself had access into the king's presence, and renewed our request which I had made to him in my letter before; whereupon the king granted us liberty to be heard on Friday, as he said, before the council, being the next council-day in the same week.

And then Thomas Moore, myself and our friend Thomas Green, attended at the council chamber at Whitehall, and were all admitted

before the king and a full council, and being called to go up before the king, who was at the upper end of the council-board, I had a fair opportunity to open the case of our suffering friends as a conscientious people, chiefly to show the reason of our not swearing allegiance to the king; that it was not in any contempt, or disrespect, either to the king's person or government, but singly as it is a matter of conscience to us, not to swear at all, in any case, and that in sincere obedience to Christ's command and gospel ministry. When I had opened and more fully pleaded our suffering friends' case, the king gave this answer, viz: I will pardon them.

Whereupon Thomas Moore pleaded the innocency of our friends, that they needed no pardon, being innocent. The king's own warrant in a few lines will discharge them; for where the word of a king is, there is power, said Thomas Moore. The king answered, O, Mr. Moore, there are persons as innocent as a child new born, that are pardoned, that is, from the penalties of the law; you need not scruple a pardon. The Lord Keeper added, I told them that they cannot be legally discharged, but by a pardon under the great seal. Then stood up Duke Lauderdale, and made his reflection upon what Thomas Moore said, in this manner:

May it please your majesty, I wonder that these men should be no better counselled to accept of your gracious pardon; for if your majesty should by your own private warrant release them out of prison, their prosecutors may put them into prison again the next day, and still their estates, forfeited to you upon premunire, remain confiscate; so that their persons and estates cannot be safely discharged without your majesty's pardon under the great seal. With which the rest of the council concurred.

Whereunto I returned this answer, viz: It is not for us to prescribe or dictate to the king and his council, what methods to take for our friends' discharge; they know best their own methods in point of law; we seek the end thereof, namely the effectual discharge of our suffering friends out of prison, that they may live peaceably, and quietly enjoy their own.

Whereupon they all appeared satisfied, and the king said, Well, I will pardon, or discharge them, &c.

After more discourse between the king and us, I looked about on the council, and in the Lord's power thus declared, viz: I do not question but God at times inclines your hearts to tenderness towards the sufferers, especially those for conscience sake. O therefore take notice thereof, and mind that tenderness, and that which inclines your hearts to commise-

rate their conditions, who have long groaned and lain under heavy burdens, and sore oppressions, &c.

As for our refusing the oath of allegiance, for which many suffer in prisons, God doth bear us witness, yea, God doth bear the sufferers record, that it is not from a disaffection to the king, or government, but singly for conscience sake, because it is an oath. Concluding with these words, This is the fast the Lord requires, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free. [Being near the time of an appointed fast, as I remember.]

Pursuant to the king's promise of pardon, &c., the following order was given, viz :

At the court at Whitehall, the 8th of May, 1672;—present the king's most excellent majesty. Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Duke of Lauderdale, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bridgwater, Earl of Essex, Earl of Anglesey, Earl of Bath, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Craven, Earl of Shaftsbury, Viscount Falconbery, Viscount Halifax, Lord Bishop of London, Lord Newport, Lord Hollis, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Trevor, Sir John Duncomb, Mr. Chancellor of the Dutchy, Master of the Ordnance, Sir Thomas Osburn.

Whereas his majesty of his princely clemency, was graciously pleased to direct, that letters should be written from this board, to the sheriffs of the respective counties and cities, and counties and towns, and counties within his majesty's kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, requiring them to return perfect lists and calenders of the names, time, and causes of commitment of all such prisoners, called Quakers, as remain in their several jails or prisons, which they accordingly did; and the same were by order of his majesty in council, of the 3rd instant, delivered into the hands of the right honourable the Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, who having considered thereof, did this day return them again, together with his opinion thereupon as followeth, viz :

The returns that are made touching the prisoners, in the several jails, are of several kinds.

1. All such of them as are returned to be convicted to be transported, or to be convicted of a premunire, upon whose convictions I suppose judgment was given, are not legally to be discharged, but by his majesty's pardon under the great seal.

2. All such that are returned to be in prison upon writs of *Excommunicato Capiendo*, not mentioning the cause, ought not to be

discharged till the cause appears; for if it be for tithes, legacies, defamations, or other private interests, they ought not to be discharged till the parties be satisfied.

3. All those that are returned in prison for debt, or upon exchequer process, or of any of the other courts at Westminster, are not so discharged, till it be known for what cause those processes issued, and those debts be discharged.

4. Those that are in prison for not paying their fines, ought not to be discharged without paying their fines, or a pardon.

All the rest I conceive may be discharged.

Which being this day taken into consideration, his majesty was graciously pleased to declare, that he will pardon all those persons called Quakers, now in prison for any offence committed relating only to his majesty, and not to the prejudice of any other person: and it was thereupon ordered by his majesty in council, that a list of the names of the Quakers in the several prisons, together with the causes of their commitment, be, and is herewith sent to his majesty's attorney general, who is required and authorized to prepare a bill for his majesty's royal signature, containing a pardon to pass the great seal of England, for all such to whom his majesty may legally grant the same: and in case of any difficulty, that he attend the lord Keeper, and receive his directions therein.

EDWARD WALKER.

Here follows a copy also of the king's warrant to the attorney general.

Our will and pleasure is, that you prepare a bill fit for the royal signature, and to pass our great seal of England, containing our gracious pardon unto, &c., [the place of the prisoners' names,] of all offences, contempts, and misdemeanours by them, or any of them committed, before the 21st day of July, '72, against the several statutes made in the first, twenty-third, and thirty-fifth years of the reign of queen Elizabeth; in the third year of the reign of our late royal grandfather, king James, and in the sixteenth year of our reign, in not coming to church, and hearing divine service; and refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and frequenting, or being present at seditious conventicles; and of all premunires, judgments, convictions, sentences of excommunication, and transportation thereupon; and of all fines, amercements, pains, penalties and forfeitures, whatsoever thereby incurred, with restitution of lands and goods, and such other clauses, and *non obstantes*, as may render this our pardon most effectual; for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the —

day of June, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign. To our attorney general.

After we had taken out the foregoing order and warrant, our friend Thomas Moore and I carried and delivered the same to the king's attorney general, Sir Heneage Finch. Thomas again scrupling the word pardon to him, as he had before to the king, &c. He took up Thomas somewhat short, telling him, "Mr. Moore, if you will not accept of his majesty's pardon, I will tell him you will not accept thereof." Then to pacify him, I told him that it was not our business to question, but accept what the king had granted for the relief of our suffering friends, that they might be released and discharged from their imprisonments and sufferings, &c. Whereupon he seemed satisfied.

And further to inform and satisfy Thomas Moore in the case, after we came out of doors from the attorney general, I got him to return in again with me to his clerk, one Sanders, an old man, who engrossed the king's letters patent, or pardons, that he might inform Thomas Moore of the nature and manner thereof, which he very fairly did; whereupon Thomas said, "Now it begins to have some shape," &c. And then was better satisfied, as better understanding the form or shape and nature of that instrument than before.

Thomas Moore's scruples or objections against the word pardon, or its being necessary to our suffering friends, were upon these tender points.

1. That they being innocent, and no criminal persons, needed no pardon, as criminals do.

2. That their testimony for Christ Jesus allowed of no pardon; neither indeed can we allow or accept of any man's pardon in that case, singly considered; we cannot give away the cause of Christ, or our sincere obedience to him, as any offence or crime needing any pardon or forgiveness from men; nor does Christ require us to ask it of him, but accepts and approves of us, in that wherein we truly obey him.

But then on the other hand, we must reasonably allow of this distinction; that wherein we, or our friends were judged or condemned by human laws, and the ministers thereof, to imprisonments, fines, forfeitures, premunires, or confiscation of estates to the king, and power given him to banish us, and thereby we made debtors to him, though unduly, the king has power to remit, pardon, or forgive what the law has made a debt to him, as well as any creditor has power to forgive a debt owing him; and to pardon and release his debtor out of prison.

The case is plain, and the distinction evident.

Neither pope, priest, nor prince, can acquit or pardon men in the sight of God, for offences against him; but the king may forgive debts owing by law to him, and release and re-convey his subjects' estates, by law forfeit to him, or else he has less power than any of them. An earthly king cannot pardon a guilty conscience before God, but he can forgive debts owing him, and release estates forfeited to him, as well as persons who are within his power to release; good consciences and well-doing need no pardon, but deserve praise.

Besides in this case of our premunired friends, if the king had not re-conveyed their estates as he did, by his letters patent—under the great seal of England,—from him and his heirs, to them and their heirs, they had remained forfeited, and liable to future claims, and the proper owners to be dispossessed thereof; and therefore the report and counsel of the lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgman, to the king, in our friends' case before related, was both legal and safe for their discharge; being also recorded in the several offices, where patents and pardons are kept upon record, to have recourse to in cases of necessity.

The attorney general ordered his principal clerk, — Nicolls, to draw up the said bill, to contain the king's letters patent, for a full discharge and release of our suffering friends, from their imprisonments, sentence of banishment, fines, forfeitures, premunire, &c., which, when he had done, I got Ellis Hookes, our writer, to draw out four or five fair copies thereof for expedition, to be passed and entered and remain upon record in the several offices, which the same was to pass through; as the Privy Seal, the Signet, the Patent, and Hannaper offices, &c.

And understanding that because of the number of names in the patent, great fees would be required in most of those offices, except the lord Keeper's, who had promised to remit his fee, and that he would ask none of us, which was a kindness; for there being above four hundred names of the sufferers in one and the same instrument, to be discharged, we understood they would demand a great fee for each person, and, as we heard, it would cost a single person twenty or thirty pounds charge in fees to get a patent or pardon through all those offices, to pass under the great seal of England, that we were constrained to make further application to the king, to remit or abate the great fees. Whereupon the king gave order, according to our request, as followeth;

Locus Sigilli.

His majesty is pleased to command, that it be signified as his pleasure to the respective offices and sealers, where the pardon to the Quakers is to pass, that the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one.

ARLINGTON.

At the court at Whitehall, the
13th of Sept., 1672.

But though we had this warrant from the king, yet we had trouble from some of the covetous clerks, who strove hard to exact upon us.

When the instrument for the discharge of the prisoners was granted to our friends, there being other dissenters besides Quakers in some prisons, as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents; some of their solicitors, especially one William Carter, seeing what way we had made with the king for our friends' release, desired their friends in prison might be discharged with ours, and have their names in the same instrument; and earnestly requested my advice or assistance, which I was very willing to give, in compassion to them. Accordingly, I advised them to petition the king, with the names of the prisoners in it, for his warrant, to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which they petitioned for, and obtained.

So that there are a few names of other dissenters, who were prisoners in Bedfordshire, Kent, and Wiltshire, in the same instrument with our friends, and released thereby.* I was very glad that they partook of the same benefit, through our industry; for when we had made way, it was easy for them to follow. Indeed I was never backward to give any of them advice, if I could, for their help, when any of them have been in straits, and come to me for help. Our being of different judgments and societies, did not abate my compassion or charity, even towards those who have been my opposers in some cases. Blessed be the Lord my God, who is the Father and Fountain of mercies, whose love and mercies in Christ Jesus to us, should oblige us to be merciful and kind one to another, we being required to love mercy, yea, to be merciful, as well as to do justly, and to walk humbly with the Lord our God.

After the king had signed a copy of the said instrument on several skins of parchment, which we got engrossed aforehand, for expedition, in the Patent office, in chancery hand, as is usual, we then got it passed under the great seal of England. And there being

eleven skins of vellum, in chancery hand, it was swelled to that size by the names of above four hundred persons repeated eleven times over in it, that Ellis Hookes and I, and some other Friends, were hard put to it to find out a way to have it dispensed to all the prisons throughout England and Wales, where our friends were confined; that they might be released, and not too long detained under confinement, as many had been, especially since, with great industry, we had obtained their discharge.

The best expedient I could at first pitch upon, was to get two duplicates of the original instrument, prepared and passed under the great seal, as the first was, which I got done very shortly; and then sent messengers with them several ways, to the sheriffs and jailors; as into Sussex, Bucks, Oxford, Warwick, and Stafford, where our friends had suffered long in their jails, that they might be forthwith discharged out of prison; which accordingly was done, when the king's discharge under the great seal was shown to the respective sheriffs and officers concerned, by our friends, the messengers, sent on purpose to see our dear friends released out of their long confinements.

Although at that time I had been in long and great labours and solicitation for the liberty of our oppressed friends in prisons, and thereby impaired my health and strength; yet I was willing to undertake a journey into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Hertfordshire, to see our friends released out of the jails in those counties, as also in Huntington and Cambridge.

And having the original patent under the great seal, Edward Mann and William Gosnell of London were willing to accompany me on that journey. So we all took horse early, and got to Chelmsford that day, and lodged at the inn by the prison that night; and the next day the quarter sessions being held in that town, for the county of Essex, we went in the morning to several justices of the peace, where they were together at another inn. When we came before them, I gently told them our errand, and what was the intent of our coming there before them; and producing the king's letters patent, showed them what names of our friends were in it, who then were prisoners in Chelmsford prison, and how by it they were discharged. They seemed somewhat surprised at the sight of such a great instrument, under the great seal of England, and that in favour of so many Quakers; and some of them having no good will to us, seemed disgusted at our hats; however, I told them, I hoped they would allow of the discharge, and release our friends out of prison.

* Among these was John Bunyan, the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

So after they had it into court, they ordered our friends who were in that prison to be released.

We proceeded on in our journey towards Edmundsbury in Suffolk, in order to reach the quarter sessions there; which began the beginning of the week following the other in Essex, being about two or three days between each session. The justices in Suffolk carried pretty fairly toward us, and after they viewed the king's discharge in court, seemed affected with it; but it so happened that all our friends' names then in that prison, who were intended in the king's grant, were not in the said discharge, though their case was included, being the case of many others therein.

We could not suppose where the omission had happened, unless in the sheriff's return of the names and causes of the Quakers in prison, which the king had ordered. The under sheriff took it somewhat hard that we should suspect him for such omission; however, I desired the justices to release those Friends out of prison whose names were omitted, seeing their case came under the king's clemency, and they had a right to their liberty as well as the rest, in point of justice; so their liberty was obtained, the justices not opposing, but allowing thereof.

At that time, while we were in Edmundsbury, I very opportunely met with the under sheriff for Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, who was a very fair, civil man, and showed him the king's patent, and the names of our friends in it, who then were prisoners in those two counties, and I desired him to see them delivered out of prison in both counties; which he was very ready to undertake, and honestly performed, so far as I could hear. After which, we travelled into Norfolk, and to Norwich, and there meeting with the high sheriff, got our friends released who were prisoners, and named in the king's patent to be discharged.

We returned to Hertford in two day's time, before the quarter sessions ended; and Henry Stout producing the said patent, the magistrates released those Friends that were prisoners there. In two weeks' time we performed that journey and service for our suffering friends in the said counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Norwich, Huntington, Cambridge, and Hertford.

When we returned to London, we were yet more concerned for our suffering friends in the northern and western parts of England, and also in Wales; for it was a difficult and tedious undertaking, to send messengers into all those remote places, where many Friends were prisoners, with three such great instruments. The patent, which we carried in a lea-

thern case and a tin box, with the great seal in it, was so cumbersome, that Edward Mann was fain to tie it cross the horse's back, behind him.

Being sensible of the difficulty and delay it would be to dispense the same to the several counties and jails, where our friends were confined, throughout England and Wales; and what a hard matter it would be to move the king again for any instrument pursuant to his pardon already granted and confirmed, for their more speedy deliverance out of prisons so remote, either by proclamation or warrant from some of his privy council, or the secretary of state, or attorney general, or otherwise, and considering the great number of names and places mentioned in the said pardon, we did not then see how we could acceptably move for such an instrument. Besides, having had so much wearisome toil and solicitation for what we had already obtained for Friends' release, the labour and difficulties considered, I was minded to acquaint judge Hale therewith, who was then chief justice, to see what he would say to it; if he could put us in a way to get our friends released, who were in such remote prisons, as before mentioned.

I went accordingly to judge Hale's house at Acton, and our friend Ellis Hookes with me, where we met with the judge at home, and I intimated our case and difficulty to him, which he fairly heard, and viewed over a copy of the king's pardon, or letters patent, so termed. How to have the same dispensed for the speedy release of our friends throughout England and Wales, was our difficulty, and so many as the king had given his grant for their discharge under the great seal, we desired might be delivered out of prison before winter, which was then approaching and I told him, considering that many of our friends had lain long under strait confinement, it might be their death if they were detained much longer, especially in the winter season.

The judge appearing very serious and intent upon the matter, told us, that if they would remove themselves by *Habeas Corpus*, and come before him at the king's bench, "I will release them," said he, i. e. upon the king's pardon. I then signified to him, that would be such a hardship and hazard as we durst not put them upon; because of the remoteness of the counties in the north. The health of many of the prisoners was so impaired by their long and hard confinements, that it might endanger their lives to remove them up to London, being one or two hundred miles or more; also many were much disabled and made poor by their sufferings and imprisonments, and the charge of such

removal would be so great, that it would be too heavy for them, besides the danger of the journey, &c.

The judge then proposed something of an instrument from the attorney general, though it was not his place to give us counsel, as he said, yet he appeared willing to help our suffering friends if he could, by proposing such expedients as he could then think of, wherein I could not but take notice of his compassion and good will towards us, and we parted kindly.

Yet hitherto we were at a loss how to expedite our poor suffering friends out of the remote prisons: by all the advice or proposals given to us, we could not get all our friends actually delivered out of the jails nearly so soon as I desired.

The Michaelmas term, as it is called, being then very near; and the under sheriffs coming out of the several remote counties to the term, I told Ellis Hookes we might take the great patent and show to the sheriffs at their inns and offices, that they might draw out Liberates, and send to jails in their respective counties and prisons, to set our friends at liberty.

We went to the sheriff of Yorkshire, who was an ancient man; and I showed him the patent, and the names of the Friends who were prisoners in their county and castle of York, and those clauses for their discharge, which he readily assented to, and bid us give him a copy thereof, and he would draw up and send a Liberate to the jailer, for their release, which accordingly we did, and he performed his promise.

I was thereby further informed how we might hasten and despatch our friends' release in other remote counties; and I drew up the form of a Liberate, agreeable to the king's patent, briefly comprehending the heads thereof, which concerned the prisoners' discharge. Ellis Hookes transcribed as many copies as we needed for the remaining remote counties, where our friends were not set at liberty; inserting the prisoners' names in each Liberate, respectively appertaining to the same county; as those in Montgomeryshire prison, in a distinct warrant or Liberate, for the sheriff of that county; and in like manner for the other counties and prisons in Wales, where Friends were detained. Warrants for the sheriffs of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, and for the rest of the counties respectively, where Friends were not released out of prisons, were prepared for the sheriffs severally, to sign and seal.

Ellis Hookes and I went to their inns and offices, and showed them the king's patent, with the Liberates, that they might see how agreeable they were; and they approved

thereof, and readily signed and sealed each Liberate, being a warrant to each jailer to set our friends at liberty, out of jail, where they had been detained, as many of them had been for a long time. So at last, through much labour, care and diligence, the difficulty we had been under came to be removed.

I do in deep humility, tenderness of spirit, and with a thankful heart, retain the remembrance, how the Lord our God helped and enabled me to go through that great care and diligence in solicitations for the liberty of my dear suffering friends and brethren. Although I laboured for the same nearly six months together, before it was fully effected, the Lord gave me great encouragement, peace and comfort, in my daily endeavours for them. My love towards them was such as made the same more easy to me, in all which I still have great satisfaction and peace, which remain with me, in Christ Jesus, my Lord and my God; I bless his name and power which upheld and strengthened me; let him have the glory, praise and dominion for ever, saith my soul.

The liberty granted to tender consciences by king Charles' declaration, A. D. 1671-2, held not long; for the Parliament, or a party among them not being reconciled to the liberty granted and allowed thereby, took occasion against the declaration, and moved the king to cancel it. They alledged that thereby he extended his prerogative too far, or advanced it above the law, by suspending the execution of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical; suggesting, of what dangerous consequence it might be, to have such a precedent remaining. But they took no care of Christ's prerogative and government over the consciences of his subjects; they must be exposed to severe sufferings, oppressions, and cruelty, for conscience sake towards him, and for obeying his doctrine, chiefly in refusing to swear at all, or in any case, and for solemnly meeting together in his name and spiritual worship.

If the Parliament and all parties who were displeased with the king's declaration, because it was not an act of Parliament, but of prerogative, had been so generous and noble as to allow a general liberty to tender consciences, or freedom from persecution, they might easily have turned the substance or effect of the king's declaration into an act of Parliament. And no doubt the king would readily have signed and confirmed the same; seeing he had so often not only publicly promised liberty to tender consciences, but also in his declaration from Breda, positively and voluntarily promised, "That no man shall be

disquieted or called in question for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence." What could be a more plain promise, or more encouraging to them, to have ratified the same by act of Parliament? And moreover, in the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, dated October the 25th, 1660, it is again declared; "In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences; that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences in opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

And in the same declaration, it is further said; "Our present consideration and work is, to gratify the private consciences of those who are grieved with the use of ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with, the omitting of these ceremonies."

And in the king's speech to both houses of Parliament, the 8th of July, 1661; "It is to put myself in mind as well as you, that I so often (I think so often as I come to you) mention to you my declaration from Breda; and let me put you in mind of another declaration published by yourselves, about the same time, and which I am persuaded made mine the more effectual. An honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons who had been the most eminent sufferers, in which you renounced all former animosities, and the memory of all former unkindnesses. And, my lords and gentlemen, let it be in no man's power to charge me or you with the breach of our words or promises, which can never be a good ingredient to our future security. And in the chancellor's speech to both houses, May the 8th, He told you but now, (meaning the king) that he valued himself much upon keeping his word, upon performing all that he promiseth to his people."

Now upon the whole it is observable, that when the king made, and so often repeated, those promises of liberty to tender consciences, there appeared no design of persecution, or intention to violate his promises, but the contrary; and how easy it would have been to establish that liberty by a law. But too many selfish and partial men were otherwise minded; for before the reign of king Charles the second was expired, some of these who were against his declaration, would have had an act of comprehension, to include in the church of England some parties of dis-

senters, as Presbyterians and such like; some allowances, exceptions or limitations were claimed for those, so as not to be made conformable to the said church in all her articles, ceremonies and formalities, but to be dispensed with, or allowed in some things not esteemed essential, so as they might be comprehended in one with the church of England. All other dissenters more conscientious than themselves, who could not come so near a conformity, were excluded the comprehension, and not allowed a general liberty to exercise their religion and conscience. These were still exposed to persecution, suffering and ruin, under the penal laws, if that partial project and comprehension had taken effect, by a church made up of Presbytery and Episcopacy. O then, who should have been suffered to stand before them, without conformity to such elders and bishops? This partial project and selfish design, divers of us were concerned in conscience to oppose, argue, and testify against, to certain members of Parliament, who promoted such a comprehension, and to others also.

I discoursed with divers of them about it, showing them wherein they gave away the cause of all the most honest and conscientious dissenters, and thereby greatly lost ground.

It was well the project did not take effect; and there was doubtless a divine hand and providence in its prevention. It would have gone hard with the high Episcopal clergy, if Presbyterian ministers had partaken with them and been made sharers in their parish churches and livings, tithes and glebe lands, oblations and revenues, with which they were formerly, chiefly, if not wholly invested for the space of twelve years, until the year 1660, when the act of uniformity came to be in force. Then Presbytery must give way to Episcopacy, and lay down church revenues, or else conform; whereupon many great Presbyterian ministers did conform with such pretences as these; that they must not lay aside preaching the gospel, for want of conforming or dispensing with a few ceremonies, which are but indifferent things; their great livings, tithes, oblations and profits, were to them far more considerable. In the mean while their solemn league and covenant against Episcopacy was not well considered or thought of, by such occasional conformists. Yet some of the Presbytery, who were noted for their zeal against prelacy, and pretending some greater reformation, deserted those places where they had been so noted for their zeal and reformation, and removed into other counties; some south, and some north, where they were not so known, and could more easily, and with less reflection, conform for a benefice or church

living, and there put on the surplice—sign infants with the sign of the cross,—bow to the high altar,—conform to all the ceremonies of their church,—and plead decency and good order in them all, which before were but superstitious relics of popery, and altogether indecent in God's worship.

Yet to do the party right, some ministers and people were more conscientious than to allow of or indulge themselves in such an occasional conformity for lucre's sake. Indeed, many could not obtain parish church livings, if they would, where there remained some old Episcopal clergymen, who had claim to the livings, having been formerly turned out of the same. So that those who could not conform on such occasions, nor obtain parish maintenance, were fain to keep private meetings, termed conventicles, as long as they could or durst. For few of them would suffer for their religion, but rather privily slide away, or flee out at back-doors, rather than be seized or taken by the persecutors. Many of the Baptists suffered imprisonment at first; but the heat of the day, the burden of suffering and persecution, chiefly arose and fell upon us the poor Quakers. When we were not suffered to meet quietly in our public meeting-houses, but many of us were violently haled out to prison, and the rest by force turned out, and kept in the street; there have we stood and kept our meetings without doors, both when turned out, and when officers were set on purpose to keep us wholly out in the streets. Here we have often met, and stood both in winter and summer, and all weathers, as near our meeting-houses as we could get, and waited upon the Lord our God, in testimony against our injurious, hard hearted persecutors. So that some of the other dissenters, who durst not meet publicly, have thanked God that he had enabled the Quakers to stand in the gap, and bear the brunt, and keep the blow off them; according as I was credibly told, when we suffered so much in London as we did.

The king being prevailed upon in a short time, I think about two years, to cancel his indulgence to tender consciences, some persecutors began to appear again, and a new persecution arose in divers places, where they picked up Friends who bore public testimony to truth; and yet for some time after, we could travel quietly, and visit our meetings in many counties. But the old and chief snare which our great persecutors were ready to make use of against us, was the oath of allegiance. They knew that we could not swear in any case, either for the king, or for ourselves; though we sincerely practised and performed just allegiance toward him, as true

and faithful subjects, giving Cæsar his due, and to God his due, the things that are truly his; namely, his worship and service, according to our conscientious persuasion in matters of faith and religion. We chose rather to lay down our bodies as the street to be trod upon, than subject our souls for our persecutors to go over them; and when they could not go over our souls, nor make them bow to their corrupt wills and impositions, they would hunt us out to apprehend and confine our bodies in prisons.

In the tenth month, 1673, our dear friends and brethren, George Fox and Thomas Lower, being at a Friend's house in Worcestershire, on their journey towards their relations and habitations in Lancashire, were obstructed, and committed to prison at Worcester, by warrant from one Henry Parker, justice of peace, and detained prisoners a considerable time. The injustice and illegality done them, is further related in George Fox's journal.

After George Fox had long remained prisoner at Worcester, Thomas Moore and I went to the king at Hampton court, and requested his liberty out of prison; though the king gave us little answer, yet after some time the Lord made way for his release.

This imprisonment I have mentioned, that it may appear how early the invidious persecutors fell to work, after the king's declaration for liberty was rescinded. The persecutors being let loose again, the several modes of prosecution were renewed against us, the people called Quakers; as, for not swearing allegiance, the penalty was imprisonment and premunire; for not going to parish church, so called, twenty pounds a month, or two-thirds of a person's estate forfeited and seized on exchequer process or excommunication, and writs *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, issued out to take and imprison the persons excommunicated. And for our innocent religious meetings, great spoil was made upon our goods, which were taken and torn away by a company of loose idle informers, who cared not what havoc and spoil they made upon us, nor how much they ruined poor, honest, industrious families; besides the many hard and tedious imprisonments, which many of us underwent, both before and after the declaration of indulgence.

Because of these sufferings, on divers sorts of processes, application was often made to the king, and sometimes to the judges, before they went their several circuits, for some redress from those hardships and severe sufferings; and great endeavours were used, at least to make the king and his ministers sensible thereof, according to the following brief account.

To the King's Justices, appointed for the several circuits throughout England.

Many of our friends, called Quakers, being continued prisoners, and many prosecuted to great spoil by informers, and on *Qui-tam* writs, and by presentments and indictments for twenty pounds, *per mensem*, in divers counties throughout England, only on the account of religion and tender conscience toward Almighty God, we esteem it our Christian duty to remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done from time to time. Humbly entreating you in the circuits, to inquire into the several causes of their commitments and other sufferings, which they lie under, and to extend what favour you can to them, for their ease and relief. Praying the Almighty to direct and preserve you; we are your Christian friends and well-wishers.

But we found little redress from the judges in those days, after divers applications to them; except when the king gave them some instructions thereto; for which end we sometimes applied to the king to stay proceedings against our friends; whereupon he showed some compassion towards the sufferers, when their case was presented in manner following.

TO THE KING.

The case of the people called Quakers, who are still sufferers by prosecutions upon old statutes, made against popish recusants.

[Presented to the king by George Whitehead, William Mead, and John Osgood, the 16th of the eleventh month, 1679. Being introduced by William Chiffins, Esq., closet-keeper to the king; as he had given leave and appointed.]

After a brief introductory speech to the king, by George Whitehead, the following case was presented and read, viz:

It may be remembered, that about two years last past, our case of sufferings was represented before the king and his privy council, that is, the late and unwonted prosecutions upon the statutes of the 23rd and 28th of Queen Elizabeth, made against popish recusants; by colour whereof, and of the statute of the 3rd of King James, two-thirds of our lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases and farms, for two or three years then last past, were seized into the king's hands; and process made out of his exchequer twice yearly, to collect the rents and profits thereof, for which the bailiffs seldom take less than double; their distresses frequently amounting

to more than the yearly value of the whole estates. The king was then pleased to express his sense of the unreasonableness of such prosecution, saying, It was hard we should suffer by laws made against us, and also by those laws never made or designed against us. But the parliament being then sitting, the king referred us to them, as the more proper place for an effectual redress.

In obedience whereunto, we made our application to the House of Commons, who by a committee then examined by witness and records, the justness and reasonableness of our complaints, and had true presentments thereof; but before they could yield us any relief, were prorogued; and soon after dissolved.

We also represented our case to the succeeding parliament, who for our relief were pleased to insert a clause in a bill then before them, to distinguish between Papists and Protestants, which would have tended to redress our grievance; but the king also proroguing that parliament before the said bill had passed its last customary reading in the upper House, we are still left under the said heavy pressures.

Now although the most effectual redress of these present and future prosecutions, as the king has directed, would be by Act of Parliament; yet it being so, that the king has power by law, to grant a stay, or cessation of processes, which are made out to collect the fines and profits levied upon our estates, the forfeitures being made to the king;

We therefore in true Christian humility desire, that the king will be pleased to grant a present stay, or cessation of process, until we can have a more effectual redress in a parliamentary way.

The king received this case, with a list of the sufferers, i. e., of our friends under prosecution, and he was pleased to give this answer, viz: That it is very unreasonable you should thus suffer by laws that were never intended against you; I am against persecution, or persecuting any for conscience; and I shall consider of your case, and afford you what relief I can. I will advise with my Lord Chancellor and Attorney-General about it, what way I may do it: i. e., that which we requested, that he would please to give order to put a stop to process against us in the exchequer.

The king further told us, that it should be moved the next council day; he would remember it; and Shephard should give us notice; he being a noted sort of a witty person and courtier, who much attended the king, and was intimate with him.

We were sensible that the king at that time, as I have known him at several others, was touched in his conscience, and somewhat tenderly affected with the extremity and long continuance of those great sufferings upon our friends in this and other cases. But some persons about him were not our friends, and had too much influence upon him, whereby his good inclinations against persecution, and for liberty of conscience, as well as his promises for the same, were many times frustrated, and our suffering heavy pressures and troubles by persecutions, were in great measure continued under his reign, till his days were ended. The little respite which we obtained in his days, was through the earnest solicitations and industry of some few among us, whom the Lord raised up, gifted, and qualified for that service. These were given up in great love and compassion to the conscientious sufferers, to appear in the face of authority in their behalf; in which labour of love I am a living witness of the Lord's power and presence with us, and of his counsel to strengthen and help us in our tender Christian endeavours for our suffering friends and brethren.

Though our solicitations did not at all times take the effect desired, yet I had this secret encouragement to move betimes in a good cause, and to pursue the same so far as I could, believing that if it was for some time delayed or rejected, it would in the Lord's time take effect; if we did not receive present gain, we should not lose by early moving in and following a just cause. Many times when we have laboured under severe persecutions and confinements, we have called for justice when we could not have it; yet thereby we have cleared our consciences, and had the more inward peace, believing that the just God would appear for us, if men would not hear us. And our God has often manifestly pleaded our cause, and vindicated our innocence in divers respects, both in men's consciences, and in removing our implacable persecutors, when they have filled up their measures.

The following account of the imprisonment of George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, was printed for circulation.

Although the publication of this noted case, of our friends George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, has been for some time delayed, through other occasions of Truth's concern intervening, yet it is not meet that such matters should be buried in oblivion, or be laid by in obscurity; wherefore, at the desire of many judicious and well meaning persons, with respect

to the good of our nation and English birth-rights, is this following treatise exposed to public view, not in revenge to the persecutor of our friends, but for instruction and warning for time to come, especially of men in commission for the peace. The late irregular and unjust proceedings against these our Friends concerned, and how well the Lord enabled them to acquit themselves, both as Englishmen and Christians, in defence of their Christian cause, many have understood; and their Christian and gentle behaviour towards the magistrates, their language in the following account bespeaks, wherein they do as well confess the civility of those magistrates of Norwich, as impartially detect the irregularities and injustice of their persecutor. I am not ignorant what the judgment of able counsel was in their case, being one that made inquiry therein, as to matter of law, and it was concluded that it was false imprisonment, being against law: and knowing our friends' innocence and good repute among their neighbours, as real Protestant Christians, this following account is the more freely recommended to the most serious and impartial perusal and consideration of the reader.

E. HOOKES.

George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, providentially and unexpectedly meeting together, about ten or twelve miles from the city of Norwich, the 19th day of the first month, 1680, determined, from a necessity upon our spirits, in true friendship and Christian charity, to visit our friends at their public meeting in the said city, on first-day, the 21st of the same month. We could not well omit this duty with clearness in the sight of God, or with inward satisfaction to our consciences, although we understood beforehand that persecuting informers and disturbers were apt to be busy against our friends' meeting in that city. We freely submitted to the will of God, and with our eye to him, were resigned to divine Providence, as to what might be suffered to come to pass, for the holy truth's sake and service.

The meeting of the people called Quakers, of the said city, continued peaceable in the forenoon and likewise in the afternoon, for about half of the usual time, in which time Thomas Burr had an opportunity peaceably to declare the truth, and after him, George Whitehead, for a little space. In the interim came in a rude company, chiefly informers, tumultuously and violently crowding into the meeting, to pull George Whitehead down. He divers times required them to show some legal authority. They used abusive words, and endeavoured to insinuate to the people,

that he might be a Jesuit, and demanded their names and places of abode. George Whitehead detected their abuse and false defaming insinuation to the people, and gave his name and habitation, to prevent suspicion. Again he demanded by what authority they came thus to disturb our meeting and call us in question, bidding them produce their warrant; but they refused to give account, or show any warrant. So after a tumultuous bustle and a hideous noise, which they made in the meeting, being prevented by the great crowd from coming at us to hale us away, the chief of them withdrew.

In a little time after, Thomas Seamans, one of the sheriffs of the city, came in, calling for us, and came to us, the people making way for him. He required us to go along with him, taking George Whitehead fast hold by the hand, and led him along out of the meeting, about half way to the prison, with other persons, who were the disturbers and informers, to guard us to the prison. The sheriff turned us in at the jail door, and left us there, where we were detained about two hours, and then were sent for, and by the jailer had before Justice Bacon, the recorder of the city. After some time he called us into a room—many other persons coming in—where the priest of the parish, one Whitefoot, was also with him, who at first seemed offended, and began to question us about our hats, and afterwards about sacraments, often interrupting and interposing between us and the justice, as one seeking occasion against us; but he was plainly answered and reprehended by us, the prisoners, for his incivility, though the recorder showed no dislike of his carriage.

Having his law books and bible before him, he began with us about our names, habitations and trades; and inquired, if we were in orders, or had orders from Rome. To all which we gave him a plain account, denying any such orders; and solemnly, in the presence of God, declared our abhorrence of popery. Then he questioned us about our preaching that day in the meeting, to which we also gave him a plain and Christian answer. After some discourse, he read part of the act against conventicles, and insisted that we were offenders against it, and threatened that he would fine us twenty pounds a man; and then demanded of us to deposit the money. But we told him, we had not freedom to do that, although we have estates responsible, that lie open to the law, where our habitations are. This we told him, and did somewhat insist upon it, that he might not fine others on our account; and partly to prevent him from imposing the oath of alle-

giance upon us, to circumvent and entrap us; he questioning us, whether we would take it or not. We answered in general, that we could take no oath for conscience sake; and therefore desired him to take that as a caution, not to go about to ensnare us therewith, since he had begun with us upon another statute, touching our meeting. He said, if we could neither pay the fines nor take the oath, he would commit us to jail. And finding none ready to deposit the fines, the informer whispered in his ear, as he suffered him several times to do, though requested by the prisoners to the contrary.

Then he inquired, when we came into the city, and where we lodged? And where we set up our horses? To all which we gave him account. One or more of the informers, after some whispering with the recorder, went from him to the inn where our horses stood, but in the interim some friends had taken them away unknown to us, though some have wrongfully upbraided us in that matter, as craftily designed and knowing of it. So he told us, he would commit us to prison till next sessions, and there the oath of allegiance should be again tendered us, and we should be premunired if we refused to take it; but if we would pay our fines, he should not send us to prison. Which we not doing, having told him where our habitations and estates were, which were responsible, he concluded with these words: *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio*; of things not appearing, and things not in being, there is the same reason; i. e., our estates that are at London and Ware, appear not at Norwich; therefore they are not *in rerum natura*, or not in being. Strange kind of logic or reason in this case!

After a little space he told us, that if we would give security to appear at next quarter sessions, he would not send us to jail. Not having freedom to do so, we requested that he would but let us lodge out of prison that night, that convenient lodging might be made ready in prison for us, it being then somewhat late in the evening, we promising, God willing, to appear at prison next morning; and some others present proffering to engage for our forthcoming then. But by no means would he grant us that small civility, unless we would engage in forty pounds bond or security, for our appearance next morning at prison; which kindness of his, not being worth further discourse, we did not accept. So he sent us that night to the jail, where we remained satisfied in the will of the Lord, to wait upon him in patience and submission to his good pleasure.

Many material things passed between us,

which cannot well be collected in due order, and others are omitted for brevity's sake.

Among other reflections, the recorder, rendering the said prisoners seducers, seditious, &c., told them of a statute yet in force, that was made in queen Elizabeth's days, to hang such persons as they were. Being asked by the prisoners if he could prosecute them upon that law, or execute it upon them? He answered, Yes; if the king should give order to have it put in execution, he would do it; he would prosecute them, and have them hanged, if they would not abjure the realm, or to that effect.

After the substance of the account given before was written, these following testimonies were by some Friends delivered to the prisoners, wherein are the names of some of the tumultuous disturbers and informers before-mentioned, some whereof refused to tell their own names when asked in the meeting.

It was observed in the late disturbance of our meeting in Norwich, that Paul Hartly, one of the chief of them, was seen to snatch off John Sharping's hat, and threw it a great way over the people's heads in his wrath.

One Christopher Nobs, clerk of Gregory's parish, came into the meeting at Norwich, pushing on each side with his elbows, and smote Rose Gogny such a hard blow on her breast, that it was sore several days. Also Charles Alden, the vintner, at the sign of the Charing Cross, came calling out, "The church doors stand open, but they will be hanged before they will come there." And whilst a Friend was speaking, said, "Pull down that puppy-dog; why suffer you him to stand there prating?"

It plainly appeared that Charles Alden and the rest of those rude and tumultuous persons, behaved themselves more like atheists, than persons of any seriousness, having regard to religion, or Christianity: nay, let humanity and common civility condemn their deportment. What ornament such sons of the church can be to her, let their priests and all serious persons judge. Though the said Alden be accounted a great singer at the cathedral, i. e., one of their singing men, how immoral and brutish was his behaviour? How busy was he also with the recorder against the prisoners, informing, muttering, and whispering against them? Greatly inconsistent with so much as the pretence of common justice to suffer, much more to countenance such work. Surely the righteous Judge of all will plead with all such malicious agents, and such injustice will not go unrebuked.

A copy of the prisoners' letter delivered to the mayor before the quarter sessions, containing a twofold request.

VOL. VIII.—No. 10.

To the Mayor, Justices, and Aldermen of the city of Norwich.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being prisoners in your city jail for our conscience towards God, do heartily wish health, happiness, and prosperity in the way of righteousness, unto you all; and desire of the all-seeing and heart-searching God, that you may be preserved from all injustice, prejudication, and arbitrary proceedings, both in our case, and in all other cases proper to your cognizance, as civil magistrates; wherein you are required to discharge a good conscience, both in the sight of God and men, as that which will greatly tend to your peace with God and your reputation among men.

Forasmuch as we have for some weeks been detained prisoners in your city jail, and you have had no hand therein, saving that one person, by whom we were committed, we are the more encouraged to make this brief application to you, upon a twofold request on this wise:

First; We request your moderation and indifferency so far towards us, as that when we are called before you, as a court of judicature in your quarter sessions, to hear and determine matters that come judicially before you, you will please to hear us with patience, and suffer us to open our case, and to plead and argue, whether it be in point of law, conscience, reason, or fact, as our case shall require. First hear, before you determine, that we may not be overborne nor run down, nor any precipitation be used towards us in court, to divert or prevent us from making our defence, in reference to the prosecution and charge we suffer under.

Secondly; We further request, that if upon a deliberate hearing, and due inquiry into those proceedings which we suffer under, we make it appear that we are illegally and unduly proceeded withal, and contrary to due process and order of law, that then you will not countenance, abet, or confirm such proceedings against us, but stand clear thereof, and show your dissent. For whoever be deputed judge in your court, as the king's minister and mouth of the court, it is no otherwise so legally intended, than as he shall appear to be the minister and mouth of the law and justice; and therefore it cannot be reasonable or safe, nor yet for your reputation or the honour of your court, to espouse or confirm any prosecution or procedure, that is injurious, or contrary to due course of law, and so tending to the* grief and dishonour of

the king, or destruction of any of his peaceable people.

We hope you will not deny, but assent to these two foregoing propositions, as just and reasonable; and therefore we shall not need now to urge, but only remind you of these material points of law following.

First; It is the king's will, in point of law,* that all his justices, sheriffs, mayors, and other ministers, who, under him, have the laws of the land to guide, shall allow the great charter of the liberties of England to be pleaded in all points.

Secondly; That if any judgment be given, or any thing done contrary to the points of the said charter, by the justices, or any other the king's ministers that hold plea before them, against the points of the charter, it shall be undone, redressed, and holden for naught.

Thirdly; The court ought to be of counsel with the prisoner, to see that nothing be urged against him contrary to law and right. Coke. Inst. part 3, fol. 29.

Fourthly; That the court ought to be so far from overawing, or forcibly diverting the prisoner from his plea or answer, that the judge ought to exhort the prisoner to answer without fear; and that justice shall be duly administered unto him. Coke Inst. part 2, fol. 316.

Fifthly; That any learned man who is present, may inform the court, for the benefit of the prisoner, of any thing that may make the proceedings erroneous: as also, even in cases highly criminal, it is lawful for any man that is in court, to inform the court, lest the court should err, and the prisoner be unjustly proceeded with. See Coke, part 3, fol. 137.

Now friends, these things are recommended and left to your serious consideration, we not designing hereby, as you may easily understand, to enter into the merits or justification of our cause; but fairly to introduce the right and legal cognizance thereof, in order to have justice and right done us as Englishmen, and as we are your well-wishers.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

Norwich jail, the 17th of the
Second month, 1680.

We desire this may be communicated.

An account of the substance or principal parts of the procedure at the quarter sessions at Norwich, holden for the city and county of the same, the 28th day of the month called

April, 1680. Collected and compared by several hands, and digested into as much order as the capacity of the sufferers, and the circumstances of proceedings would admit.

The quarter sessions for the city and county of Norwich, begun the 19th day of April, so called, 1680. Adjourned until the 26th, and continued the 27th and 28th of the same. And again adjourned until the 17th of May, 1680. The aforesaid prisoners, George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, were called into court the 27th of April, in the year abovesaid: nothing was said to them then by the court, but they returned back immediately to prison, upon pretence of a mistake about their being called forth.

At the quarter sessions for the city and county of Norwich, the 28th day of April, so called, 1680, the prisoners were brought to the bar, their hats ordered to be taken off, and their hats were taken off.

George Whitehead standing up to the bar, began thus;

The law of England requires two things of the court with respect to the prisoners, viz: The patience of the court, and the indifference of the court towards the prisoners.

That their case may be patiently heard and considered, without prejudication, before any judgment pass against them. This we expect from the court. We have been five weeks in prison; it is meet the court should know for what. Pray let our mittimus be produced and read in court, that it may be understood what charge we suffer under.

Our suffering is twofold; first, above five weeks confinement.

Secondly, the charge that is against us in the mittimus: we request that the mittimus may be produced and read in court.

Recorder. There is no need of your mittimus to be read here: I will give account of the cause: I will inform the court. These persons had been two* months from home, and had been up and down in the country in Suffolk,† at a burial, &c. And then they came hither, and here they gathered a company together, of about two hundred, and the officers went from me to dissipate them, but could not; whereupon I sent the sheriff, and he took them away, and put them in prison.‡ And then they were brought before me; and after conviction made, I proffered them, that if they would pay their fines, I would not commit them to prison; but when they would

* An untruth. † Not true of Thomas Burr, it was only George Whitehead.

‡ The prisoners had not opportunity to speak to all this account.

* 25 Ed. 1 c. 1 Coke Inst. part 2, fol. 527.

25 Ed. 1 c. 2. 5 Ed. 3, 9, 28. Ed. 3, 3, &c.

not, I tendered the oath of allegiance to them: and after they would not take it, I sent them to jail; as I think I very well might.

George Whitehead. We are Englishmen, and have a right to travel in any part of the nation.

Thomas Burr. I am a person that have been concerned in trading in corn, as well in this county as in others; and by the law of England, a man may travel from place to place about his concerns, and ought not to be molested while he walks peaceably.

Recorder. Had not you better been turning your malt at home, than to come here to preach? The apostle Paul exhorts to follow the vocation whereunto ye are called. The Scripture says, "God added to the church such as should be saved:" but ye draw from the church.

The prisoner heard not these words, but some others affirmed they did. However, had the prisoner heard this reflection before, upon a fair debate upon the point, he might have answered the recorder, that to be a tradesman or layman, so called, is not inconsistent with being a preacher of the gospel. When God added to the church, it was through laymen's preaching, such as fishermen, handicraftsmen, and such like. It is popery, and the popish spirit, that would hinder laymen and labouring men, being endued with the Holy Spirit, from being preachers of the gospel; and not the spirit of Moses, who wished that all the Lord's people were prophets; nor the spirit of the holy prophets, Christ, or his apostles, who did not go about to exclude laymen or mechanics, so called, from preaching the gospel; for the best preachers were generally such, in the prophets' and primitive Christians' days.

Recorder. There is a law—and the church of England will never be at quiet till some of you be hanged by that law, or till such fellows as you are hanged.

George Whitehead. The court may see the frame of the recorder's spirit toward us, and that he stands not as a person indifferent, but a party against us. Thou oughtest not to inveigh against the prisoners, nor threaten us. That stands not with the indifferency of the court; nor yet thy determining or resolving beforehand against us, as thou hast done. Judges ought not to declare their opinions beforehand against the prisoner. Hussey, the chief justice, would not do it to the king, in the case of Humphrey Stafford, the arch traitor, but begged of the king, he would not desire him to declare his opinion beforehand, that the prisoner might come judicially before him, and have justice done him. And the king accepted his request in the case ——— interrupted.

Recorder. What king's reign was that in? *George Whitehead.* In king Henry the seventh's.

Recorder. I perceive you have read, or are read.

George Whitehead. Seeing that none of the court have as yet had any hand against us, except the recorder, we may charitably hope that the court will stand indifferent towards us, and let us have a fair hearing before any determination. For as the laws of our nation require a due process and a due course of proceeding, before men be sentenced or condemned; so there ought to be a due hearing. As where a process or proceeding consists of several parts, each part ought to be inquired into, and answered in due order, without confounding one thing with another, or putting that first, which in course is last. Let us have a fair hearing and trial. Let us be tried before we be hanged. Let us not be hanged first, and then tried. It will be too late to try us after we are hanged.

Recorder. You were sent to prison for refusing the oath of allegiance.

George Whitehead. That is a mistake. We were sent to prison for being at a meeting charged to be against the peace, which is the premises in our mittimus, to which we are here to answer. And therefore that all may know what is laid to our charge, we desire our mittimus may be read, that so if there be any persons who will undertake to prove the matter in charge, let us see them, and have liberty to answer the premises contained in the mittimus.

Recorder. I will show you, that when a person is committed to prison, he may have several actions laid upon him, if new charges be brought against him.

Prisoner. I grant that; but that is not our case. For we presume the recorder had no new matter brought against us, after he committed us to prison; and therefore could not lay any new charge upon us.

Thomas Burr. There could not be any new charge against us, to render us suspicious of being Jesuits or Papists; but instead of that, we have certificates to take off any jealousies of that kind that might be in any concerning us, which are subscribed by credible persons of our neighbourhood.

George Whitehead. The premises which we are to answer to, is matter of charge contained in the mittimus: let it be read in court we request you.

Recorder. It shall not,—I will give account. These persons were taken at an unlawful meeting. There is also a second mittimus, which signifies my requiring them to take the oath of obedience, and their refusal.

George Whitehead. The second is a warrant to detain us without bail or mainprise, till sessions: it is not the mittimus, it is of another date.

Recorder. It is the mittimus; and you are to answer to it, whether you will take the oath of allegiance to the king. These persons have refused to show their obedience to the king.

Thomas Burr. Pray forbear to accuse us. We have showed our obedience by our peaceable conversation.

George Whitehead. The second warrant is not the mittimus. The mittimus is that by which we were sent to prison, bearing date the 21st day of March. The second warrant bears date the 23rd day of March.

Recorder. The second is the mittimus; you are to answer to it. We will put the oath to you.

George Whitehead. The second is not the mittimus; we were not sent to prison by it. We were sent to prison the 21st of March. The second warrant bears date the 23rd of March. We were in prison nearly two days before the date of the last warrant. There needed not be a mittimus to send us to jail, when we were sent by one already so long before. I pray let our mittimus be read in court.

Recorder. Put the oath to them, that is in the second mittimus.

George Whitehead. I beg of this court, for God's sake, and the king's sake, to be heard fairly, without thus being run upon. For God's sake, because he is a God of justice and truth; and for the king's sake, because the king's will toward us as subjects, is what the law and justice wills. As his will is the will of the law, he wills that none of his subjects be injured, or unduly prosecuted contrary to law. I appeal to the mayor as chief magistrate of this city, and the rest of the justices here present, whether ye ought not to see us have that right so far done us, as to have our mittimus produced and read in court, that you may understand the cause of our commitment. We were not committed for refusing the oath. We entreat that the court may hear our mittimus, that we may not have any other premises put upon us than what is contained therein.

Recorder. It shall not be read; there is no need of that; I am present that committed you—

George Whitehead. I appeal to the mayor and the rest of the justices, who are more indifferent towards us, for justice in this case, viz: that we may have our mittimus read, and answer to the premises contained in it, and not thus be run upon, and diverted with that which is none of the premises.

Mayor. You have appealed to me: truly we are tradesmen, and no lawyers: we leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law, and we must acquiesce in his judgment.

Thomas Burr. Thou understandest we ought to have our mittimus read, and be heard: and thou art the chief magistrate in this court.

George Whitehead. You all have a conscience towards God, and an equal and just law therein; and you are under a severe obligation, to wit, your oath to see justice and right done us. We appeal to the mayor and justices here for justice, in relation to our mittimus, that it may not be thus evaded. We are at this sessions to answer to the premises or matter of charge therein contained; you are concerned in conscience to do us right herein. The honour of this court is also concerned not to see us precipitated, or run down upon other premises. The mittimus was given under the hand and seal of your recorder; his reputation and honour are also concerned.

Recorder. My honour concerned; wherein?

George Whitehead. Thy reputation and honour are concerned, in that thou art bound to stand by our mittimus; it is under thy hand and seal. Now thou goest about to evade it, by imposing other premises upon us, or to the same effect.

Recorder. They sent their mittimuses to the attorney general, and solicited him for advice, to know whether they were according to law or not, and moved for a *Habeas Corpus*: but it would not be granted.

George Whitehead. We neither sent to the attorney general, nor have we yet moved for a *Habeas Corpus*.

Recorder. The second mittimus or warrant is about their refusing the oath of allegiance; as for the first, I did not make it by book.*

George Whitehead. It is not a reasonable thing to bring a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him: it was contrary to the very law of the Romans.— Interrupted, being about to add, as Festus said in the case of Paul. "It seemed to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him;" which always ought to be in warrants of commitment.

Recorder. What tell you us of the law of the Romans; we have laws of our own to act by; or to that effect.

George Whitehead. It is according to the law of reason and nations, that the crimes

* This the prisoners did not hear, but others nearer.

and offences should be known, for which prisoners are committed and detained in prison; else why should they suffer?

Recorder. The court must tender you the oath.

George Whitehead. Wherefore then were we committed and detained in prison above these five weeks? If we be offenders, let us know our offence, for which we were committed; if not, do not go about to ensnare us; do not seek occasion against us. It is enough to punish us, if found guilty of what is charged against us in our mittimus. We entreat the mayor and court to do us right in this matter, that our mittimus may be read.

Mayor, and some others. Well, you shall have it read.

George Whitehead. Keeper, where is our mittimus? produce it, that it may be read, as the mayor and other justices here present have engaged.

Recorder. Tender them the oath: put the oath to them: if you will take it, that shall serve; if not you incur a premunire.

A hideous noise in the court, among some under clerks and officers, about the oath, viz:

Some under clerks. What say you? Answer. Will you take the oath? Will you kiss the book?

Clerk reads, I Thomas Whitehead do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my conscience, &c. Here was an interruption, upon his mistake of Thomas for George.

George Whitehead. The oath is none of the premises contained in our mittimus, which we are to answer to at this sessions, and to be tried upon.

Thomas Burr. Our all is at stake. We perceive the recorder is determined concerning us. We must have liberty to speak. We are freeborn Englishmen. [This on the interruption.]

Recorder. We have power here to tender you the oath, without taking notice of any other cause.

George Whitehead. It is preposterous to run us upon the oath in the first place, we being not committed for that, but for other causes.

Recorder. You affront the court: is that a fit word to give the court, to charge the court with preposterous proceedings, or to that effect.

George Whitehead.—I do not charge the court; I do distinguish between the recorder in this point, and the court: he seeks to run us upon that first, which in course is last, according to his own mittimus and warrant,—and is not that preposterous? Let our mitti-

mus be read, and that will show we were not committed upon the oath.

We ought to have due process, or proceeding in due course of law; therefore the court should know how we were first arrested and turned into jail by the sheriff, without examination, mittimus, or warrant; and how afterward, we were had out and committed; and what the mittimus is; what are the premises contained in it, that we are to answer unto.

The law of England is tender of men's liberties, properties, estates and lives, all which are concerned in our imprisonment. *Lex Angliæ*, is said to be *Lex misericordiæ*, i. e., the law of England, is a law of mercy; one reason whereof is, that the innocent may not be worn or wasted through long imprisonment, but be brought forth speedily to trial, according to *Magna Charta*.

Recorder.—Look what an argument or consequence you would draw from hence, the law of England is a law of mercy; it is *Lex misericordiæ*, therefore thieves or malefactors must not be brought to condign punishment, or to that effect.

George Whitehead.—That is none of my consequence; mine is the same that Judge Coke doth instance, wherein the law of England is *Lex misericordiæ*, in that it is tender of men's liberties, and prescribes a due course of procedure — Interrupted — as it may be applied to our case. Either we are innocent or nocent; if innocent, we ought to be heard, and not delayed in prison; if nocent, or criminal, we ought to have due and orderly proceeding, according to the law of the land, that our offence may the more plainly appear, that others may take warning thereby, and not incur the like penalty or suffering. However, let us have fair dealing; let us not be unduly run upon, or diverted from our plea, and our mouths stopped, so that the court and people here cannot know what we suffer for. No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized of his freehold, or otherwise destroyed, but by due process and order of law. This, *Magna Charta* enjoins, where in the 29th chapter it is said, No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, but by the law of the land; that is, by due order of law, by due process, according to law. The law of England requires due process, or proceeding, from the very first arrest, taking, and imprisoning, to the very end and execution of the same. Therefore the first arrest, imprisoning and committing us, ought to be known and understood, whether it was in due manner and course of law, yea, or nay.

Let us have our mittimus read, we expect it; it is granted and promised us by the

mayor, and others indifferent. [A little respite, in expectation of the mittimus.] But the recorder seemed greatly offended at the prisoners urging this, and at the mayor and justices assenting to it.

George Whitehead.—Seeing that the law is tender of Englishmen's liberties, as that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, without due proceeding in law, it is but meet and reasonable, that the court and people here, should understand what capacity and repute we are under among our neighbours, that is, whether as freemen of England and of any repute among our neighbours, or as bond-slaves, rogues, vagrants, or renegadoes. Hear what our neighbours say of us; we desire their certificates may be read.

Recorder.—What have we to do with your certificates? Will any swear to them, that they are true ones?

George Whitehead.—They are real certificates; pray let them be read; here they are.

Recorder.—We do not know but that you might make them yourselves in prison.

George Whitehead.—They are no fictions: Pray read them, or let them be read; they are from persons of credit and repute, as common-council-men, deputy constables, church-wardens, and others.

Recorder.—They shall not be read.

George Whitehead.—We beg they may be read. Look upon this certificate, here are the persons' own (different) hands to it; it may tend to inform the court, and to remove suspicion and jealousies concerning us. [But this would not be granted the prisoners.]

George Whitehead.—Seeing our certificates may not be read, nor suffered to be read, which is hard measure, now let our mittimus be produced [several expecting the keeper had sent for it] pray let us have our mittimus produced and read.

Recorder.—We have it not, the jailer has it.

George Whitehead.—Where is it? Keeper, produce it; thou hadst it.

Recorder.—To the prisoner, No doubt you have a copy.

George Whitehead.—Yes, we have; may I read it?

I crave liberty of the court to read it, that the court may understand what we are committed for, and to answer to that, this court is to take judicial cognizance of.

Court.—The justices asked the question from one to another, to have it read, generally assenting thereunto, as being of the mind it ought to be read.

Justice Briggs. I am of the mind it should be read; what say you Mr. Bendich?

Justice Bendich. Yes, truly I am of the mind it should be read.

Justice Briggs. Pray speak to Mr. Mayor; which was done.

Mayor to the Recorder. Sir, the justices are agreed it should be read.

Recorder turning himself toward them, as one greatly offended, that the mittimus should be read.

George Whitehead. It concerns the court to let us have our mittimus read. I am ready to read the copy, seeing it may not be otherwise produced and read; shall I read? We expect that justice from the court, that it should be read.

Recorder. Let them read it then, I am not ashamed of it; then read the other also, for you have them both.

Court. You may read it.

George Whitehead. Now we have the leave of the court, I hope you will keep to it: observe it, it is a true copy. The mittimus read, which followeth.

THE MITTIMUS, VIZ:

City and county of Norwich.—Whereas George Whitehead of the parish of St. Buttolph in London, grocer, and Thomas Burr of Ware, in the county of Hartford, maltster, have this day assembled together, with several other persons, in disturbance of the public peace, and against the laws of this realm; and being required to find sureties for their respective appearance at the next general sessions of the peace, to be holden for the said city and county, to answer the premises, which they refused so to do: these are therefore to will and require you to receive and keep the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr in the common jail for the city and county aforesaid, until they shall be from thence discharged by due order of law; and hereof fail not. Given under my hand and seal, the 21st day of March, Anno Dom. 1679.

F. BACON.

To the constables of the Ward of West Wymor, and to either of them, to convey, and to your keeper of the common jail aforesaid, to receive and keep the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, according to this warrant.

George Whitehead. Does the recorder own this to be a true copy, yea or nay?

Recorder. I care not whether it be true or false; there is another mittimus against you.

George Whitehead. Let this mittimus be considered first: dost thou own it to be a true copy, or no? We have it attested.

Recorder. It may be it is, what then? It may be true for aught I know, &c. or to that effect.

George Whitehead. Then pray observe this mittimus, the tenor of it, what it contains.

First; As to the cause of our commitment.

Secondly; That is, the premises which we are to answer to, and to be tried and delivered upon.

Thirdly; And that according to law, or according to due course of law.

First; Then, the charge concerns matter of fact, i. e. being at a meeting. And,

Secondly; What such a meeting, or how qualified, i. e., a meeting in disturbance of the public peace.

These are the matters in charge against us, which the court ought to take judicial cognizance of; either to acquit us, if clear, or to condemn us, if guilty of any such meeting.

Recorder. Read the other mittimus; you have a copy doubtless.

George Whitehead. We have a copy of the second warrant. But this is not to be evaded; this is the mittimus; this contains the cause of our commitment, and the charge that lies against us, which the court is bound only to take cognizance of; for we are thereby referred to the quarter sessions.

Recorder. Read the second warrant, that contains the cause, to wit, my tendering you the oath; by taking whereof you ought to show your allegiance, or obedience to the king.

George Whitehead. Either the mittimus is a legal mittimus, or it is illegal; if legal, then let us answer to the premises. If the oath be insisted upon, to evade the mittimus, that will bespeak either want of other matter against us, or else that the mittimus or commitment is illegal.

Recorder. Read the second warrant, &c.

George Whitehead. We have exceptions against the second warrant: If I read that, the exceptions ought also to be read. Shall I read them when I have read the warrant?

Court. Well, you may read both.

George Whitehead. Now the court is engaged and concerned to make good the liberty granted me, to read our exceptions when the warrant is read.

The second warrant read, which follows.

City and county of Norwich.—Whereas George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, were lately sent by my warrant unto the common jail for the city and county aforesaid, for being seditiously assembled with some hundreds of other disloyal persons, against the public peace, and in contempt of the laws and government of this realm. Now, for that the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr

are suspicious persons, and strangers to this city aforesaid, and being unwilling to declare that duty, which they and every true and well affected subject ought to bear, by bond of allegiance to our gracious king, they did severally refuse to take and pronounce the oath of obedience to the king's majesty, duly tendered unto them; and after they were severally required to do the same by me: these are therefore in his majesty's name, to will and command you to keep the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr in the common jail, for the said city and county, without bail or mainprise, until the next general quarter sessions of the peace, to be holden for the city and county aforesaid; and hereof fail not. Given under my hand and seal, the 23rd day of March, A. D. 1679.

F. BACON.

To the keeper of the common jail, for the city and county of Norwich.

George Whitehead. I hope the recorder cannot deny the copy to be true.

Recorder. I will vindicate it by law in any court in England, or to that effect.

George Whitehead. Hear the exceptions against this second warrant: I will read them deliberately. If the court has any thing to object against any particular, that may be read over again after the first reading.

Court. Read them. Go on.

First; The prisoners being committed till sessions, there to answer to the premises contained in their mittimus: therefore the court ought to take judicial cognizance thereof, that is, of the charge contained in the said mittimus, for their trial and discharge thereupon, by due order of law, and not to suffer the second warrant to be insisted upon, or the mittimus to be evaded.

Secondly; Because that after the command given to the keeper to keep them in the common jail, until the next general quarter sessions, the lawful conclusion is wanting, viz: [until they shall be delivered by due course of law,] see Coke, in the second part of his Institutes, concerning a commitment by lawful warrant. The warrant or mittimus, saith he, containing a lawful cause, ought to have a lawful conclusion, viz; And him safely to keep until he be delivered by law, &c. And not until the party committing doth give further order. And this doth evidently appear by the writs of *Habeas Corpus*, both in the king's bench and common pleas, exchequer and chancery.

Again he saith, The mittimus ought to be, as hath been said, till he be delivered by law.

Again, as the mittimus must contain the cause, so the conclusion must be according to

law, viz: the prisoner safely to keep, until he be delivered by due order of law; and not until he that made it, shall give other order, or the like.

The third exception is deduced by way of inference from the second. Therefore the justice had no legal power to give other order or warrant, which interposeth between his commitment of the prisoners, and their deliverance by due course of law, which is mentioned in the warrant of commitment; but not in this pretended warrant for detention. The justice who committed the prisoners, had no legal jurisdiction over them, thus by himself to interpose to fasten them. They were thrust out of his hands by their commitment, and thereby referred to the quarter sessions, for their discharge thereupon, by due order of law. [Interruption on the reading the third exception in this objection] viz:

Recorder. If a man owe twenty men money, the first that arrests him lays him into jail, but the other may lay their actions upon him for all that: or if a man robs in several places, and is laid into jail for one robbery, and there comes a hue and cry after him for another, shall he go free of that because he is arrested already?

George Whitehead. That is not our case; there is no parity between them: we were not committed to jail on any such account, as upon any action of debt or robbery. Nor were we chargeable with any new matter or crime when the second warrant was written, more than when our mittimus was written, and we first committed to prison. Pray let me read on; the matter is further cleared.

Fourthly; The second warrant is contradictory to the first, in that it admits of no bail nor mainprise for the prisoners, which the first admits of in these words, viz: Being required to find sureties for their respective appearances at the next general sessions. Whereas the prisoners were no more criminal when the second warrant was made, than when the first was made, being then in hold upon their commitment.

Fifthly; The prisoners were not convented nor had in examination before the justice, when the second warrant was made, to answer for themselves, as they ought judicially to have been, if he had any new matter unailable against them, or any matter of such high and criminal nature when he made the second, which he had not when he made the first, as to render them incapable of bail. Therefore his second warrant is illegal and extrajudicial, and the court is not bound to take notice of it.

[After the fifth exception the recorder again interrupted] viz:

Recorder. While I have to do here, I will

not suffer myself to be thus reflected upon. It is a dishonour to the court.

Court. How many more have you to read?

George Whitehead. But a very few; I shall quickly have done. You may call for any of them to be read over again when I have done.

Court. You may go on. Go on.

Sixthly; If it be objected that the prisoners refused to take and pronounce the oath of obedience to the king, being duly required by Justice Bacon, that is an apparent mistake. If the warrant of their commitment be of credit, it shall be evidence, in that it admits of no bail, as before: which the refusal of the said oath, being so required, admits not of: but the prisoners were not committed on that account. And therefore the second or collateral warrant, which is of another date, and no commitment, is grounded on a mistake in that point, and is an extrajudicial thing; and therefore not to be taken notice of, but rejected by the court, and holden for none.

Seventhly; Justice Bacon could not legally, nor duly, require the prisoners aforesaid to take the said oath, according to the tenor and plain express words of the statutes, provided in that case; they not being under those circumstances and causes, which the law provides and limits, as precedent to one justice's being authorized to require it.

Upon the seventh exception, when read, the recorder alledged thus, viz:

Recorder. If I find you under any one of those circumstances or causes, I might tender you it.

Observation added,—First; But he did not assign or show any one circumstance that the prisoners were under to warrant him alone to tender of the oath. However, he hereby granted, that he had no power alone to require the said oath, without limitation of such precedent circumstances.

Secondly; The circumstances and causes precedent, and prescribed by the statute are,

"The persons standing indicted or convicted for not coming to church, or complained of by the minister, petty constable and church wardens, or any two of them, to any justice of peace near adjoining to the place, where any person complained of shall dwell," &c. It is only in such case that one justice has power to require the said oath. His power is apparently limited by the law to certain precedent circumstances, under which circumstances and capacity, neither the prisoners nor the justice stood; and therefore were not *in statu quo*, for the oath to be legally required of them by one justice.

Eighthly; The oath of obedience could not be legally tendered on the 21st of March,

1679, being the Lord's day; because that no writ, process, warrant, order, judgment, or decree are to be served on that day, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, which the case of the said oath is none of: it is a case of itself distinct. See the act for the better observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, *Anno vicesimo nono Caroli secundi*, 1677.

[After the eighth exception being read.]

Recorder. Now you have prepared a knife to cut your own throat withal by that exception; [in case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace] your meetings are against the peace, or to that effect.

The recorder did not deny the tender of the oath to be a proceeding in law: nay, we presume he could not deny it.

George Whitehead. That our meetings are against the public peace, remains to be proved upon the premises of our mittimus — [prevented and interrupted, when these words should have been added, being clearly intended for argument in relation to the exception.] That the tender of the oath of allegiance is a case of itself, distinct from the cases of treason, felony, and breach of the peace. For it cannot be justice to excuse or acquit traitors, felons, or breakers of the peace, by tendering them the oath of allegiance, or by their taking it. That were an easy way for traitors and felons to escape the condign punishment of the law; there is other process or proceeding in law, more properly limited and assigned against them. For how many oaths would not traitors and felons take, if swearing would free them from the judgment or condign punishment of the law? What oaths would not such take to save themselves?

Seeing the recorder seemed not to deny the tender of the oath to be a process in law, his answer, That your meetings are against the public peace, was beside the point. His requiring the oath is neither the process nor the penalty of the law, for the breach of the public peace: they are distinct cases and processes.

Recorder. Have you any thing against the oath of allegiance? Or do you except against any thing contained in it?

George Whitehead. We have nothing to except against the declaration of allegiance contained in it, as to the substance thereof.

Thomas Burr. We show our allegiance by our conversation, that is, by our living peaceably under the king and government.

Recorder. Do you scruple any word or thing contained in the oath? If you do, tell us what it is.

George Whitehead. We both own and can sign the declaration of allegiance, in opposition

to the pope and popery: and to those seditious or treasonable practices and positions abjured and renounced by that oath.

Recorder. Do you hold it unlawful to take an oath in any case?

George Whitehead. We are not committed to prison to answer questions at sessions; but to answer to the premises contained in our mittimus.

Recorder. Do you not hold it lawful to tell a lie? i. e., an officious lie, to prevent an imminent danger, or to that effect.

George Whitehead. No, by no means; that is not a true Protestant principle, to tell or maintain an officious lie, so called.

Recorder. Will you take the oath? If you will, hold up your hand as a testimony that you do take the oath, or swear, that shall serve.

George Whitehead. We have a protestation or declaration against the pope and popery, which was delivered to the committee of Parliament, and thereby judged sufficient to distinguish us from popish recusants: we crave leave of the court to read it.

Recorder. What difference is there between a protestation and an oath?

George Whitehead. It may be a protestation or testimony against popery, yet not an oath. I pray you, let us read our protestation, that we may not lie under suspicion without cause.

Court. You may. — Read it.

The protestation read in court, which followeth.

A Protestation or Declaration, to distinguish Protestant dissenters from Popish recusants.

I A. B., do in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly profess, and in good conscience declare, it is my real judgment, that the church of Rome is not the real church of Christ; nor the pope, nor bishop of Rome, Christ's vicar: and his or their doctrines of deposing heretical princes, and of absolving their subjects of their obedience, of purgatory and prayers for the dead, of indulgences, and worshipping of images; of adoring and praying to the virgin Mary, and other saints deceased; and of transubstantiation, or changing the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at, or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; are false, erroneous, and contrary to the truth of God, declared in the holy Scriptures. And therefore, that the communion of the said church is superstitious and idolatrous.

And I do likewise sincerely testify and declare, that I do from the bottom of my heart, detest and abhor all plots and conspiracies that are, or may be contrived against the king

or Parliament, or people of this realm, or the true Protestant religion therein professed. And I do hereby faithfully promise, by God's help, to live a peaceable and sober life, as becometh a good Christian and Protestant to do.

And all this I do acknowledge, intend, declare and subscribe, without any equivocation or mental reservation; according to the true plainness, simplicity, and usual significations of the words.—Witness my hand.

George Whitehead. This was accepted by a great committee, and entered in the journal of Parliament, in order to distinguish us from popish recusants, &c.

Recorder. We have not a law to accept it. It is not enacted or made a law. We must proceed according to law. You seem to declare for the true Protestant religion, when you dissent from the church of England.* I am not in that point satisfied with your declaration, or to that effect.

George Whitehead. We have no mental reservation in the case: we are willing and ready to sign this declaration — [Interrupted when about adding these words, viz:] The true Protestant religion is wholly opposite to popery; it stands in protestation or testimony against popery; it is a negative testimony thereof. So far as any Protestants in the church of England, or elsewhere, do really protest against, and sincerely disown popery, so far are we of the same judgment with them. But there are Protestants of several degrees; some are more refined, and more clear of popery than others. Is there any evidence against us to prove the premises contained in our mittimus? Where are our accusers?

Recorder. The premises; what are they?

George Whitehead. The being at an unlawful assembly, in disturbance of the public peace, as is pretended against us; let us be tried, and either condemned or acquitted hereupon.

Recorder. I was more favourable to you than you deserved; for I could have drawn an indictment against you at common law, and brought you to a trial upon it: which being found against you, I must have fined you. We who are in commission for the peace, are *lex loquens*, and to give the true meaning of the law. We are not to make laws, but to interpret the law. We are to punish or amerce offenders, *secundum qualitatem et secundum quantitatem delicti*, &c.

George Whitehead. We are not at present about to justify ourselves, as to matter of fact. We are willing to hear evidence of what any

can prove against us, in relation to our assemblies. Let us have due process.

Recorder. If the court will agree to it, we will adjourn: and I will provide an indictment, and give order that the witnesses shall be here, and will give it to the grand inquest; and if they find it against you, you shall be fined forty pounds, and imprisonment till paid.

Prisoner. It seems the witnesses are yet to procure. Is there any here that can give evidence against our meeting, of the breach of the peace, &c.

Recorder. That is a lie. I did not say I would procure witnesses: that is scandalous.

Thomas Burr. We desire that no advantage may be taken against us for a word. You ought not to take advantage.

George Whitehead. I intended no offence in the word procure; I intended it not in the worst sense, i. e., as by way of subornation; for I intended no other than according to the recorder's own words, that witnesses should be here, or the like, which doubtless many present heard.

Prisoner. Well, we refused not to be tried upon the charge in our mittimus, touching our meeting, &c.

Recorder. You shall have the oath put to you. And I will tell you what danger you incur: if you refuse to take it you are to be put out of the king's protection, your lands and estates forfeit to the king, and your bodies imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

George Whitehead. We understand what a premunire means, according to the statute of premunire, made in the sixteenth year of king Richard the second; though there is no equity that should be brought upon us whilst we practice our allegiance. Suppose we cannot for conscience sake swear. It is but hard measure to bring us under the penalty of premunire for that cause only. What equity can there be in it? Seeing we utterly deny the pope and popery; to which we may justly add, and abhor those treasonable practices and positions which are abjured by that oath. Suppose we have such a scruple of conscience, as that we cannot swear allegiance, whilst we both practice it, and are willing to declare it; and to sign the declaration or substance of our allegiance. Can it be equal or just to run us to a premunire, to forfeit our estates, liberties, &c., only for want of swearing? How can that be either *secundum qualitatem*, or *secundum quantitatem delicti*, as it is supposed.

Recorder. You talk of conscience. Friend, friend, let me ask you one question: pray what is conscience?

George Whitehead. It is that knowledge that God hath placed in man; it is a knowing

* This renders protestancy but in a narrow compass, as if all dissenters were no Protestants.

together between God and our own souls, by virtue of the law of God in man, whereby he knows what is good, and what is evil: and whereby he is taught to embrace the good and shun the evil. It is called the law of truth, the law of equity, the law of reason, &c. Against which law, says the law book, Doctor and Student, no law or custom ought to be brought, but it is void.

Recorder. Although I asked you a question, I did not bid you preach upon it. But conscience may be seared; as when men will not be reclaimed, but have their own wills, be they never so contrary.

George Whitehead. It is true; some men become hardened and seared through sinning, and for want of being exercised by that law of God in them: yet there is an universal law of truth in mankind, whereby even the wicked, and those of seared and hardened consciences, shall finally be convicted and awakened in torment.

Recorder. You must have the oath put to you: the court must tender you the oath of allegiance; will you take it?

George Whitehead. We lie under a charge in our mittimus: let us be discharged of that first. That contains the premises which we are to answer to. Let us not be hood-winked. Are we discharged of the two warrants that are against us, yea or no? The rest of the court ought to know, that one thing may not confound another.

Recorder. You talk law as you talk gospel; here you talk a little, and there you talk a little: it is pity you have the benefit of the law: you put yourselves from the protection of the law.

George Whitehead. The recorder is a party against us: he is our accuser, prosecutor and judge. He inveighs against us. He is determined against us: he has told his resolution aforehand.

One Justice. You offer contempt against the king, in what you say against his minister: the recorder is his minister, or to the same effect.

George Whitehead. No such matter: I only oppose an undue and irregular procedure—which is not the king's will.

Recorder. Your words tend to stir up the people here to sedition.

George Whitehead. We have no such design: we only plead our own rights as Englishmen: the losers must have leave to speak: our liberties and estates, and families are concerned: our wives and families suffer by our restraint.

Recorder. Clerk, tender him the oath: offer him the book.

Clerk reads. I George Whitehead, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, &c.

George Whitehead. Forbear: we have matter of plea which ought to be heard first.

Here a great noise was made by some present.

Crier. O yes: silence in the court.

George Whitehead. We beg of the court that we may not be thus run upon, but duly heard upon the process we suffer under.

Recorder. Will you take the oath: answer, and then you shall know the pleasure of the court.

George Whitehead. We ought to be at some certainty whether we are discharged of the premises laid against us in the two warrants. The recorder was even now for indicting us at common law: now he is all in haste to put the oath upon us. Thus he appears inconsistent with himself: he is not now *lex loquens* to be sure; for the law speaking, doth not contradict itself. He is not the mouth of the law, in running thus unduly and abruptly upon us with the oath, to evade the premises which we were to answer. Are we discharged of the two warrants, yea or no? Let us have the plain advice or sense of the court.

Recorder. It may be you may suppose you be discharged: what is the consequence you will infer thence.

George Whitehead. We desire a plain answer: we are not to be answered by supposition, nor thence to draw consequences now. We are not called hither to dispute upon an hypothetical argument. We expect a positive, plain answer, and the sense of the court concerning our mittimus and warrant. Are we discharged of them, or not?

Some of the court to the recorder. Let them be discharged of them.

Some of the court. You are discharged of them.

George Whitehead. Does the recorder say so? Does he assent to it? Let proclamation be made of it then, that we may be set at liberty, in the same capacity we were in before we were first arrested.

Recorder. No, no; seeing you will take your way, I will take my way: you shall have the oath first, and then your discharge. Will you take the oath, and then you shall be discharged. What say you to it? Read the oath.

Thomas Burr. It is a force put upon us; it is very hard dealing we may not be duly heard.

George Whitehead. Are the rest of the justices of the same mind, that we should be thus run upon? We hope you are not all of the same mind with the recorder in this proceeding. He is engaged against us: he is resolved to make something of it, and to make us exemplary in suffering.

Recorder. Stop his mouth; take him away. They had not only need to have their hats pulled off, but their mouths stopt also.*

George Whitehead. Pray hear us; we have more to offer, as about this tender of the oath, to show how undue it is, if you will but suffer the law to be read, which we desire. [But we ought first to have had proclamation made for our discharge from the two warrants.]

Recorder. If we should make proclamation, and let you go, we should be laughed at. No, no: I see you lay upon the catch; we will not discharge you. Now we have you here, we shall not let you go, to send a warrant after you, to fetch you again. Will you take the oath or not?

George Whitehead. Is this intended for a first tender, or a second? We desire an answer.

Recorder. We will tender it you *de novo*: it shall be for a first tender; and if you will not take it, you shall be committed till next sessions, &c.

Clerk reads the oath.

Clerk. I Thomas Burr, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, &c.

George Whitehead. We appeal to the mayor, and the rest of the justices. The recorder is a party against us; he has determined against us beforehand: I will prove that he is no competent judge in our case, if I may be heard. Interruption — Are we discharged of the two warrants? Pray let us have fair and plain dealing. Do not thus force upon us; it is unfair and undue proceeding. Let us be discharged of the two warrants first, before we be put upon an answer. We ought not to be put to our answer, but upon due process.

Some of the court. You are discharged from those two mittimuses. Clerk, read their discharge. [The clerk reads what the recorder had caused him to enter into the book, to this purpose.]

Clerk. George Whitehead and Thomas Burr are discharged of the matter contained in their two mittimuses. And the oath of allegiance, and the testament, to swear in open court, at this present sessions was severally tendered to them; and the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, having severally refused to take the said oath of allegiance, it is therefore ordered, that the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, be committed to the common jail of the said city, there to remain

without bail or mainprise, until the next quarter sessions, &c.

George Whitehead. The latter part is not true; we have not yet refused the oath; we were not duly or regularly brought upon that point, so as to give a positive answer, because of the other precedent charges, which we were to answer to. We have yet matter of plea about the tender of the oath, *de novo*, in court. We request further time to be heard upon an adjournment before we give our positive answer. We desire to know upon what law or statute it is tendered. [No answer was given to this question.]

Recorder. You have stronger lungs than I: I understand you had a feast last night. Adjourn the court: take them away jailer.

George Whitehead, prisoner. Pray let us have more time to consider and speak to this point. I entreat that I may have leave to read the clause in the statute, that concerns the tender of the oath.

These endeavours of the prisoners to be heard, after the pretended order was entered, were because the prisoners did not believe that the justices, or greater number of them, did concur with the recorder's proceeding against them; but that they had more, both of moderation and justice in them; and that he carried things on too much over their heads, and all to run down and ensnare the prisoners, to oppress them, and continue them under suffering.

Officers. The court adjourned.

Prisoner, George Whitehead held by the bar, pressing to be further heard, after the adjournment, when the court met again, and for the statute to be read about the oath; neither whereof would be granted the prisoners, but two of the keepers pulled the prisoner away.

Prisoner. Take notice, that we have not yet refused the oath, being not duly nor regularly brought upon that point; but we have owned the declaration of allegiance, contained in it;* and do still freely assent to it, in opposition to, and abhorrence of all those treasonable practices, positions and principles, abjured and renounced by that oath; though we are conscientiously afraid to swear it, only with respect to Christ's prohibition, in the case of swearing.

On the 3rd day of the month called May, 1680, being about five days after the prisoners were thus proceeded against in court, the recorder, Francis Bacon, was voted out of place by the common council.

* This the prisoner did not fully hear, others affirm they heard it.

* These last words are since added, the prisoner being hurried away that he could not then speak them out.

Divers of the said recorder's reflections and hard speeches against the prisoners, are purposely omitted in the foregoing account for brevity sake and with respect to the moderate reader, by whom we would not be thought to overcharge any person, though he was an adversary; therefore we have in some particulars been more sparing than we might have been.

A copy of the prisoners' certificates, which the recorder, Francis Bacon, would not permit to be read in court.

These are to certify all whom it may concern, that George Whitehead, of the parish of St. Buttolph Bishopsgate, London, hath lived in the same parish for about ten years last past, in good repute, and is esteemed a man of a competent estate, and hath fined for all offices in the parish, save church warden, and hath demeaned himself peaceably in his conversation; and he hath never been accounted or reputed to be a Jesuit or Papist, or any way popishly affected. All which we certify under our hands.

John Freeman, Thomas Fyge, *Common Councilmen*; John Russen, *Deputy*; Gilbert East, John Osburn, *Church Wardens*; John Sumner, *Constable*; Charles Bathurst, Thomas Dawson, Nicholas Harding.

London, April 22nd, 1680.

These are to certify any person or persons whom it may concern, that Thomas Burr of Ware, in the county of Hartford, maltster, hath lived, and been a trader in malt for about fourteen years past; and is a man whom we judge of a good competent estate, and of good credit and reputation among his neighbours in this place, and hath never been accounted a Jesuit or Papist. All which we certify under our hands.

Giles Roe, Henry Hart, *Church Wardens*; John Lark, William Moakes, *Constables*; John Perrot, Henry Peach, Thomas Johnson, Richard Dickinson, Rivers Dickinson, Edmund Pease, Isaac Hadsley.

Ware, in Hartfordshire, this 14th day of April, 1680.

A copy of the next letter, after the foregoing proceedings in court, delivered to the mayor, &c.

Friends,—the Mayor, Justices, and Aldermen of this city, Norwich.

We do acknowledge, and kindly resent, that indifferency and moderation towards us, which we beheld among you when before you in your court of sessions, as also the justice you did us, in making way for the reading our mittimus, our exceptions, our declaration against popery, and the fixing of our discharge in court, from the matters contained in

our mittimus and warrant; whereby we are the more encouraged to make this one small request to you, which is, that you will please but to afford us the liberty to come before you in your council chamber, though it be with a keeper, that we may show you one material point of law in the statute book, relating to this *de novo*, or new tender of the oath, in your quarter sessions, which we now suffer under, it being the same point that we were earnest to have shown you out of the statute book, but were forcibly prevented.

In granting us this small request, you may happily be capable of doing yourselves and us more justice and right, than you may at present be aware of. It is not too late to reverse an error and embrace truth, when made appear in any case; nor will any sincere mind shun the discovery of either. It is in real love and good will to you, this proposition, by way of request, is made for your own sakes as well as ours. We design no tediousness to you; our case is now contracted into a narrow compass: what we have to show you, is both very brief, and easy to understand; it is directly statute law. Our confinement before sessions was but one man's act; but now others of you are concerned. Howbeit, we may reasonably as well as charitably think and believe, that both the forcible tender of the oath, whilst not actually discharged and freed from our imprisonment, and the conclusion against us, for our detention, were rather the hasty and indiscreet acts of one person, carried on over your heads, than of the whole court, or major part thereof; and hope, that as you calmly come in God's sight to the righteous test of conscience and truth, and upon better deliberation consult the law in our case, it will so appear to your understandings. We are yet willing charitably to think and hope the best concerning you in this weighty concern of our liberties, estates, families, and consequently our lives, which are exposed to jeopardy and ruin, through our present suffering among you. Nevertheless our case is not desperate in the eye of the law. They who are appointed ministers of equal law and justice, ought to understand both before they pass judgment, or inflict punishment. As Michael Dalton puts the commissioners of the peace in mind, How that justice may be perverted many ways, if they shall not arm themselves with the fear of God, the love of truth and justice, and with the authority and knowledge of the laws of this realm, &c. Among which causes of perversion, he mentions these, viz:

1. Fear. When fearing the power or countenance of another, they do not do justice.

2. Perturbation of mind, as anger, or such like passion.

3. Ignorance, or want of true understanding what is to be done.

4. Precipitation, or too much rashness, as when they proceed hastily, without due examination and consideration of the fact, and all material circumstances, &c. (Thus far M. D.)

We design no personal reflection, but only tender information and caution in these passages. The thing we aim at, is but the leave of a few minutes before you, to show you the point of law mentioned, which we forbear to relate in writing to you, as not being proper or seasonable for us so to do at present, considering the circumstances which we are under. We are your real friends and well wishers,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

Norwich prison, the 8th of the third month, called May, 1680.

P. S. This provision we would further add, that if so be our proposal of coming before you, in your council chamber, may not be accepted, or be not thought feasible, we then desire you would please to transmit our request to your quarter sessions, yet in being upon adjournment, that we may have the liberty at your next meeting in your court of sessions, briefly to offer what we have to plead in point of law, to your serious and more deliberate considerations, about the late tender of the oath, *de novo*, according as we desired further time for the same purpose, when last in sessions.

The substance of a further application made by the prisoners to the mayor, recorder, justices, and aldermen of the city of Norwich, delivered to them the 17th day of the third month, 1680, being the last day of the quarter sessions.

The first part relates to the mediation of certain persons of note and eminency, on the prisoners' behalf, and particularly by a letter from London, from a person of quality, on application made by some of their friends there, unto which the prisoners referred the magistrates in these words, viz :

We therefore request, that you would please to call for the said letter, and know the contents thereof, that if such mediation may take effect with you, for our enlargement, we may not put you or ourselves to trouble, upon any further motion. Otherwise, if you be not pleased to accept thereof, so as to grant us our enlargement, we have another proposition to make on this wise, viz :

Whereas, we the prisoners, whose names

are hereunto subscribed, do find ourselves oppressed and grieved, not only by the illegal proceedings, as we conceive, of the late recorder in our commitment and detention in prison, by two erroneous warrants, which were reversed in court, but also by his late commitment from sessions, which not only we do conceive to be illegal and contrary to the form and order of law prescribed in the statutes, but also we have the advice and judgment of able counsel in the case, averring, this last commitment not good, but against law, &c.

Upon which premises, if you please not to allow us remedy on the mediation aforesaid, we do in humility request, that you will please to call us into court, before this sessions be ended, and grant us the liberty but briefly to offer our exception in point of law, unto your serious and deliberate considerations, in order to afford us so much relief and right, as may either by apparent law, equity, or good conscience, be allowed us. Your friends and prisoners,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

Norwich jail, the 12th day of the third month, 1680.

Our friends Mary Duncon and Mary de France of Norwich, attended the court of mayor and justices in their council chamber, and delivered the aforesaid application and certificates to them, where they were read, as the prisoners were informed.

After the mayor and justices came down into the hall, our friends abovesaid, attended the court of sessions, and moved for the liberty of the prisoners, as some of the justices had before directed, to which others of them said, that could not be, for they were committed by order of sessions; which the steward, being then judge of the court in the recorder's absence, caused to be read. Mary Duncon then requested the prisoners might be called into court and heard; the new recorder having promised her, as she affirmed, immediately after she came from him, that they should be called into court; and that if it appeared they were committed contrary to law, they should be discharged. But he being then absent, they were not called into court.

Samuel Bolton of London, being present, got leave of the court, upon his request, to tell them, that he did suppose it was contrary to law, to make the first tender of the oath in court; and that was done on purpose to ensnare the prisoners. Whereupon the steward called to bring the statute book, to see whether it was so or not; but in the interim, after a little consultation, the court was sud-

denly dismissed, before the book came: so the prisoners were detained until the next quarter sessions. Whereof an account is hereafter given, as to their discharge.

After two letters had been sent to the recorder, upon the prisoners' request for a little discourse with him and the steward about their case, they were called into the council chamber, and the keeper with them, before him and the steward, and Thomas Corys, &c., and there admitted to open their case, and to enter into some discourse about the proceedings against them. They did not seem to vindicate the other recorder's proceedings, only some little controversy was about the late tender of the oath, *de novo*, in court. However, the prisoners kindly acknowledged their civility in giving them that opportunity of discourse.

A few lines to the mayor, court of aldermen, and justices, on some other considerations more particular.

Friends,

We being injured and hurt in several respects by our confinement, for above these three months past, by means of the late recorder's prejudicial and undue proceedings against us, both before and at your last quarter sessions, together with your passiveness therein, and all this under a wrong suspicion of our being Papists, or popish recusants, secretly suggested against us; which being intimated to some persons of quality and credit at London, who have better knowledge of us, and the Earl of Yarmouth being moved by them on our behalf, he was pleased to mediate for us by letters, to be communicated to some of the magistrates in this city, in which we understand he hath lately signified what testimony he hath of our being no Papists, and therefore desires that you would show us all the favour the law will allow us, as we have been informed, which cannot reasonably intend the rigour of the law, much less to be detained in prison contrary to law, as we still conceive we are.

We therefore entreat you, first; To consider what favour the law allows us as no Papists, nor persons so reputed, as indeed we are altogether averse to popery.

Secondly; As persons injuriously imprisoned and detained under a wrong suspicion of what we really are not. We request our liberties; which request we think ourselves both obliged in conscience and warranted by law, to make to you, as justices of the peace, according to the statute made in the fourth year of king Henry the seventh, which is worth your while to read over, and seriously to

consider the tenor and purport thereof. Your friends and prisoners,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

From your city jail, the 19th of
the fourth month, 1680.

*For the Mayor and Justices of the city of
Norwich.*

Friends, you are entreated to peruse the following narration.

The great pretence for our strict detention in your jail, being the late order from sessions, we think ourselves obliged for your sakes, as well as our own, to remind you, that we esteem ourselves injured, in that we were not suffered to be called into the court the last day of your quarter sessions, for an opportunity to have made our exception, which we conceive we had good ground for both in law and good conscience; especially, since we had promise of such an opportunity, and that if it appeared our commitment were contrary to law, we should be discharged. This we understand was made to one of our friends, who, upon encouragement by some of the justices, moved for our liberty in court; which not being granted, then, that we might be called into court; but being prevented of both, we are detained to our own and our families' great prejudice in divers respects; our present restraint being also a depriving us of our rights in the creation, and to the impairing of our healths. The late order from sessions for our restraint without bail or mainprise, was of Francis Bacon's ordering, and we know no other law than that to detain us so severely until next sessions; and no doubt you had power to reverse it before the termination of the last, when the illegality thereof had been made appear, which we endeavoured an opportunity for; we sought and earnestly requested it, charitably thinking to find so much of humanity, tenderness, equal law and right among you towards us, as not thus to delay us in prison upon the said order, which we are persuaded will not redound to the honour of your city or court, considering our innocence, and the circumstances of the person who was the cause of it. We cannot reasonably suppose, that such an order should bind your consciences from answering the law of Christ, To do to others as you would be done by; and the law of our nation, *Not to deny, defer, or delay justice, or right, especially to any free born Englishman. Illegal or unjust imprisonment, more especially where prolong-

* *Magna Charta*, cap. 29, J. Coke, Inst. part 4, fol. 182.

ed, being accounted odious in the eye of the law; that you may more clearly perceive, that to detain us in the pursuance of Francis Bacon's procedure and order against us, will not redound to your reputation and honour, either as civil magistrates or Christians, pray consider how irregularly and arbitrarily he has acted towards us in his whole procedure.

In sending the sheriff to apprehend and imprison us for being at the meeting, as he confessed in sessions he did, by which means we were turned into the jail by the sheriff, like cattle into pinfold, and there detained for some hours, without examination or mittimus, other than Francis Bacon's verbal commission. How arbitrary and illegal was this? Ye that are wise men, judge what absolute monarch could have shown more rigour in such a case: consider the consequence of such proceedings.

We hope your design in choosing recorders, is for a just and legal end, to assist you as the king's ministers of equal law and justice, and not to be as kings and emperors over your city, nor that any one should assume such prerogative or pre-eminence, so contrary to law and the king's interest.

The king hath a prerogative in all things that are not injurious to the subject; but the late recorder assumed a prerogative or dominion, injurious in these his proceedings.

In his inflicting a twofold punishment for one supposed offence, i. e., fining and imprisoning for being at a meeting, contrary to that very act against conventicles, which was not made to commit the persons to jail, but only to fine them; albeit our meetings are no otherwise designed by us than for God's worship and service. When he first examined and committed us, he told us, "If you will neither pay your fines nor take the oath of allegiance, I must commit you to prison; you may choose whether you will pay your fines, take the oath, or go to prison."

To excuse these proceedings against us, being all on the 21st of March, 1679, which was the Lord's day, [so called,] when we excepted against them, as contrary to a late act of parliament, for the better observation of the Lord's day, he alledged that our meeting was against the peace. And what follows? Therefore he might first send the sheriff to apprehend and imprison us without mittimus, and after that fine us, and tender us the oath the same day; and if we would neither pay our fines nor take the oath, then commit us to prison.

The act for the better observation of the Lord's day, prohibits the serving or executing any writ, process, warrant, order, judgment,

or decree, excepting in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

If in these, or any of these cases, the requiring persons to take the said oath, and their taking of it will serve the turn to excuse them of such crimes; then that oath may be a cure for all diseases or enormities against law of what different species or kinds soever. The justices need but require treasonable, felonious, fighting, and quarrelsome persons to take the oath of allegiance, and their taking it shall quit them of all pains and penalties. But we hope you are so rational as to understand, that legally to require the said oath is a distinct case, or process from the cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace; and that there is no more reason to require the said oath in any one of these cases, than in all of them.

In his laying our fines upon other persons, and imprisoning us for being at the said meeting, and giving out warrants to break open their doors and distrain their goods, upon a false pretence of our poverty, after we had plainly signified the contrary to him, both as to the competency of our estates and known habitations, so that he could have no reason to think us unable.

But besides the illegality hereof, what justice could there be between his fining others because of our poverty, and committing us to jail because of our non-payment thereof? He imprisons us because we do not pay our fines; and lays our fines upon others because we cannot pay them.

But this is not the least inconsistency in his perplexed proceedings: he demands twenty pounds of each of us for preaching; and because we did not deposit the money, he commits us to the common jail, under pretence of being assembled in disturbance of the public peace, by a warrant made in his own, and not in the king's name, and then lays our fines upon others; which was all for one and the same meeting. These proceedings are as reconcilable as if he had fined us for praying, and committed us to jail for fighting whilst at prayer; but we are more serious in our devotion, and innocent in our deportment, blessed be the Lord our God.

We further entreat you to view Francis Bacon's proceedings against us at your quarter sessions, and seriously to consider whether he proceeded either legally or justly with us; as,

In his appearing a party, an open adversary, an accuser, a villifier of us the prisoners, in the open court, telling us that there is a law to hang such; and that the church would never be at quiet till such fellows were hanged;

as you may well remember, to the same effect he also told us, when he first committed us.

In his denying and opposing the reading of our mittimus in open court, contrary to all reason, and to the mind and declared judgment of the mayor and other justices upon the bench; how imperiously did he behave himself in this?

In his not suffering our certificates to be read in court, which we earnestly requested, which were from certain officers and other credible persons of our neighbourhood, to remove the calumnious aspersion and suspicion of our being Jesuits or Papists, prejudicially insinuated against us.

In his frequently and abruptly causing the oath of allegiance to be put to us, on purpose to ensnare and circumvent us, before the charge of our commitment was determined in court, notwithstanding our mittimus signified that we were then to answer to the premises therein contained; and we also begged that we might be heard in our plea and answer to the premises upon which we were committed, before any other process was entered upon against us.

In his not suffering the law to be read in court, which we earnestly begged, upon which he forced the said oath on us, in order to run us to a premunire at the same quarter sessions, as he threatened when we were first before him, understanding that we did fear an oath, or to swear in any case.

In that when our mittimus and his erroneous warrant, and his first pretended tender of the oath, by himself alone, were reversed by our being discharged in court from the matters contained in them, he would not suffer us to be actually freed of our imprisonment; but in pursuance of his premeditated design, forced a tender of the oath, *de novo*, as his words were, and an order immediately to be entered for our commitment to jail, without bail or mainprise, until the next quarter sessions, without allowing us any further time for consideration or answer, as we desired.

His precipitancy and rashness towards us, was such therein, that the rest of the justices, doubtless, could not take so much time as to consider his proceedings, before he concluded the order of commitment, wherein they might very justly have given him a check, and put a stop to his furious motion, for a more general and serious consideration of the case among them, and not have suffered him to make such a sudden conclusion against us. For justices ought to see with their own eyes, and be sure their judgment is just, before they give their judgment or assent in any judicial case, seeing they had such fair warning also in our publicly desiring to know if you were all of a

mind, or agreed against us, as to that severe commitment, charitably hoping, as we do still, that you were not; but no answer could we have in that case. The recorder was in such haste for that conclusion against us and the court's adjournment, and to have the jailer to take away the prisoners; he would have you to understand he wanted his dinner, upbraiding us, the prisoners, with an idle story of our being at a feast the night before.

Besides his *de novo* tender of the oath to us the prisoners, in sessions, appeared neither legal nor formal, according to the form of the statute, which intends popish recusants, as appears plainly to be the title and preamble thereof, which we the prisoners were not, nor are we Papists at all; but it was also against the form and course of procedure, both of the statute allowed even to the popish recusants convict, and that also for a first tender of the oath, to be made out of court or quarter sessions, and a commitment of the party refusing, and the second tender in the open assize or quarter sessions, in such manner, and on such precedent causes as the law directs, and wherein we were unconcerned.

And moreover neither of these statutes of king James do warrant any such order for commitment of persons to jail, from one quarter sessions to another, without bail or mainprise, as is the late order of our commitment.

The premises considered, we really think it had been your best, your clearest and wisest way, to have manifested your dissent, as we gave caution at first, from Francis Bacon's precipitant, irregular dealing with us about the oath, and his illegal commitment from sessions, which is entered for pretext of authority, with the title *per curiam*; and therefore our strict confinement thereby appears as your act, howbeit it is not subscribed by any of you. Wherefore we yet in love and good will to you, both for your own inward peace and outward reputations, as well as our own rights, request our liberty, we being wronged and grieved in divers respects, by the said proceedings of your late recorder; whereof we do once more make our complaint to you for relief, according as we think ourselves obliged in conscience, and directed also by law.

And now as we can in good conscience say, we are persons that refuse not to swear from favour to any principles of disloyalty or rebellion, we do sincerely offer in relation to the declaration of allegiance contained in the oath of obedience, That fidelity and true allegiance to the king we do bear, which in good conscience we believe is our duty, in opposition to, and utter abhorrence of all those horrid seditions, and treasonable prac-

tices, principles and positions, which are abjured and renounced in the said oath.

This declaration, in the sight of Him who searches all hearts, we do really assent to, and own, and through his gracious assistance, hope ever to be found in the practice of that fidelity and innocence towards the king, whom God preserve, that become true Protestant subjects, and peaceable minded Christians; desiring only to enjoy the liberty of the peaceable and inoffensive exercise of our tender consciences towards our Lord Jesus Christ, in his worship and service. That he may direct you in righteousness, and bless and preserve you and yours, is our prayer also. Your friends and prisoners, for conscience sake towards our Lord Jesus Christ;

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

Norwich jail, the 21st of the
fourth month, 1680.

To the Recorder and Steward of Norwich.

The most that can be charged against us, as to matter of fact, since we were discharged from the matters contained in our mittimus and warrant, is our not swearing allegiance. We were no offenders till a trap was laid to make us such, by Francis Bacon, in his abruptly surprising us with that oath, to run us to a premunire, as he had threatened us beforehand; whereas the law was never intended to ensnare and entrap men. And God knows our not swearing is not for any the least favour to those seditious and treasonable practices, principles and positions, abjured and renounced by that oath, for they are an abhorrence to us. For if we were so unnatural and perfidious as to reserve any such wicked principles, we might as easily take that or any other oath for our own interests. But let such collusion and fallacy be for ever far from us; it is only for fear of offending our Lord and Master, Christ Jesus, as in all other cases. For we your prisoners never took an oath in our lives; we dare not swear in any case, because of Christ's and his apostles' universal prohibition, as we understand it; and many of the primitive Christians and martyrs, even Protestant martyrs, were of the same mind. We freely and publicly assented to the declaration and promise of allegiance contained in the oath, and hope ever to be found in the practice thereof; only we are under a conscientious restraint not to swear it. We are no papists, nor in the least popishly affected, but wholly averse to popery, as is well known to many.

What is then wanting on our parts in this case? Is it not only in that we swear not to

that which we profess and practice? Pray then have so much charity, humanity and good nature towards us, as not to think so hardly of us for our conscientious persuasion, as if we justly merited any such severe penalty, as the judgment of a premunire, to be put out of the king's protection, next to the punishment of traitors, when we bear no ill will to the king; we have nothing but love and good will to the king and his people.

Moreover, being sensible of a divine hand of Providence in permitting our suffering in this place, as also that our religious cause should lose nothing by our imprisonment, we have been the more armed with patience and clearness of spirit, in love and good will, towards the magistrates of this city. Also our tenderness and respect to them, has been some stop to us hitherto from presenting our grievance, as a formal case, to the king* and council, which we really intended by way of complaint, if the late recorder had continued in place, seeing him so much bent against us; and if the justices would have been swayed by him, as that we could not have found relief from them after application made to them. And from the little converse and solicitation I, i. e., George Whitehead, have been concerned in at court, I could easily presuppose how the irregular and arbitrary proceedings of Francis Bacon, and the others' omission, apparently repugnant to the interest of both king and people, would have been resented, and what reflection it would have procured. Which method we find advisable and warranted for any subject who is hurt or grieved in any thing, that remedy may not be delayed.

It is true, we have intelligent friends at London, and some of them understanding how hardly and wrongfully we have been dealt withal, have used some solicitation on our behalf to some persons of quality, though we have not as yet given any direction for a formal complaint to the king upon our case. And what interest hath already been sought for us was never intended to interfere with the law, or invalidate the due course of it. The earl of Yarmouth, to whose kindness we are much obliged, hath been pleased to mediate on our behalf, by letters, desiring that all the favour the law will allow, may be shown us, as having received sufficient testimony concerning our reputation as being no papists, in order to remove that pretended suspicion, to render us obnoxious. And we hope he will be of so much repute with you as neither to expose us to the severity of the law, for our conscientiously fearing to swear, nor yet

*Though we suppose he has heard by others of it.

to prolong us under restraint upon any such infamous, or causeless suspicion.

Norwich jail, the third of the fifth month, 1680.

This account is given you in real love and good will, which we can assure you we bear towards you, as we are your friends, who truly wish you well.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS BURR.

A copy of the discharge of the aforesaid prisoners.

Norwich.—At the general sessions of the peace, holden for the city of Norwich, and county of the same, before Robert Freeman, esquire, mayor of the city of Norwich; John Norris, esquire, recorder of the said city, John Minge, esquire, steward of the said city, and other his majesty's justices of peace of the said city, the twelfth of July, in the two and thirtieth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, king Charles the second, &c. Anno. Dom. 1680.

Proclamation being there publicly made, That if any person would come into the court, and give any information or evidence, or prefer any bill of indictment against George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, prisoners at the bar, they should be heard. And because no person came into the court, to prefer any indictment, or to give in any information against them, the said George Whitehead and Thomas Burr are ordered to be discharged, being committed by order of the last sessions, to remain in prison until this sessions.

Per Curiam
CORIE.

Observe. That although we must needs grant, that after the sense of the prisoners' case and suffering had made impression upon the mayor* and justices of the said city, the greatest part of them appeared to be inclined and desirous that they should be discharged before sessions, if they could have understood how it might be regularly done, their eye being to the recorder's advice in the case; and some of them gave expectation they should be discharged at sessions. Howbeit, in order to the more certain obtaining thereof, the Christian care and great industry of some Friends, both at London and Norwich, on the said prisoners' behalf, is not to be forgotten, and particularly that of our dear friend, William Mead, in his efforts and hard journey to Norwich, to visit the said prisoners, and to solicit for them, and see their discharge effected. Such labours of love and Christian charity, God is not unmindful of. And blessed are the true

followers of Christ, that continue in the true Christian spirit and unfeigned love one to another unto the end; for herein is a true sympathizing with, and fellow-feeling of one another in all afflictions and sufferings for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of a good conscience towards God.

The religious assemblies of the people called Quakers, vindicated; first, from the charge of their being in disturbance of the public peace. Secondly, from the charge of being seditious conventicles, mentioned in the act of 22 Car. 2. Thirdly, from the charge of being under colour or pretence of an exercise of religious worship, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England.

To the first objection, we may ask our adversaries what matter of record* they can justly make against us, the said people, of due conviction, either from any notorious evidence of fact, or testimony of credible persons, or confession of our own, as the law provides; of any formidable posture that we meet in, as that of force and arms, or any menacing words or threats made by us, or of any contrivance of insurrection, which in the eye of law and reason might be deemed or construed to be to the terror of the people, or in disturbance of the public peace, or of the nature of a riot? If such, should not the matter and circumstances of the fact be specified upon such record as the law enjoins? But we utterly deny that we ever met in any such formidable posture as is of the nature or tendency of what the law deems to the terror of the people. We meet peaceably to wait upon, and really to worship and serve the Almighty God, as is our bounden duty, according to his grace and light, and the understanding, which he hath given unto us by his spirit.

In the second year of Henry the fifth, chap. 8, it is provided, that if any riot, assembly, or rout of people, against the law, be made in any part of the realm, then the justices of the peace, three or two of them at the least, and the sheriff or under sheriff of the county, where such riot, assembly, or rout shall be made hereafter, should come with the powers of the said county, if need were, to arrest them, and them should arrest; and the same justices, sheriff, or under sheriff, to have power to record that which they have found so done in their presence against the law: and that by record of the same justices, sheriff, or under sheriff, such† trespassers or offenders, should be convicted in manner and form, as is con-

* i. e., H. C., whose mayoralty was out before the prisoners were released.

* 5 R. 2, c. 7. 15 R. 2, c. 2. † 5 R. 2, 7. 1 R. 2, 2.

tained in the statute of forcible entry, &c. And in the same statute it is provided, that like ordinances and pains should hold place and take effect in cities, boroughs, and other places and towns enfranchised, which have justices of the peace within them.

Now let our adversaries and persecutors answer us; where could any of them ever justly make any such legal and due conviction upon record against us, for any such riotous meeting or unlawful assembly on our parts, as has been really in itself of such a nature and tendency as aforesaid, in disturbance of the public peace? We positively deny that our assemblies are of any such nature, however misrepresented by our adversaries.

If it be alleged that our meetings or assemblies are contrary to law, and therefore in disturbance of the public peace; we question what law or statute they are contrary unto.

If it be answered, they are contrary to an Act which is both mandatory and penal, made in the two and twentieth year of King Charles the second, entitled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles;

We answer; That our assemblies are no such seditious conventicles, i. e. for sedition, strife and rebellion against the government. It is a mere begging the question, to term our assemblies seditious; no such thing has ever been proved against them as sedition, that is a stirring up to rebellion or discord, a raising a faction or mutiny, as Philips in his New world of words explains it, but our assemblies are for no such design or end, nor could ever any overt act of that kind or tendency be proved, or justly charged against us, in relation to our meetings, or otherwise. Therefore they are no seditious conventicles or assemblies. Our assemblies are made up of no such persons or people, as have committed any such dangerous practices against the government, as mentioned in the preamble of the said act—though rude informers and disturbers have come riotously, and with violence against us into our meetings—neither are we any such seditious sectaries or disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences, have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections; as also in the preamble of the said Act is specified: We use no pretence of tender conscience for any such wicked end or design. The all-seeing and heart searching God knows our innocency and clearness herein; as also the nation's long experience can witness for us. And if titles and preambles of laws be the keys of laws, and do evince or show the nature and respective intentions thereof, then the said Act against seditious conventicles, where under pretence of tender consciences, insurrections have been

or may be contrived, doth not extend to us. We pretend nothing but what we really intend, viz. the spiritual worship and real service of Almighty God, who searches our hearts, and whom we sincerely reverence and fear.

But if it be objected, that the matter of fact, incurring the fines and penalties of the said Act against conventicles, is our meeting under colour or pretence of an exercise of religious worship, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, or in other manner than is allowed thereby;

We answer, that the words colour or pretence have relation to the preamble, as who under pretence of tender conscience have, or may at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience has shown. But such pretence or colour of religious exercise, for any such contrivance, were abominable deceit and hypocrisy, and never chargeable upon us or our assemblies. We can challenge the whole world to detect us herein.

We are not conscious to ourselves of any such deed committed in our assemblies and on our part, which the liturgy or practice of the church of England allows not. If we be herein charged, let us know what it is that we have done in our assemblies, which the liturgy and practice of the church of England allows not of; seeing the liturgy allows of the holy Scriptures, which we are sure allow of and enjoin Christians assembling together to wait upon and worship God in spirit and in truth, and of the manner thereof, as to the places, whether in houses, or abroad in fields or mountains, which is our case, both as to the matter and manner of our assemblies.

If it be still objected, that our meetings are under colour or pretence of an exercise of religious worship, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England;

We answer; What that exercise of religious worship is, that is in other manner than according to the liturgy, should be explained unto us, and that according to law, seeing this late Act against conventicles, does not explain what manner it is.

But we find in a statute made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, chap. 2, that that other manner is thus explained, viz: * "That if any person or persons whatsoever, shall by open fact or deed, or shall by open threatenings compel, or cause, or otherwise procure, or maintain any parson, vicar, or other minister in any cathedral or parish church, chapel, or in any other place, to sing, or say any common and open prayer, or to minister any sacrament, otherwise, or in any other manner

* What other manner the liturgy allows not.

and form, than is mentioned in the said book, &c." This does not at all reach our case, we are not found guilty hereof, and therefore are not condemnable by the law in this case; this concerned the clergy, not us. We neither threaten, compel, cause, or any wise procure, or maintain any parson, vicar, or any else, to sing or say any common or open prayer, or to minister any sacrament in any cathedral or parish church. We are so far from that, we compel no body to any form of singing or praying in God's worship, but persuade men to serve and worship God as he directs; and for that end desire all may come to his divine grace and good spirit in their hearts, to guide them in his holy worship, both as to matter and manner of praying and praising his name, that they may serve and worship him, not in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit; for such he is, even in our days, seeking to worship him, as must worship him in spirit and in truth. Such both pray with the spirit, and sing with the spirit, and with understanding, according to the ancient apostolical testimony and practice of the primitive spiritual Christians.

An account of the people called Quakers, sent to prison by FRANCIS BACON, when he was steward, and also since he was recorder; and those mayors of the city of Norwich, who joined with him since the late Act against Conventicles came forth.

THE 10th of the month called July, 1670, Thomas Buddery, John Rust, Edward Monk, William Waymor, and Anthony Alexander, were sent to prison upon pretence of a riot, for telling people as they passed to the mayor's house, there were the informers, when people were inquisitive to know which they were. They were committed by a warrant from the then mayor, and Francis Bacon, steward, signifying no crime in the warrant, but till they could find sureties for their behaviour; where they were in prison till the sessions, and an indictment brought against them for a riot; but the grand jury were found better justices, and would not find the bill. They were detained prisoners about five weeks.

Samuel Duncon and Anthony Alexander, in the year 1670, made their appeal, where, instead of having justice done them, Francis Bacon, being judge of the sessions, did absolutely surprise them by his illegal proceedings, refusing to give them a copy of the records, and made one witness, being also a party, serve his turn, while the Act says there must be two. For which they wrote to the mayor, steward, and court of aldermen, telling them of their injustice, and for so doing they

were committed to prison by the mayor, till they should find sureties for their appearance at sessions, upon pretence of scandalous expressions in their said letter, who was observed to tremble when he signed the mittimus, and for it they were kept prisoners about a year.

Thomas Atkins was taken out of a meeting the 17th of the fifth month, 1676, by constables and informers; and being had before the mayor and steward, and several aldermen in their council-chamber, some of them were very bitter and cruel, saying, he should pay his twenty pounds, and they tendered him the oath of allegiance, and he refusing to swear, they sent him to prison, where he was detained about fourteen weeks.

Thomas Murford had his doors broken open by a constable, having a warrant from the recorder, for twenty pounds. Thomas not being at home, he made his appeal when he came home; but the recorder being judge, and having a jury for his purpose, carried the case, and from the court committed Thomas to prison, where he was detained twenty weeks.

Simon Gogny was sent to prison the 16th of the first month, 1678, by the recorder, till he should find sureties for his good behaviour; because Simon spoke something to him by way of warning, when he came himself to break up our meeting, telling him of Empson and Dudley; he was detained eight weeks.

Thomas Buddery was sent to prison by him the 30th of the first month, 1679, till he should find sureties for the peace, so expressed in his mittimus; because he answered in defence of truth, in these words, viz: The service of God is perfect freedom, he was detained in prison over six weeks.

They cannot be ignorant how discouraging and destructive such imprisoning, spoiling and impoverishing their neighbours, is to the trade of their city, which in the manufactures much depends upon the wool-combers and worsted-weavers, &c. And when such poor labouring men are thus spoiled and harassed, as to their livelihoods, how hard is it for their poor families to subsist? How can such severities consist either with Christianity or humanity? Let the principle of justice in all consciences judge: and may those guilty of such oppressions, repent before they die.

A copy of an Address from our suffering friends in Norwich, in the year 1679, directed to the knights and burgesses for the county of Norfolk, and city of Norwich. The suffering case of some of the people called Quakers, in the said city.

The goods of several have been taken away, without their being tried by their equals,

only by witnesses in their absence, which was given against them by such as were parties. When some appealed, and desired a copy of the records, which were sworn in their absence before their trial, they were denied it. The recorder who sat for judge of the sessions, would not let the evidence be *viva voce*, but made the records, which he would not grant a copy of before the trial, the only evidence against some appellants, and put them upon disproving that, and so surprised them; and for complaining of the injustice of it, two were sent to prison, and kept prisoners about twelve months. Another that made his appeal, Francis Bacon sent to prison, who asking him, wherefore he was sent to prison, told him, he should know afterwards; and he was kept close prisoner eighteen weeks. John Crow, an attorney, upon warrant from Francis Bacon against Samuel Duncon of Norwich, on account of a meeting, got into Samuel's house when he was from home, shut up his shop, and he and others kept possession of his house night and day, to the terror of Samuel's wife, and took away his goods; and when one would have taken account of the goods, John Crow would not suffer it; but they rather acted like plunderers, than executors of justice.

Francis Bacon slandered the people called Quakers, as being Papists and Jesuits, exciting the jury at the sessions in Norwich, to bring in presentments against them, upon which some have been arrested upon a session process for twenty pounds per month, for not going to the parish church. He lately prosecuted them for meeting to worship God, and sent two to prison that he took at meeting, who were kept prisoners nearly eight weeks in a stinking hole. One of them he sent to prison without a warrant, and it is said, threatened to seize upon their house, and press the constables to execute warrants from him against some of this people, to take away their goods, and told them, they must break open their doors.

Upon the 19th of the third month, 1679, two constables came to the house of William Waymor, with a warrant from Francis Bacon, to distrain for ten pounds five shillings; who unbarred his shop door, and an inside door being locked, broke it in pieces, and took goods to the value of ten pounds and better, and appraised them at three pounds, and said, they must come for more upon the same warrant. This great spoil is made upon us by mercenary witnesses in our absence, and given against us, and we thus oppressed by such as are parties.

This kind of procedure, we conceive with submission, is not more excusable now than

it was in the case of Empson and Dudley,* in King Henry the seventh's time, who were impeached and condemned for their arbitrary proceedings—though they pleaded the prosecution on an Act of parliament—and to be of as dangerous a tendency. Thus some to gratify their prejudice, others their covetousness, under pretence of prosecuting the late Act against seditious sectaries, have very much oppressed the subjects; and what is charged upon the prosecutors aforesaid, can be proved if required. Wherefore we entreat your tender consideration of this our suffering condition, and endeavour for our relief.

Signed by Samuel Duncon, and fifteen more of the citizens and inhabitants of Norwich.

Norwich, the 23rd of Third month, 1679.

It was very observable that before the dissolution of that long parliament, in King Charles the second's reign, which made the three Acts before mentioned against us, there was a great alteration in their spirits, being much turned against persecution, or persecuting dissenting Protestants, especially by those laws made against Popish recusants; and there was certainly an overruling power and hand of the Lord God, in that alteration and change of the spirit of that parliament, to compassion, rather than persecution. He that standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods, did certainly judge and plead for the cause of the innocent sufferers under the great and long persecutions that had been upon them. And it was also remarkable, that some time before the said long parliament was dissolved, many, or most, of our old adversaries, and rigid persecutors therein, were removed by death, and new members, of better spirits and tempers, chosen in their room; and before that parliament was ended, it was so changed, that it appeared almost like a new one, I mean the House of Commons.

The ensuing parliaments appeared more

*These two oppressors, Empson and Dudley, were impeached before the court of Parliament for their arbitrary proceedings and horrid oppressions which they committed, upon information for the king, having many informers to assist them, without lawful presentment, trial of lawful peers, or verdict of twelve honest men. They acted under pretence of a law made in the eleventh year of King Henry VII. c. 3.; which being contrary to Magna Charta, cap. 29, was made void and repealed, 1 Hen. 8., cap. 6, by the Parliament holden then, and the two oppressors brought to their trial, condemnation, and execution. See Coke's Instit. 2 part. fol. 51, and 4 part. fol. 40, 41.

and more considerate, and inclining to moderation and charity towards dissenting Protestants; and such were we, the people called Quakers, esteemed, being publicly manifest by our plain testimony against popery. Towards the conclusion of this long parliament, which was so much altered for the better, by new elections, a grand committee of the whole House was appointed, to inquire into the case of the Quakers suffering by those old laws made against popish recusants; as they had for a long time been unduly prosecuted upon those laws made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James the first. Divers of us appeared before that committee, among whom were William Mead, William Penn, myself, with some others, and two things were inquired of us, of which we were to inform the said committee.

1. If we owned ourselves to be Protestant dissenters?

2. How we suffered by laws made against Popish recusants?

In both which we fully satisfied the committee, and our case was generally resented, as an unjust, as well as illegal prosecution and suffering imposed upon us; since we suffered as Popish recusants, when we were manifest to be real Protestants, and the Papists were indulged, and went free; yet we envied not their liberty, nor that of any others, although we deeply suffered in their stead.

It was very remarkable, that while our persecutors were prosecuting us upon the Conventicle Act and statutes made for Popish recusants, and unjustly insinuating against, and aspersing our religious assemblies, as being seditious conventicles, and very dangerous to plot and contrive insurrections, about that very time discovery was made of the Popish plot, termed, that damnable and hellish plot, by the good providence of Almighty God, brought to light above two years since; as it is declared in the address of the commons in parliament assembled, presented to the king, dated Monday, the 29th day of November, 1680.

This plot being strictly inquired into by the commons in parliament, much information was given about it; and in the address of both houses of parliament to the king, complaint was made against the conspirators in these words, viz: *A Popish party*, who have not only plotted and intended the destruction of your majesty's royal person, but the total subversion of the government and true religion established among us.

From all which it may be well observed, that it was not in any of the Quakers' meetings or assemblies, nor in the meetings of any other dissenting Protestants, that this con-

spiracy was found, but among a Popish party. How unjust was it therefore, so severely to persecute the people called Quakers, violently to break up their religious meetings, under pretence of being seditious and dangerous, to plot and contrive insurrections, to imprison their persons, to fine them, and often to tear away and spoil their goods? And not only to treat them thus, but severely to prosecute them, even upon those laws made against Popish recusants, and not against innocent Protestants, even whilst—as in the aforesaid address of the commons, it is said—this restless party (meaning of Papists) not content with the great liberty they had a long time enjoyed, to exercise their own religion, privately among themselves, to partake of an equal freedom of their persons and estates, with your majesty's Protestant subjects, and of an advantage above them, in being excused from chargeable offices and employments, &c. So that it then appeared to the parliament, that the Papists escaped the penalties of those old laws made against them, for their absence from their parish churches, much more than the people called Quakers could, who deeply suffered thereby.

After the discovery of the Popish plot, and the impeachment, trial, and condemnation, of William, Lord Viscount Stafford, thereupon, in December 1680, the parliament thought it very necessary to provide some means to increase the interest of all Protestants, and strengthen and unite them in affection, for the better security of the kingdom and government, which had been long weakened, and greatly injured by persecution of true Protestants, while their adversaries were excused.

Then the parliament bethought themselves of preparing, and bringing in a bill for dissenting Protestants. In the votes of the House of Commons, the 16th day of December, 1680, there is this, viz:

A bill for exempting his majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, was read the first time.

Resolved, that the said bill be read a second time, on Monday morning next, after ten of the clock, in a full house.

In the votes of the 21st of December, 1680, it was again ordered, that the bill for exempting his majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, be read on Thursday morning next.

In the votes of the 24th of December, 1680, the said bill for exempting his majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, was read a second time; and

Resolved, &c., that the said bill be committed upon the debate of the House to the committee to whom the bill for uniting his majesty's Protestant subjects is committed, upon the debate of the House.

Divers Friends, myself and some others, attended the committee some considerable time that winter, about the said bill, both early and late. We desired that it might be made effectual for our just liberty and freedom from persecution, and clear from all clauses and provisoes which any ways might be a snare to us, or contrary to our tender consciences; and so as to answer the end intended, and the reason thereof as declared, both by the title and preamble. The title is, A Bill of ease to all Protestant dissenters; and the preamble thus, viz: Forasmuch as some ease to tender consciences in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite his majesty's Protestant subjects in interest and affection, which is highly necessary in this time of eminent danger from the common enemy, the Papists, be it enacted, &c.

This bill contained divers clauses which are in the Act of the first of King William the third, for exempting Protestant dissenters from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, i. e., of those made against Popish recusants; and other laws made against conventicles, &c., whereby we the said people chiefly suffered; and also in the said bill this special exemption was made in our favour, viz:

And whereas there are certain other persons dissenters from the church of England, who scruple taking any oath: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also this declaration of allegiance following, &c.

The first being the declaration mentioned in a statute, made in the twentieth year of King Charles the second, entitled, An Act to prevent Papists from sitting in either house of parliament.

The second being the declaration of allegiance, without taking the oath, or swearing to it; which divers Friends have formerly proffered, when prosecuted for not taking the oath of allegiance. They have been willing to sign the declaration without swearing to it, or using any of the words in it, which render it an oath, as [I swear this oath, &c., or the final imprecation of, So help me God] which more fully makes it an oath, together with the kissing and fingering the book.

As we were to be exempted from these, we esteemed it a favour then intended us; though that which was then so much laboured for, could not in that parliament and reign of

King Charles the second, be brought into an Act; yet there was an honest and good beginning; which afterward, in the reign of King William the third, upon more mature deliberation was brought forth in better shape and more effectual.

The chairman of that committee, which sat upon the said Bill of Ease, was Lord Finch, since Earl of Nottingham, who then appeared favourable and friendly to us, and for passing the said bill into an Act, if it could have been in that parliament; and to some of us since that, he has positively declared his opinion to be for the toleration, i. e., the ease of all Protestant dissenters, without which, neither we nor their church are safe.

In the said committee we met with some interruption by two or three members, who were favourers of the Presbyterian and Independent Societies.* They offered terms of ease intended by the said bill, in behalf of their friends, the Presbyterians and Independents, which we the people called Quakers, could not assent to, namely the taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. And if they had gotten what they offered, inserted in the Bill or Act, as terms of ease to dissenting Protestants, we well knew we should thereby have been excluded and still exposed to persecution and sufferings. And we believed that some of the other dissenting Protestants, which these said members seemed to represent, were more conscientious than to accept those terms for their ease, which the said members offered for them, in their behalf; especially that of taking the oath of supremacy. I was indeed burthened when they made such an offer, because I was sensible it tended both to our injury and the injury of many other conscientious Protestant dissenters.

Wherefore on the same occasion I quickly went both to Col. Birch and Alderman Love, and cleared my conscience to them, against what they had offered for a condition of ease to Protestant dissenters; knowing it would be very uneasy to truly conscientious dissenters, to have the oath of supremacy imposed upon them; and thereby to swear, that they utterly declare and testify in their conscience, that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, &c., as well in all spiritual, or ecclesiastical things, or cases, as temporal, &c. How to reconcile their dissenting in spiritual, or ecclesiastical matters from the church of England, with this oath, I knew not, nor did I find they could tell, or demonstrate. And further by the said oath to promise, that to their power they shall

* Col. Birch and some others.

assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted, or belonging to the king, his heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.

How any could in good conscience swear to all this, or upon oath promise such a defence of all these jurisdictions and authorities, and yet remain conscientious dissenters from the church of England, does not appear; neither could the said members of parliament, who made the aforesaid offer, reconcile themselves in this case. However, I did both seriously and tenderly clear my conscience in the matter to them, for I wished well to the men. After all our endeavours and attendance on that parliament and committee, to have the said Bill of Ease passed with safety into an Act, the king's dissolving the same, prevented it.

One passage I took particular notice of; one night when we were attending the said committee, Sir Christopher Musgrave came and complained to the committee, against the severe usage, or persecution, of many of our friends; telling the committee the prisons were filled with them; and how many for small matters were excommunicated and imprisoned; and what a shame and scandal it was to their church, to use the Quakers so hardly for such small matters or occasions; or to the very same effect.

I little expected he would then have appeared openly to advocate so far our suffering friends, being a person who professed much zeal for their church; yet he saw it was not for the honour thereof, to be guilty of such persecution.

Although that parliament could not effect an Act, intended for the ease of Protestant dissenters, yet before their dissolution, they passed a vote against the persecution which then was in being, as followeth, viz:

In the votes of the House of Commons, the 10th day of January, so called, 1680, it was resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that the prosecution of Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

Being sensible that after a long persecution, the Lord was pleased to open the eyes of the parliaments, to see what a Popish design it was, for a Protestant church, so called, to persecute Protestants, we were the more concerned at that time to attend the parliament, and to encourage their endeavours against persecution; to frustrate the design of Popery,

which is persecution and violent coercion; the principal pillars of Popery. The zeal then stirring in the government against the same, deserved to be countenanced, though it had not the desired effect at that time, so as to remove persecution, and the great oppressions thereby.

However just and good motions and endeavours may for a time be overruled and frustrated, they will in time revive and break forth again, and be made to take effect, by a divine overruling power and providence; as in this case of liberty to tender consciences, has in our days appeared. Thanks be to God, who has opened the eyes of the government on sundry occasions, especially in latter times, against Popery and persecution, which are both one in nature and ground; for persecution for conscience is Popery. Whatever church, people, or profession, are for it, or abet it, they are drunk and blind.

Another instance of the parliament's design and endeavours to remove persecution, was the passing a bill in both Houses, entitled An Act for the repeal of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and taking notice thereof in the ensuing parliament at Oxford, in the vote of 24th day of March, so called, 1680-1, that it was not presented to his majesty, as the rest of the bills were, for his royal assent. And also it was resolved, that the House would next day take into consideration, by what means the said bill miscarried.

According to which order, in the next day's votes, it is declared, that the house took into consideration the matter relating to the bill which passed both houses in the last parliament, entitled, An Act for the repeal of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but was not tendered to his majesty for his royal assent.

How this bill came to miscarry, we did not hear, whether designedly mislaid or stolen; it was a pity that it was not presented and passed, as both parliaments desired, viz., that in 1680, at Westminster, and that at Oxford, 1681. For if the said statute of the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth had been utterly repealed, it had given a blow to the design of persecution, and Popery, which is greatly strengthened and the spirit of persecution gratified thereby; it being a precedent and plea for the Popish church to use their most severe persecution against Protestants, even unto death, for their religion and dissent from the church of Rome. The said statute of the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, is a sanguinary law to force dissenters to abjure the realm upon pain of death, and in her days

several were put to death. There appears as much reason that that severe and sanguinary law should be disannulled, as there was for the writ for burning heretics, and all proceedings thereupon, with all punishment by death in pursuance of any ecclesiastical censures, which were abolished by the statute of the 29 Car. 2. ch. 9.

For as the persecuting Popish hierarchy and governments unjustly turned the execution of the said writ against the Protestant martyrs, so they were as likely to turn the said statute of Queen Elizabeth against the Protestant dissenters, and there was the same reason for the repeal of the one as of the other, both being sanguinary, and executed to the gratifying of the spirit of Popery and persecution. The bill for the repeal of the said statute of Elizabeth miscarrying, and not being presented for the royal assent, was judged a Popish design, to reserve such a cruel instrument for further persecution against dissenting Protestants.

However, it was a mercy of God to the nation, to raise up a contrary spirit to that of persecution, even in the parliament in those days. And yet that furious spirit remained among many of the clergy, and the irreligious followers and members of their church, who were still watching for opportunities to renew persecution against honest, innocent people, especially against us, and to enforce a conformity in church and worship with them, contrary to our consciences; we being under a divine obligation to worship God in spirit and in truth, and not in human traditions, after the commandments, doctrines, or precepts of men.

It is true we had some times of respite from severe persecution in those days, upon the king's said declaration for liberty to tender consciences, and the parliament's resentment against prosecuting dissenting Protestants, upon those old laws made against Popish recusants, as being deemed a Popish design; yet those times of ease were but short, in comparison with the long continuance of the renewed persecutions which we suffered in those days.

Informers, like beasts of prey, were lurking and creeping about in many, or most parts of the nation, where our friends had meetings for the worship of God; those mercenary agents being encouraged by those of the clergy and persecuting magistrates, who esteemed them useful servants of their church,*

to enforce conformity, though without conviction of conscience. Several of the priests also turned informers, and assisted to disturb our friends' religious meetings in divers places, all which ministered encouragement to such vile persons, in their unchristian and destructive work against innocent families and people.

Some of the priests even pleaded for, and preached up coercion in matters of religion from those texts, Ezra vii. 26. and Rom. xiii. 1, 2., though miserably perverted, when applied to uphold persecution for matters of conscience, comparing both texts with the decree of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and the great encouragement and liberty of conscience which he granted, and gave to Ezra and Israel, with respect to the worship and service of their God, according to their religion and persuasion; as fully appears in the same chapter. The texts relate to the power, rulers, or magistrates, as God's ordinance, for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; and not that Christians, or believers in Christ, should subject themselves in point of religion and worship to the wills, decrees and edicts of all sorts of rulers and governments in the world, so as to be of their religion and persuasions, or subject to their impositions, ways and manners of worshipping God, or idol gods, set up by any of them. Surely if that had been the apostle Paul's and the other apostles' meaning, there had been no Christian martyrs, or sufferers for Christ Jesus.

But if an emperor, king, or chief ruler, be a Papist or an idolater, and would force me to be of his religion, or conform to his way and manner of worship, upon some great penalties or pains, even of death itself, I must not therefore comply with him, or be subject

I telling him what wicked persons they were, and that many of them had forsworn themselves, and deserved to be indicted for perjury; and what a dishonour it was to their church, to employ such agents to force people to a conformity by persecution and spoil, &c. To excuse them, his answer was, There must be some crooked timber used in building a ship: or, a ship cannot be built without some crooked timber in it. Was not this a learned and apt comparison, to show what sort of timber must needs help to build and support their church? Though crooked timber be the most useful in building a ship, surely the mercenary informers, who are for making spoil and laying waste, are not so in the church of Christ. What church is it then, that is now in danger—as the complaint is—when it wants such crooked timber as the devouring informers to support it? Is their being now restrained, the reason of such danger? This point should be well considered.

* William Crouch and I, Anno 1683, having some discourse with Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, at his palace at Lambeth, about the great sufferings of our Friends by informers, and

to his will and humour therein, if I be a true Christian, but stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath set me free, or otherwise I should fall under miserable bondage, and forfeit my inward peace with God. And then what good would all the world do me? I would rather make Moses' choice, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a short season, and at last end in tribulation and anguish of soul.

It was observable, that when the informers were let loose and countenanced by authority against us, they generally sought more after our estates than the confinement of our persons, because imprisonment would not be for their gain, although many of our friends remained in prisons, according to the following petition.

TO THE KING.

The humble petition of above a thousand prisoners, commonly called Quakers;

Showeth,

That our renewed hardships, our continued and increasing imprisonments, do occasion this our humble complaint and request, of which we entreat the king's favourable acceptance, and tender resentments. We do solemnly declare, that we know no other cause for our strait confinement, and hard usage, than what concerns our tender consciences in serving and worshipping Almighty God that made us, being well known to be persons of quiet conversation and peaceable behaviour, and clear in the sight of God, of all seditious contrivances, plots and conspiracies, and are not evilly affected towards the king's person or government. Howbeit, several jails are filled, without regard to sex, age, or condition, not only to the impairing our healths, but endangering many of our lives; many having already died prisoners, the greatest part of late being committed for our peaceable, religious meetings; many of us under fines on that account; and upon the Act of 13 and 14 Car. 2, c. 1, extending also to banishment. In some jails, many of us crowded in nasty holes, and mixed among felons; many under sentence of premunire, not for refusing fidelity or allegiance to the king, but only for not swearing the same for conscience sake: many are under sentence of excommunication, committed on writs of *ex. com. cap.*, &c., for nonconformity, &c., and have undergone long and tedious imprisonments. By which confinements and hardships, many innocent and industrious families are left destitute and in distress; many honest tradesmen, husbandmen and farmers, are

greatly discouraged and spoiled in their trades and livelihoods, and many poor families depending on them for employment, now for lack thereof are exposed to great penury and want; besides the violence and woful spoil made upon many, both in city and country, by informers, prosecutions, &c., and for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of estates seized into the king's hands, &c., which will unavoidably force many to shut up their shops, and leave off their trades and farms, &c., as some have done already, if not timely relieved.

We therefore, who are concerned in the sufferings aforesaid, do in all Christian humility request that the king in his princely compassion, will please to take our distressed case into his tender consideration, and afford us relief from these hardships and imprisonments, as he hath formerly done for many of our suffering friends, which we do thankfully acknowledge, we being sincerely designed by the grace of God, to live peaceably and inoffensively under the king and his government.

Wherefore, according as our conversations are found concurring with this our solemn profession, we humbly crave liberty, that we may provide for our distressed families, and be capable to render to Cæsar those things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's; according to our Christian principle and persuasion.

We did not only in this manner, labour to influence the king with a sense of the general case of our friends' sufferings, but also gave him instances thereof, in divers notorious and crying cases, of manifest hardships and inhuman usage; in which concern I was many times very free to appear before the king himself; especially when desired to assist such friends as were concerned for the sufferers, when they have come to London to apply to him in their behalf. And when we have had certain accounts of our friends' sufferings and great oppressions sent from several parts of the nation, I have been stirred in spirit, and desirous to acquaint the king therewith, that he might at least be inexcusable, and not plead ignorance of those his innocent subjects' miseries.

In appearing before the king and council, our friends Lawrence Steel and Charles Jones, jr., of Bristol, were with me, being come to London to seek relief for our friends, who were then closely crowded in prison in that city. Being willing to assist them what I could, as I was deeply affected on account of our friends, when I understood their extreme suffering condition, I acquainted prince Rupert, the Lord President, and the Lord Chancellor, with the case, and desired we might be

heard before the king and council the following council day, which was granted us. Prince Rupert and the Lord President appeared most compassionate and tender toward our friends, when they understood the extremity of their sufferings, and the Lord Chancellor was moderate; so that he granted our request, and we attended the next council day, on the 17th of the twelfth month, 1681-2.

Some question arising about taking off their hats, the clerk of the council, sir Thomas Doleman, came to the door to take them off, but was forbidden, it was said, by the king; so it was concluded for them to come in before the king and council with their hats on; which they did accordingly.

Some present said, Go up to the king, being at the head of the board.

George Whitehead then went nearer the king. Meeting with this slight reflection; You pretend conscience: it seems your conscience is in your hats.

George Whitehead. We request that our complaint and suffering case may be heard and considered abstractly from those religious circumstances we are under, which may seem disgusting to you, that we may have justice done us. These persons are come from Bristol, to seek relief of the king from the hard usage our friends suffer in that city, beyond the severity of the law, as we conceive. They are able to speak to matters of fact, from their own knowledge, how our friends are used in that city; we entreat the king that they may be heard; and for matter of law, we shall leave that for you to judge of.

One in council. What reason have we to believe their words, against other men's oaths, who are sworn for the king?

George Whitehead. We entreat that they may be heard to give their accounts on those particulars complained of in our petition, which is delivered in before you, and I suppose read; and then we shall refer the credit of the matters complained of to your consciences, that accordingly we may have justice done us.

King. Your petition is not now read: would you have it read? It has been read before.

Lawrence Steel. This contains further matter than what has yet been read before you. [That was their suffering case drawn up at large, and laid upon the council board.]

Lord Chancellor. Of what do you complain?

Lawrence Steel. We complain of the havoc and spoil made upon the freehold and tenement, and breaking open closets, boxes, &c.

Lord Chancellor. What, you mean of the meeting room?

Lawrence Steel. Nay, the tenement adjoining to the meeting room; we complain of the rude multitudes haling and tearing women's clothes, and offering shameful incivilities to them; also of their pulling an innocent man's coat off his back, and taking money out of his pocket, &c. [Of this, though he had more to speak, they seemed not willing to hear it.]

Lord Chancellor. Of whom do you complain?

Lawrence Steel. We are loath to criminate persons by name.

Lord Chancellor. But you must tell us who? Is it the mayor, &c.

George Whitehead. Let them have some of their names.

Lawrence Steel. John Helliard and sheriff Knight, with a rude multitude.

George Whitehead. It appears that the sheriff and John Helliard, and other officers, have been most busy, and have encouraged the rude multitude in their abusive and riotous proceedings, and forced many to jail directly from their meeting, at their will and pleasure, without any examination before a justice, or warrant of commitment from any justice of peace; and then do so crowd and fill the jail, that the prisoners have not room to take their natural rest; but some are forced to sit up in the nights, whilst others take their rest.

Lord Chancellor. What would you have the king do? Would you have him relieve you from the law?

George Whitehead. No: we desire the king may relieve us from such irregular proceedings, as we conceive the law does not warrant.

Lord Chancellor. Why then do you not take course at law, and relieve yourselves by law?

George Whitehead. The prisoners and sufferers in Bristol, are disabled from relieving themselves by course of law.

Lord Chancellor. How are they disabled? What reason can you give that they are so disabled?

George Whitehead. Several reasons, as First; They are prosecuted on the convention act, made the twenty-second year of the king; and all the relief allowed us by law, is by way of appeal: and it admits of appeal to no higher court than the court of sessions, belonging to the same county, which is the county of Bristol, where there is no probability of relief upon appeal; because there they must appeal to their adversaries, as some there in authority are; and John Knight, sheriff, is an extreme adversary, and has been violent against them; and he has the return of the juries according to his own purpose—

King. Can you not procure a London jury then? &c.*

George Whitehead. Besides, if they make their appeal, they are liable to have the oath of allegiance put to them, to prevent prosecuting their appeal; for such kind of precipitate course has been used against us.

One in council. He counts the tender of the oath of allegiance a precipitancy, &c.

George Whitehead. No, it is the manner of requiring it, I mean; when it is done with design to anticipate the appellant, and prevent the trial of his appeal.

Secondly; The riots and abuses that are committed upon our friends at their meetings, by tearing women's scarfs, beating, throwing persons down, &c., which are done by a rude company that are encouraged by the constables and officers, who should keep the peace. So that there is none who will arrest or apprehend the rioters, that we know of, because the officers take their part, and animate them; and the rioters and abusive persons can readily escape in the crowd, there being no better notice taken of them by those whose place it is.

The third reason.

King. And thirdly: let us hear the third reason.

George Whitehead. The third reason of their being disabled, is, for those of our friends that are committed to jail; though we conceive their commitment irregular, yet if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against those that committed them, they may be destroyed in their strait and close confinement, before they can have relief by a course of law that way; they being so severely kept under hatches by their adversaries, if they should enter actions of false imprisonment against them, that it might be an occasion to them to revenge themselves the more severely on the prisoners in the mean while.

One in council. Seeing the conventicle act admits of no appeal to any higher court, than to the same court of sessions for that county, why do you appeal or make your complaint here? What would you have the king do for you?

George Whitehead. We desire the king, and you of his council, tenderly to consider our suffering case, and how far the king may relieve us from those irregular proceedings that shall appear beside or contrary to law.

But here George Whitehead was prevented from giving answer to the objection as he

would have done; That we do not make a formal appeal here, upon the conventicle act, to recover our fines, and the extortion in distresses; but for the king to discourage such proceedings for the future, i. e., as the law does not encourage.

Lord Chancellor. You would have the king to relieve you from the law, to interpose between you and the law; which he cannot do.

George Whitehead. No, under favour, Lord Chancellor, that inference follows not, from what is proposed on our part. We desire that the king would be pleased to interpose between us and the destruction that attends us, through the irregular and extreme proceedings of those persons, who, whilst they pretend to put the king's laws in execution, and in pursuance of an order from him, exceed all the severity and bounds of the law. Our present complaint therefore lies not against the law, or execution thereof simply; but against the mal-administration; against the hard usage, and exorbitant proceedings we meet withal, contrary to all law and justice, as we conceive.

Lord Chancellor. Well, we have heard you; you may withdraw.

George Whitehead. May it please the king yet to hear me a little further, that the king and you his ministers may understand how probable the truth of our complaint is, against those irregular and erroneous proceedings in Bristol, and how incident the justices there are to commit error in their proceedings against our friends who suffer there, please to take one instance, viz:

The most of their warrants of commitment, or mittimus, whereby our friends are committed to jail, and of which we have here copies, are defective and wanting in two material points, as;

First; The justices do not therein signify their lawful authority, as being the king's justices of the peace, before whom the prisoners were brought, and;

Secondly; Their command to the keeper of the jail for safe custody of the prisoners, is not given in the king's majesty's name, but in their own private names, except that there is one named Major, and one William Bristol, the rest are only in their private or personal names; no mention is made in their *mandamus* to the keeper, That these are in his majesty's name to will and require you, &c, but only they commit them in their own private names. This we conceive is irregular and unwarrantable in law; and this I give only as one instance to evince the probability of the truth of our complaint, and that those justices are subject to err in their proceedings, in omitting such material points.

* Supposed to be meant of the jury that acquitted the Earl of Shaftsbury, and some others upon trial in London.

Lord Chancellor. Those defects are exceptions pleadable, and they may be heard, if they remove themselves by *Habeas Corpus*.

Lord President. That exception of yours will not serve your turn.

Lord Chancellor. You may withdraw.

George Whitehead. May it please the king, and you his ministers, to observe this one thing namely; that those officers and rude persons in Bristol, who have done so much violence and spoil to our friends, do pretend power and authority from the king, for such their proceedings, and under pretext of an order from the king to put the laws in execution, they take liberty to commit all their disorders and abuses against our friends, because of their innocent meetings.

Which being seriously considered, I hope the king will see cause to do himself justice, and likewise you his ministers will be concerned to do yourselves, as well as us justice, by putting some stop to these destructive proceedings, the violence and spoil they make under such pretence of the king's order and authority. Pray, let it be duly considered, whether or no, thereby they do not reflect upon the king, and dishonour him before his people, whilst they render him the patron or mover of these their riotous and oppressive proceedings against the king's peaceable subjects; and whether or no they do not reflect upon you his ministers, tending to render you suspicious in the eyes of the people? I hope, on serious and tender consideration of these things, you will see cause to do yourselves and us justice.

You have had experience of us, and of our peaceable deportment towards the king and government for above these twenty years; it is very hard we should be thus severely used at this time of day!

We have here a more large and particular state of our suffering case, which we desire you to receive and take notice of it.

This case at large being very fairly written upon several sheets of paper, on the one side of each sheet, George Whitehead delivered it to the council board, in the king's presence, where it was received and laid down on the board, before the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Chancellor, &c.

At last George Whitehead thus concluded, viz:

I pray God preserve the king, and direct you his ministers, to do justly, and love mercy, and to walk humbly with God.

I do confess I was under a very weighty concern of spirit, to use my earnest and careful endeavours in solicitation, in this heavy suffering case of our Bristol friends, who then

were sorely persecuted, oppressed and abused; for it was a time of very hot resolved persecution against them.

Upon a thorough inspection into their case, and viewing the copies of the warrants of commitment against the prisoners, together with the accounts of the riotous, shameful, and abusive work made against our friends, at their meetings in that city, I clearly perceived both how invidious, inconsiderate, and ignorant of law and justice, the magistrates of that city were, who were then most busy against our friends, and most ready to grant warrants against them, either to imprison their persons, or seize their goods, thereby to gratify mercenary informers, and the worst of our friends' persecutors, to the great dishonour and reproach of that city, which formerly had been esteemed a place having more of profession and religion in it than many others.

And considering what a barbarous, persecuting spirit was then got up there, where our friends were so persecuted and oppressed, I was the more zealously stirred in spirit by the Lord's power, earnestly to endeavour for an opportunity to plead their innocent cause before the king and his council. I may truly say, the Lord made way for me, and did manifestly stand by and assist me. For I felt his power and hand upon me; and he gave me clearly to see and understand how to avoid being ensnared by questions, and how to give seasonable answers; and not to be discouraged or diverted by such interruptions as I met with. Blessed be the Lord my God, who gave me power and boldness, and also counsel and wisdom, to plead the cause of the innocent sufferers for his worthy name and blessed truth sake.

I was sensible the truth of our suffering friends' case, as I was enabled to plead and argue the same before the king and his council, which was then large and full, had some entrance and effect, upon his, and many of their consciences, though several among them were somewhat opposite. An order of council was granted and given to the magistrates of Bristol, to allow our friends better accommodation, as to prison room; and some of them were removed out of Newgate, into another prison for a time, until released.

The king appearing affected with the innocence of the sufferers' case, allowed me liberty to plead it against the persecutors, longer than some present would have had me; and not only so, but he suffered us to stand all the time before him and his council with our hats on our heads, which was about three quarters of an hour. The king had the more reason to suffer us in that posture, seeing he would not permit our hats to be taken off by the clerk

of the council, when we were called in before him, as we understood, being minded to give himself some pleasant diversion, by trying us in our plainness and simplicity, agreeable to our profession and self-denying testimony.

On the 13th day of August, so called, A. D. 1682, George Whitehead being called before Sir John Moor, then Lord Mayor of London, on account of a meeting, the mayor asked him,

Mayor.—Did not you preach at the meeting?

George Whitehead.—I desire to be excused from answering that question, for I am not bound to accuse myself.

After some other discourse, one of the mayor's officers did in effect ask the same question, viz :

Mayor's Officer.—Did not you take upon you to preach, or teach in the meeting?

George Whitehead.—I am not bound to be my own prosecutor; I am not under an oath *ex officio*. Where are my accusers, those who informed against the meeting? If they could be so prophetic, as to tell so many days beforehand, that there would be such a conventicle as the warrant mentions, surely they may easily tell matter of fact when committed; if any such was [but the informers did not then appear to give any evidence.] To which an officer made this reply, viz :

Officer.—We may certainly know some things beforehand, as when the sun sets, that it will rise next morning, and the course of the tides.

George Whitehead.—The course of the sun and tides are settled in the order of the creation; our meetings are rather accidental, or occasional, and may possibly be altered, as to time; but if the course of the sun be thought a meet instance, or comparison, in this case, then had you all need to have a care of striving against them; for it is in vain to endeavour to stop the sun in its course.

The mayor called two persons, who apprehended George Whitehead, to give evidence upon oath.

George Whitehead then warned them, as they intended to give account to the great Judge of all, to depose nothing, as matter of fact, but what came within their certain knowledge, or what they heard and saw.

A Trainband Officer.—I saw his lips go, but heard not what he said.

Constable.—I heard his voice, but could not tell what he said, so as to make sense of it; only I heard him mention Jesus Christ and the Spirit.

George Whitehead.—Now I desire the Lord Mayor will please to compare these

men's evidence with the matter of fact, as it is stated in the Act of Parliament; and then it will appear how far short it is of proving the fact, as it is there described. The one saw my lips move, but could not hear what I said; the other heard my voice, and that I mentioned Jesus Christ and the Spirit, but could not make sense of what I said. I hope none here will conclude, that to mention Jesus Christ and the spirit, are contrary to the liturgy of the church of England. And seeing the evidence falls so much short of proving the offence as it is described by law, I desire that proceedings against me on this account may be stopped.

Nevertheless, I had goods in my shop of grocery-ware, seized, taken and carted away, to a considerable value, by one James Holsworth, druggist, in Tower street, constable, and others, by a warrant from the said Sir John Moor, then mayor; but without proof of the least offence committed either by myself or any other friend in the said meeting.

Surely it was a hard case, that in a solemn, religious assembly, we might not move our lips, and mention Jesus Christ and the holy Spirit, without being thus fined, and our goods seized and taken away.

A copy of the warrant for distress.

London, ss.—Whereas George Whitehead, of Houndsditch, in the parish of St. Buttolph, within [for without] Bishopsgate, London, was upon the 13th day of August, last past, in the thirty-fourth year of his majesty's reign, legally convicted before me, Sir John Moor, Kt. Lord Mayor of the city of London, by the oaths of two sufficient witnesses, for that he upon the said 13th day of August, did take upon him to teach and preach in an unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, situate in the parish of Allhallows, Lombard street, London, under colour or pretence of exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England; at which conventicle, assembly, or meeting, there were more than five persons, all of the age of sixteen years and upward, subjects of this realm, unlawfully assembled, contrary to the late Act of parliament, entitled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles. For which cause I have imposed upon him a fine of twenty pounds, by him the said George Whitehead forfeited, for such his first offence, of which he stands convicted before me, according to the statute in that case made and provided.

These are therefore in his majesty's name, and by virtue of the said Act, to command you, or some of you to levy the said sum of

twenty pounds, by way of distress and sale of the goods and chattels of him the said George Whitehead; and that you return the said sum of twenty pounds, or such part of it as you shall so levy, to me, to be distributed according to the said Act; and for your so doing, this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal, this 10th day of September, *Anno Regis Caroli Secundi*, 34. Anno Domini 1682.

JOHN MOOR, *Mayor*.

To all constables and other his majesty's officers of the peace, within the said city, whom this may concern.

Observe how far short of proof of the matter charged in this warrant, the said mayor's two sufficient witnesses came in their evidence against George Whitehead, when instead of plain matter of fact done, he makes them rather judges of matter of law, viz: That he, George Whitehead, took upon him to preach in an unlawful, yea, a seditious conventicle, when they could never prove any fact of that nature or tendency, much less could these witnesses, or the informers be competent judges of law in that case, when all they saw or heard was George Whitehead move his lips, and mention Jesus Christ and the holy Spirit; in which words I hope there is no sedition; nor a disallowance thereof either in the liturgy or practice of the church of England, for therein both Jesus Christ and the holy Spirit are frequently mentioned.

To manifest how eager our persecutors were to seek our ruin, here follows a copy of a certificate for another warrant against George Whitehead, viz:

To the right honourable SIR WILLIAM PRITCHARD, Kt. Lord Mayor of the city of London, and to the right worshipful the aldermen of the said city, and to every of them whom it may concern.

These are to certify that George Whitehead, of Houndsditch, in the liberty of London, grocer, stands convicted by the oaths of two credible witnesses upon record, before me sir Clement Armingher, Kt., one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, for taking upon him to preach and teach in other manner and form than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, on the 19th day of August last, in the afternoon, in a certain unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, in the parish of St. Margaret Westminster, in the county aforesaid, in contempt of an Act of parlia-

ment, made in the twenty-second year of his majesty's reign, entitled, An Act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles; by virtue of which Act I have imposed a fine of forty pounds upon him, the said George Whitehead, this being the second offence of which he stands convicted before me upon record.

Given under my hand the 5th day of September, *Anno. Reg. Carol. Secundi nunc Ang.* 35, &c. Anno Domini 1683.

It appears that all this prosecution, or rather persecution, was designed to force us to a strict conformity to the liturgy of the church of England, or otherwise we must have our goods taken away from us, and be disabled from obtaining a livelihood, and from buying and selling. O church of England! Is such persecution and severity the mark or fruit of a true Christian church?

The great offence assigned and made thus severely punishable by the foregoing certificate, is preaching and teaching in other manner and form than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, whereby the liturgy seems preferred before the holy Scriptures, or the holy Spirit, from whence they came, and from whence true preaching proceeds, as is well known to all ministers of the spirit.

We find not what form of preaching or teaching, or of sermons, are in the liturgy of the church of England, but forms of prayers, collects, &c. But as to the practice of that church there is much preaching, sermons and manner of praying also, which are not in the liturgy or book of common prayer. However, the liturgy and practice of the said church allow us more liberty in point of ministry and worship, than our persecutors and their informers have done.

As it was a frequent practice of the persecuting justices to convict us without any lawful summons or judicial hearing, upon the information and oaths of mercenary informers, whom they rendered their credible or sufficient witnesses, after the same manner was this conviction, before cited, made against me; although I was had before Sir Clement Armingher the first time, when taken at our meeting at Savoy, in the Strand, the 23rd day of July, 1682.

Howbeit the informers appeared not face to face, to prove matter of fact against me; yet it appeared he took their private information, for he confessed in his own house, in the presence of Edward Brooks, that upon the information of John Hilton and Gabriel Shadd, notorious informers, and prosecutors, the conviction was made against me.

The following is an abstract of general exceptions in George Whitehead's case, prepared in order to an appeal against the late conviction made against him, by sir Clement Armingher, the 4th day of September, 1683; unsummoned and unheard, in his own defence, &c.

1. He conceives the conviction without summons or hearing, to be contrary to all equity and right, due order of law, and common course of justice,* consequently not consistent with the oath of justices.

2. Contrary to the precedents which God himself hath given; Gen. iii. 8 and 18, 21.

3. Contrary to the express law of God; Deut. xix. 17, 18, and John vii. 51.

4. Contrary to the very law, justice, and manner of the ancient Romans, and other nations; Acts xxv. 16.

5. Contrary to the intention of the conventicle Act itself; requiring the taking into custody the persons unlawfully assembled, to the intent they may be proceeded against according to this Act, as well as by confession of the party in the first place, in order to conviction.

Concerning the circumstances of the fact assigned by the conventicle act, 22 Car. 2.

1. The appellant conceives it is impossible to prove those circumstances mentioned in the act against that assembly for which he stands convicted, viz: the being met under colour and pretence of religious exercise, in other manner than according to the liturgy, &c., being imputed to the conventicle only, by the said act, and not to the preacher; and the conventicle for that cause, fineable distinct from the preacher, to wit, five shillings, or ten shillings a person. The case and forfeiture of the preacher being distinct in another clause, viz; every person who shall take upon him to preach or teach in any such conventicle, being convicted, &c., shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds.

Here is no exception or circumstances relating to the preacher, how well soever he preach, if it be in such conventicles, as is described by the act, that makes the offence.

2. Therefore the appellant requests, that the court would please to inquire of his prosecutors, or convicting justice, what manner of religious exercise did the said assembly pretend or practice that was not according to, or which disagreed with the liturgy of the church of England? Or what did the meeting pretend, do, or exercise in religion, that it can rationally be judged the said liturgy allows not of? For it is not the omission of such fact or exercise the said act condemns,

but some overt act; and the meeting being wholly passive, what unlawful fact can possibly be proved against the same?

Concerning the circumstances of place, number and preaching, most generally alledged against our religious assemblies; the appellant conceives all these, together with the religious exercise thereof, to be manifestly warranted and allowed by the liturgy of the church of England, viz:

1. For assembling, and mutual exhortation and edification, &c.

2. For Christian meetings of considerable numbers.

3. For the liberty of ministering by the gift of Christ received.

4. For worshipping God in spirit and in truth, without limitation to time or place.

All these instances are proved in divers epistles, citations of holy Scripture in the said liturgy, or common prayer book, of the said church of England; which also often refers us to the holy Scriptures, and to believe and practice accordingly. It is generally alledged by convicting justices, that by the oath of two credible witnesses, they convict those whom they fine twenty pounds, or forty pounds a man; when it is commonly on the oath of mercenary informers. Against such we except, as being no credible witnesses, but acting for their own unjust gain; many whereof have made no conscience of their oaths, but have forsworn themselves in divers cases, as has been proved, and hereafter may be made apparent. Credible witnesses who are assigned in law and justice, are no parties, nor interested persons, as sir John Fortescue, lord chancellor of England, in the reign of king Henry the sixth, describes them.

As our adversaries, to excuse their severe persecutions, used divers false pretensions against us, as that our religious meetings were unlawful conventicles, seditious, riotous, &c., so they took divers courses to make us suffer, as by fines, loss and spoil of our goods, imprisonments, &c.

And seeing it was our persecutors' design to pursue our ruin one way or other, it was my great concern and exercise, earnestly to endeavour to possess the king and government with a right understanding and sense of the suffering condition of our friends, and to plead their innocent cause, and solicit for their ease and relief, more than for my own; and especially to lay hold of such cases as appeared most heavy and severe, as being most likely to procure some compassion, and obtain relief; as where the hardest imprisonments of Friends' persons were, and greatest spoil and havoc made upon their goods; which persecutions were often renewed and continued

* Vid., Coke, Dalt., Lambert.

for some years in this nation, under the reign of king Charles the second, especially towards his latter end.

On the 22nd day of the twelfth month, 1682-3, a state of the case of the prisoners, commonly called Quakers, in Norwich, Gloucester, Bristol, Yorkshire, and Northampton, directed to the king, with request for relief, was delivered into the hands of the Earl of Rochester, by George Whitehead, with desire that he would please to show it to the king, which he promised he would.

The 23rd of the twelfth month, George Whitehead again spoke to the Earl of Rochester, and desired him to show the said case both to the king and duke, which he promised he would do, and said, "I will read it to the king this night." George Whitehead told him, That we are advised to deliver the Norwich case singly by itself, to the council, which we intend to do this day, being council day. Accordingly the same day, the judges appeared at council before they went their circuits, and George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey then attending, the case of the Norwich suffering Friends was presented at the council board by sir Philip Lloyd, who was pre-engaged to it, and to move the reading of it, which accordingly he did, but was obstructed in the reading by some in council, on pretence that it was not a formal petition, or not in the usual form.

The 24th of the twelfth month, 1682-3, George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey, went to the Lord Privy Seal, and spake to him about the said case of the Norwich prisoners, being obstructed in the reading of it, at the council board. He told us, that notwithstanding, after that, the king gave a moderate recommendation to the judges when they were below, to inquire into the state of the prisoners, and their usage. This he told us twice over.

A little after George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey had spoken to the Lord Privy Seal, they went up into the gallery to speak with the king, at his coming out of the park; where, after some time of waiting, the duke and his attendants passed by to meet the king, and after a little space, the king and his attendants came along the gallery towards his lodgings; George Whitehead then stepped up to the king without any interruption, the whole company being civil, and thus proceeded, viz:

George Whitehead. May it please the king to grant us the favour of a few words. It is in behalf of many of the king's peaceable subjects who are prisoners at Norwich, and there like to be buried alive in holes and dungeons.

King. Can they not swear themselves out of prison?*

George Whitehead. Under favour, such are not in society with us. We entreat the king to commiserate this distressed case of the prisoners in Norwich, for they are burying them alive in a dungeon under ground.

King. Have you a paper? If you have a paper of their case, I will take it.

George Whitehead. Yes, here is a paper: [which he delivered into the king's hand, and he gently took it.]

George Whitehead proceeded, viz: They are a poor, harmless people, poor wool-combers, weavers, and tradesmen, &c., like to be destroyed in prison, in holes under ground; we entreat the king not to suffer these his peaceable subjects to be buried alive.

I perceived these last words took most hold upon him, viz: my entreating him not to suffer his peaceable subjects to be buried alive, they being straitly confined in a low, nasty dungeon or hole under the Guildhall of the city.

Gilbert Latey then stepped to the king, saying, "We are the king's subjects, who never did any thing against him, have been peaceable, and we can truly say, have served him, and never were against him; yet our friends are great sufferers, and they lie in a dungeon twenty-seven steps deep in the ground, in Norwich. Wherefore we have more earnestly sought their relief of the king."

My friend Gilbert Latey, as well as myself, being often tenderly affected with our friends' deep sufferings and hardships, spake to the king in very tender affection, and a sense of the Lord's power and holy fear; which reached the king's heart and conscience, and others about him, beyond his utterance, or what he could in words demonstrate. Gilbert was freely resigned to accompany me and according to his ability to assist in those exercises and applications to the king, in the sufferers' behalf; and we were often comforted together and assisted in our endeavours, by the power of the Lord, which we had special and very tender regard to; and he thereby helped and strengthened us to his praise, and our great comfort and encouragement. Glory to his excellent name and power forever.

After I had earnestly moved the king for relief of our suffering friends in Norwich, he gave some instructions about the prisoners to the judges who were to go the Norfolk circuit for the next assizes following: accordingly at Norwich, judge Hugh Windham gave order

* For this cross question, he took occasion from some apostate taking an oath to be a livery man of the city, as we understood.

that the prisons, or rooms therein, should be viewed, where the Quakers were confined, and affidavits to be made thereof before a master in chancery, which accordingly was done by an attorney, and the affidavits were sent up to me at London, containing a true account of matter of fact, relating to the places where our friends were so miserably confined.

Whereupon our friend William Crouch, went with me to judge Windham, to deliver the affidavits to him, esteeming him the most proper person to take cognizance thereof, being obtained pursuant to his order or advice, at the assizes before, that he might acquaint the king therewith; but instead of so doing, or of showing compassion to the sufferers, he refused to receive or accept the affidavits which he himself had ordered; only he did a little look upon and read them, or part of them, and fell to reproaching the meetings of our friends as being riots and riotous, &c., when they were forcibly kept out of their meeting-house, and met peaceably in the street; and there stood quietly waiting upon the Lord in a peaceable and inoffensive posture. Thus our friends at Norwich and other places did, as I told the judge; and that therefore such meetings could be no riots, nor riotous meetings, there neither being any show of arms, nor menacing words, nor any violence offered, nor any injury done to the persons or properties of any others; and therefore I conceived there was nothing of the nature of a riot committed by any of our friends in their said meetings.

Upon this discourse the judge seemed offended, and standing up with his arms a-kimbo, and his hands on his sides, he answered, viz: "You will know the law better than I, I warrant you; but I will have you know you shall not be masters over the law, but the law shall be master over you, so long as I live, or have to do with the law.

I answered, I will not compare with thee as to knowledge and learning in the law. Thou hast had the advantage of education therein, as well as of age above me, which I have not had; yet nevertheless I have had occasion in my time to understand something of truth and justice, having been a sufferer myself on a conscientious account, under the several governments since we were a people, both in Oliver Cromwell's days and since; and in all my sufferings and trials, I never saw cause to change my judgment, or turn with the times, but rather through all to be the more confirmed in what I believe and profess respecting religion.

I also spake further and closely to him;

that he had the opportunity and power to do our suffering friends in Norwich some kindness, in order to their relief; and that he, and I, and all men, must give account to the great Judge of all, for all our actions, and he for not relieving our poor suffering friends, or to that purpose: and seeing he would not accept the affidavits before mentioned, so as to deliver the same to the king, I asked him what we should do with them? He said, "You may carry them to my Lord Keeper, i. e., Lord North," which advice, though slightly given, I readily took hold of, having cleared my conscience to him, the said judge, who at last carried himself more mildly towards us than he did in the former part of our discourse.

The next day William Crouch and I went to the said Lord Keeper, at his house, and after being admitted to him in his closet, I told him at judge Windham's advice, we were come with certain affidavits from Norwich, which the judge had given order for, concerning the confinement of our friends, who were detained close prisoners; and then delivered the affidavits to him. Whereupon he began to accuse our friends' meetings with being riotous, &c., much after the same manner that judge Windham had done. I fairly reasoned the case with him a little while on our friends' behalf, and after some discourse, told him that we hoped he would present, or make report of those affidavits to the king, they being procured by judge Windham's order, pursuant to the king's instructions. Whereupon the keeper promised he would deliver them to the king; upon which I was eased in my spirit, for that the king might thereby see our complaints of our friends' hard usage in the jail and dungeon in Norwich confirmed by such a legal proof as he could not deny; not doubting the keeper's performance of his promise, we left the case with him, and withdrew.

It was something remarkable, that the said judge Windham had no long time to master us with the law, which he menaced us with, i. e., that the law should be master over us; which I took to mean the persecuting laws, or rather the mal-administration of our persecutors, who would judge and punish our peaceable religious meetings for riots, &c., when nothing of a riotous nature or fact could ever be proved against them, or against us in them. Though the said judge appeared very fierce against our meetings, charging them, and threatening us with the law, &c., he knew not how near his time then was; for after that he lived but a short space, if he died in the next Norfolk circuit, as was reported: however he lived but a little time after he threatened us that the law should be master over us.

George Whitehead and William Crouch's Letter to Friends at Norwich prison.

Dear Friends,

Anthony Alexander, Mary Booth, John Fiddeman, &c., friends in prison in the dungeon, at Norwich. After the tender salutation of our dear love to you all in the Lord, these are to acquaint you of our care and industrious endeavours on your behalf, since we received your last letters, the one dated the 19th instant, and the other the 21st, together with the enclosed letter from the attorney, and the affidavits, mittimuses, and the county jailer's letter to your jailer, and also sheriff Stebbings' severe order to him. In answer to all which, and your desires signified, we return you this following account, viz :

We did yesterday seek for John Hill, to whom the said attorney directed his letter, but he was out of the city, in the country.

We sought out judge Windham, and in the afternoon had admittance to speak to him. He was prepossessed with sheriff Stebbings' account against you and his own vindication, having rendered you obstinate, riotous, affronting the law in your meetings, and standing in the street, contrary to proclamation, &c. But be not discouraged at such injurious reflections.

We told him sheriff Stebbings is your extreme adversary, and party against you.

On the sheriff's account he also reflected upon you, as refusing to give in security for your appearance at sessions, and refusing to pay for convenient rooms in prison, and said that you chose a free prison, &c.* This and more from sheriff Stebbings' account. But still we excepted against him as not an indifferent person.

We told him we had affidavits enclosed in a letter from persons indifferent; upon which he called for the letter to John Hill, and opened it, and read the mittimuses and affidavits, which caused some calm, having before that read the letter dated the 19th of the first month, which he plucked out of George Whitehead's hand, wherein you give account of sheriff Stebbings being with the judge, and of his and the jailer's being more severe towards you since; which passages we made improvement of, to show the sheriff's contradiction to what the king, the lord-keeper, and judge Windham himself had ordered on your behalf.

The judge said, he had delivered sheriff Stebbings' account to the lord-keeper, and he

gave us back the mittimus and affidavits, and said we might do what we would with the affidavits.

We gave account yesternight to the meeting of our friends, of our endeavours with the judge, and your letters and the affidavits were then read in the meeting, which left the matter to us further to manage and write to you, which herein we do.

This morning we went early to the lord Keeper's, obtained admittance to him, and spoke with him in your case and behalf. He showed us sheriff Stebbings' account against you, we told him what an extreme party and adversary he is against you; we delivered him the affidavits, and told him they were from indifferent persons who viewed the jail, and we desired his tender notice of them, and to give report to the king accordingly. He received them, and promised he would deliver them to the king.

Lastly, we having thus far endeavoured and laboured for you, and vindicated your cause much more than we can here express; to what you propose of drawing up your case to the king, we think it very meet, that if you be still continued under the same hardship, you briefly draw up your complaint by way of humble petition, or request to the king, showing your hard usage in the most material points; for we have lately found that some are apt to reject compliments at the council-board, unless the words [humble petition] be in the front.

Thus dear friends, having given you these brief notes of our endeavours, being but as a short index thereof, we hope that further endeavours will not be wanting, as the Lord shall open our way.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
WILLIAM CROUCH.

Our labour and solicitation for our oppressed friends at Norwich, held a considerable time, and their suffering was prolonged by their persecutor Stebbings, the then sheriff, of whose cruelty their chief complaints were; to excuse and palliate which, his endeavours were to render the sufferers criminal and as obnoxious as he could, aspersing them as obstinate, riotous, &c., thereby to incense the magistrates and government against them. This gave us occasion to be the more zealously concerned to discover to his and our superiors, his unwarrantable and inhuman actions and proceedings against the poor, harmless sufferers; and further to make application to the king in the sufferers' behalf. Wherein my ancient friend Gilbert Lathey, was willing and free to be concerned with me; and accordingly we waited an opportu-

* So they might, and not choose a dungeon under Guildhall.

nity to go to the king at Hampton-Court, when he was to come thither from Windsor.

On the 25th of the second month, 1683, we took boat for Kingston, in the afternoon, but before we got to Wansworth, the weather began to be so very stormy and tempestuous upon the river Thames, that we were forced to take in at Wansworth, and lodge there that night at the widow Springet's. Next morning we rose by that time it was well light, and walked on foot to Kingston, it raining almost all the way, so that we were much wetted in going thither. We made some stop at Anne Fielders, at Kingston, till we had a little refreshed ourselves, and dried our clothes at the fire, and then we hastened away to Hampton-Court, to meet with the king before he went to council.

As we went along the park toward the court, we saw at a distance divers persons standing in the porch looking towards us, and I observed one above the rest; believing it was the king, by his blue riband and black cap, I said to Gilbert Latey, I am persuaded yonder is the king; and as we drew nearer, I saw it was the king indeed. And not being willing to go abruptly into his presence, to open our case to him without his leave, at a little distance I called to the king, desiring him to favour us a few words, which he presently granting, one of his gentlemen who knew us, came to us, and gently took off our hats, and hung them on the pales of a fence before the court, and then we went to the king, who was ready to hear us.

Divers great persons being present with the king, at the gate or porch, I proceeded to open our case to him concerning the continuance of the hard suffering of our friends in Norwich, in manner following, viz:

First, I reminded the king that our poor friends in Norwich, were still continued under great duress or hardships in jail, in holes, and a dungeon under ground, and desired that the king in his clemency, would please to relieve them, further opening their distressed case, &c.

The king answered, viz: It is against law they suffer so, and I will take care concerning them.

I was truly glad when I heard him give this answer, believing that the complaints which had been made to him of our friends' hard usage and confinements, and the said affidavits of others thereof, had such credit and weight with him that I hoped he would cause them to be released.

Secondly, the king questioned us about the reason of our not putting off our hats, and using the terms, *thee* and *thou*, *yea* and *nay*? To which we gave him answer, particularly Gilbert Latey, viz: That if we could put off

our hats to any mortal, it should be to the king first, but for conscience sake we could not to any mortal, but only in our approaching God in prayer; to which the king gave no particular reply.

George Whitehead.—*Thou* and *thee* to one person, is Scripture language and the true way of speaking.

Gilbert Latey.—As Paul did to King Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 2.; viz: I think myself happy, O King Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee; touching all the things whereof I am accused of the Jews; especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions, which are among the Jews, &c.

George Whitehead.—Thirdly, concerning *yea* and *nay*, we are not strictly tied to the expressions, but some times use those of the same signification; as *yes* and *no*, &c.

A great person present asked us, viz: Why do you call him king? Why do you not call him his majesty?

George Whitehead.—As he is king, he has majesty belonging to him, it is included: his majesty is his greatness and power.

King.—You should not stand upon things in affectation; the word *you*, is now become usual in English; and the word *yeah*, is used by seamen when they call from the top of the mast, to be heard upon the deck; it is also a Dutch word, who express it *yah*.

George Whitehead.—We affect not singularity in words, or behaviour, but desire to demean ourselves in that plainness and simplicity, which we are in conscience and truth persuaded unto.

King.—The words *thee* and *thou*, might have been better translated out of the Greek, *you*.

George Whitehead.—If so, then the translators were as simple as we the Quakers.

King.—Many of your friends can swear, or take an oath, rather than loose their voices in election.

George Whitehead.—Though some few persons have sworn, who have sometimes gone under our profession, yet they are not in society with us, or we with them.

Gilbert Latey.—We are as much dissatisfied with such as have so done, as the king can be.

George Whitehead.—We desire nothing to be done to the prejudice or dishonour of the king, nor to join with, or promote any interest against the king. The Lord knows our hearts, we have not the least design or desire for the subversion or change of the government. Nor can we reasonably be supposed to have any such design, seeing we were deep sufferers in Cromwell's time, as I myself was;

therefore there is no reason, we should seek to promote any interest against the king, but only desire, that God in his wisdom may direct and preserve the king, and that nothing may be done or suffered that may be to the king's dishonour or hurt.

Gilbert Latey. We would not loose our point that we came to the king for; that is, the case of our distressed friends in Norwich, to whom we desire the king to show his princely clemency for their relief.

Although it was my friend's care we should not be diverted from our point by other discourse, I was as mindful of that as he could be; but by the way, I was willing to clear our innocency from jealousies and prejudice wrongfully suggested to the king against us and our friends.

In answer to Gilbert Latey.

King. I will take notice of their case, and care about it, that it shall be called for in council.

George Whitehead. If there be any objections against us, i. e., in council, we pray the king to let us know them, and we hope to give such answers as shall be satisfactory.

The reason of this proposal by George Whitehead was, that we were informed the secretary, sir L. Jenkins, intended to produce an apology from the sheriffs of Norwich, against the affidavits concerning the jail and dungeon wherein our friends were confined, whereupon we attended the council that day, in order to be called in before them, or to hear the result thereof, in our case, respecting our said suffering friends, but we were not called in, nor did we hear of any such apology produced by the secretary, though he was a favourer of our adversary, sheriff Stebbings. It may be supposed, that the king's favourable answers to us, and his confessing that their suffering was against law, and promising to take care concerning them, might anticipate and prevent producing any apology against them or their case.

To George Whitehead's last proposal before.

King. You shall know I will take care about your business.

George Whitehead. We gave affidavits to the Lord Keeper, which we hope were delivered to the king.

King. Yes, yes, I will take notice of their case, and it shall be called on in council.

Gilbert Latey. We accept it as a great favour, that we have this admittance to be heard, and pray God to preserve and direct the king.

George Whitehead to the rest of the nobility present, &c.; And we acknowledge all your civilities and kindness towards us.

George Whitehead to the king, as he was withdrawing; We hope the king will be mindful of our suffering friends in Norwich.

Yet after so great endeavours and long solicitation, our suffering friends in Norwich were continued prisoners until the next assizes that summer, and then were released, pursuant to the king's promise and instruction, as it was concluded, to the great comfort and relief of them and their afflicted families.

Although, with God's assistance, we prevailed with the king for relief in certain extreme cases of suffering through great labour and solicitation, wherein I was much concerned, in great compassion toward our sorely oppressed friends, yet hitherto there remained great oppression and sufferings throughout most counties and cities in England, by divers kinds of severe prosecutions; insomuch that several of us, namely, George Fox, Gilbert Latey, Alexander Parker, Francis Camfield, myself, &c., were weightily concerned to have a general statement of our suffering friends' case and condition, drawn up by way of address or application, to be presented to the king, in order to make him the more sensible of the great oppressions and persecutions we still were exposed to. Accordingly I took particular care to have such an application effectually drawn to Friends' satisfaction.

The intent whereof was, to clear our innocency from a plot that was reported to have been against the king and the duke of York.

To make the king sensible of our long continued, as well as extreme sufferings for our religious, tender consciences towards Almighty God; and

Earnestly to move the king for our relief: a copy whereof follows, viz:

TO THE KING.

The humble address of the people commonly called Quakers.

O king,

The King of kings, and Lord of the whole earth incline thy heart to do that which is just and merciful in his sight, and to make such clear and equal distinctions, as that the innocent may not suffer, in any case, for the guilty, that it may ever redound to thy honour and safety, and thy peaceable subjects' comfort.

Our innocency, love and good will to thy person and the government that God has committed to thee, encourage us, in this our humble address and application.

Whereas the late plot against the king, and his brother the Duke of York, is made an occasion to persecute many of us for our religious meetings more severely than formerly;

We do solemnly declare, that it is known to the divine Majesty and the all-seeing Wisdom, whereby kings reign and princes decree justice, that our manifold, extreme and continued sufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the least motive or provocation to us, to desire, much less to contrive the least hurt either to thy person or government, or to the person of thy brother the Duke of York. We are clear in the sight of God, angels and men, from all hellish plots and traitorous conspiracies, and from all murderous designs and undertakings against the king, his brother, or any person on earth whatsoever, being works of the devil and darkness; having contrariwise learned of Christ Jesus our Lord, by his light and grace in our hearts, not so much as by force to defend, much less avenge, ourselves from injuries done us, but to commit our cause to Him that judgeth righteously, as peaceable followers of our Saviour and Redeemer, in his patient example and sufferings, who is the Prince of peace.

O king, we do further declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge and actually to obey magistracy, as his ordinance, in all things not repugnant to his law and light in our consciences, which is certainly agreeable to the holy Scriptures, and admits not of any immoral or injurious action. And that even where through tenderness of conscience we cannot conform, it is our duty patiently to suffer, and not to rebel or seek revenge. We hope by his divine grace, ever to demean ourselves as peaceable minded Christians, in our conversations under the civil government. As we do sincerely, and with reverence confess to his divine power and providence in thy restoration, and the preservation of thy person hitherto, so our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty for thy future safety and peace, and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayest be thereby obliged to show mercy, and to relieve the oppressed from these unmerited afflictions and persecutions, which a great number of us thy peaceable subjects, do even at this day suffer under, in our persons and estates, not only by laws made against, but also by laws never intended against us. And what is more extreme, divers severities of late have been, and still are inflicted on us, for which no colour or pretence of law hath been or can be alledged, several jails being so filled that they want air, and many innocent persons are held under extreme distress, without regard to age, sex, or condition, to the loss of some lives already, and the apparent hazard of many more, if not to the endangering of infection in divers

cities and places in this nation. Many houses, shops, barns and fields, are ransacked and swept of goods, corn and cattle, tending also to the great discouragement of trade and husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a great number of quiet and industrious people; and that for no other cause, but for their religious worship, and the exercise of their tender consciences towards Almighty God, who made them, who is the sovereign Lord of all, and king in men's consciences.

Therefore we humbly entreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity and compassion, to open our prison doors, and take off our bonds; relieve the innocent and oppressed in thy land, who fear God and in conversation truly honour the king. Suffer not the ruin of such as are quiet in the land, nor the widow and the fatherless, for their peaceable consciences, to lie at the door of a prince professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ.

This address was presented to king Charles the second, and by him accepted, at Windsor castle, the 8th day of the sixth month, called August, 1683, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, and read distinctly to the king and the duke, in the presence of many more of the nobility, &c., by me.

After I had read it to the king, our ancient friend Francis Camfield declared a few words, very weightily, reminding him of the mercy of the great God to him, both in his great deliverances, preservation, and restoration; desiring that as the Almighty had shown mercy and compassion to him, in his afflictions and straits, he would show mercy and compassion to his afflicted people; or words to the same effect, so near as I well remember, and withal prayed for the king, according to our supplications hinted in the foregoing application, to which he said, I thank you.

The king at that time appeared seriously affected with our complaint and sufferings, and soon after we were told by a great person, that he said to a duke that stood by, What shall we do for this people? The prisons are filled with them. And that the duke to divert him from his concern therein, drew him into other discourse.

I have been bowed in spirit under a great weight and concern, with earnest breathing and secret supplication to the Lord to assist me, so often as I have had occasion personally to appear before the king, to make application or request to him on behalf of my suffering friends and brethren, and my exercise was the greater when it was difficult to obtain access to, or to meet with him, which I

have divers times very earnestly laboured for; and also to be admitted to appear before him and his council, to plead their cause. And the Lord our God has made way for me therein, and by his power assisted me, in freely and boldly pleading the cause of the innocent, for truth and justice, without being any ways timorous or daunted by the face of king, princes, or nobles; and in these services, when the Lord has helped me through them, I have felt great peace and comfort, and his presence with me, enabling me to speak pertinently, and influencing them to hear attentively: praised be the Lord my God.

On or about the 8th of the first month, called March, 1682-3, by warrant made by sir John Moor, then lord mayor of London, bearing date September the 10th, 1682, to levy the sum of twenty pounds, on pretence that George Whitehead had preached or taught in a religious meeting or conventicle, the 13th of August, 1682, in Allhallows, Lombard street, London; the said George Whitehead had goods of grocery ware in his shop seized and carried away by James Holsworth, druggist, in Tower street, constable, and others, to the value of fourteen pounds, six shillings and ten pence, according to the best estimate the owners and others present could make.

Also on the 5th of the fourth month, called June, 1683, by warrant from sir William Pritchard, then lord mayor, bearing date the 10th of the twelfth month, called February, 1682-3, to levy twenty pounds more on the said George Whitehead. The said Holsworth, with some others came and took again from him goods to the value of twenty-six pounds, as the owners supposed, not suffering either inventory to be taken, or the goods to be weighed or appraised; upon the like pretence, that the said George Whitehead did take upon him to teach in another religious meeting or conventicle, held the 23rd of July, 1682, at the Savoy, in the Strand, on a conviction made and certified by sir Clement Armingier, on the information of John Hilton and Gabriel Shadd, informers: and the said goods were never restored to the owner, nor any part of the money levied upon them; for Holsworth said that he must be forced to levy fourteen pounds more to complete the fines of both warrants.

Henry Driver of Houndsditch, saw the carting and carrying away of these two distrains.

On the 13th of the seventh month, 1683, John Manby of Broad street, constable, with William Humphreys of the same, John Elliot, tailor, in Scalding alley, and one Gardiner, razor grinder, near the Exchange, came with violence and fury and broke open the shop

back door, and several doors above, belonging to the chambers of the said George Whitehead, and seized beds and bedding, not leaving him a bed to lie upon, all moderately valued, worth twenty one pounds, ten shillings. Then they seized linen with an estru-toire, six cane bottomed chairs, and others, and a large looking glass, value five pounds, eighteen shillings. Then they seized shop goods, currants and sugar, value five pounds, twelve shillings, all moderately valued by the owners amounting to thirty-three pounds. Though the goods so seized were not suffered to be inventoried, weighed, or appraised, before they were carried away; the constable pretending this seizure was for a fine of forty pounds, by warrant from sir James Smith, dated the 7th of the seventh month, aforesaid, grounded on a certificate from the said sir Clement Armingier, for a meeting the 19th of August, 1683, in Margaret's parish, Westminster.

Two of George Whitehead's friends, to wit, John Edge and Joseph Peckover, fairly endeavouring to persuade the constables to more moderation, and to suffer an inventory of the goods, before being taken away, were apprehended by the said Manby, at the same time, and on his prosecution and for no other cause, he swearing a riot against them, they were committed to Newgate, and there continued, for above ten weeks, to their own and their families great injury and damage; the said Joseph being a Norfolk man, was near eighty miles from home.

Manby sold the goods so seized, as aforesaid, to a person who redeemed them for only fifteen pounds, as appeared by his own receipt; but paid in to sir James Smith, only eleven pounds nine shillings and six pence, which he, the said sir James, paid into the court of sessions, as appears by the record, on George Whitehead's desiring his plea upon his appeal, to be accepted in court, which upon trial he gained; and had restitution only of the said eleven pounds, nine shillings and six pence, Manby keeping back three pounds ten shillings and six pence, of the said fifteen pounds, which he refused to restore to the owner, to whom of right it belonged.

George Whitehead made two appeals, the one against this last conviction, and the other against a conviction made by sir Thomas Jenner, then recorder of London, for a fine of twenty pounds, and was discharged upon trial of both appeals: the charge of prosecuting both, amounted to seventeen pounds nine shillings and eight pence. So that the loss to him in all, as it was computed, amounted to sixty-one pounds, seven shillings, besides the damage done to his house and goods.

Some further notice may be taken hereafter of the said recorder, Thomas Jenner's conviction and proceedings against the said George Whitehead.

I humbly thank the Lord my heavenly Father, and praise his worthy name, in remembrance how he enabled me to be resigned to his will, in suffering both in person and estate, and how well my dear wife was given up to suffer with me, for the blessed truth's sake, in those days: but the Lord our God supported and comforted us under those trials; as we were with one accord resigned to his will, to bear a faithful testimony for his holy name and ever-living truth, of which he had made us partakers and witnesses. Blessed be his glorious name for evermore.

Our being shut out of our meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the streets in all sorts of weather, winter and summer, was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon old and young, men and women. But that trial was not so great as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of ravenous informers; although it was no small hardship to our persons, to be kept out of doors in the streets, in the severe and long frost and snow, in the year 1683, for about three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen up that horses, coaches and carts could pass to and fro upon it, and a street also be erected and stand over it.

Yet in all that hard season when we were so long kept out in the streets, in the bitter cold air, I do not remember that I got any harm or injury thereby, to the impairing my health, although I frequently attended those meetings in the streets; wherein I took great and serious notice of the merciful providence of Almighty God towards myself, and many more of our friends, who were sharers in the same mercy and preservation in that suffering and exercise; no thanks to our unmerciful adversaries and persecutors, but to our heavenly Father be the glory and praise for ever.

We had in those days some opportunities, and were permitted to publish the truth openly in the streets, and also to make public supplication to God; but more frequently were not permitted, but pulled away by force, by the trained bands or officers, and either sent to prison or turned into the meeting-house, and there detained under guard until the meeting was ended in the street. Thus were the ministers and others among us often forcibly interrupted and served, and scarcely suffered many times to declare two or three sentences without being haled away; however,

we saw it our duty in the fear of the living God, to keep our meetings and patiently to wait upon him, where often we enjoyed his presence to our consolation, even in our silent attention upon him: being not called to strive or contest with our adversaries or their servants whom they employed, but in faith and patience to bear all, believing that in due time thereby we should obtain victory. It was often then before me, that the Lamb and his faithful followers should have the victory, which was matter of secret comfort to me many times: glory to his name for ever.

In those days I clearly saw that the testimony required of us to bear, was not so much in words, declaration or ministry, as to stand our ground in faith and patience, and to travail in spirit with secret breathing and earnest supplication unto God to plead our cause; it being his own cause for which we suffered, and therefore we patiently committed it to Him that judgeth righteously.

Many applications and requests having been made to king Charles the second, in behalf of our suffering friends, both for those in prison and those who suffered upon writs and processes out of the exchequer, &c., for twenty pounds a month and two-thirds of their estates, for being absent from their parish churches, so called, and many under sentence of premunire, for not swearing allegiance; and these sufferings being long continued upon many hundreds of our friends; under the great weight and burden thereof, I being at a certain time solitarily walking the street in London, in 1683, a great power and dread immediately fell upon me, whereby it was shown me, that within one year's time, there would be an alteration in the government; whereby I understood the king would be taken away within that time; and being persuaded the discovery was of the Lord, I intimated the same to my wife after I came home, and told her, within a year's time thou wilt see an alteration in the government. I hinted something of it to some other friends, as I remember, a little time after; and so it came to pass; in the year 1684 the king was removed.

Nevertheless, in the same year before his decease, I and divers other friends were still desirous the king should be made sensible what great sufferings were continued upon our friends, both by imprisonment and spoil; and our friend William Mead, and others of us being concerned that the king should be at last acquainted with them, and moved thereupon, the same was done; and by the king's authority, direction was given to the sheriffs of the counties respectively throughout England, to return the names and causes

of our friends then prisoners; an account whereof was given to the king, and we moved him by way of petition and information, a general memorandum whereof follows, viz:

The 15th of the eleventh month, 1683, George Whitehead and Alexander Parker attended the king, to present the general suffering of our friends, both in prison and out of prison, by way of petition. About the third hour in the afternoon we met with the king in the long gallery, and presented the petition, which he received, and George Whitehead spoke a few words to him on this wise, viz:

We entreat the king to excuse our importunity, for our extremity is the cause thereof. We pray the king tenderly to consider our suffering condition, and to afford us relief, accounts being returned from the sheriffs of our friends in prison, &c.

To which he answered, Well, well, well.

And perceiving the king then in some haste, George Whitehead told him, If he pleased, we would acquaint the Lord Sunderland, being secretary of state, more fully with our case, that he might inform the king thereof, &c.

To which the king answered, Do, do.

After that, notice was given us from some persons, observing how the king then resented our case—that the king said something must be done in this case; that he read our paper, and that the king and the Duke of Ormond were discoursing about the Quakers; and that he then sent for the Earl of Sunderland.

But alas! The king's time was but short; he was then near his end, and did not live to relieve us, either by opening the prison doors or removing the great oppressions and severe persecutions we then suffered, and which he left us under, his opportunity being slipped and day over and gone.

I think I was the last Friend that spoke to the king, to move him for relief from our sufferings, as before hinted, but a few weeks before his end. He left, I think, about fifteen hundred of our friends, both men and women, in prisons and prisoners; besides their being then eagerly followed and persecuted by wicked informers, and many hundreds under heavy oppression and sufferings, for twenty pounds per month, and two-thirds of their estates seized, and great spoil made upon them in many counties and parts of the nation. We were still kept out of our meeting-houses in the streets, both in and about London, and divers other places; which persecutions and sufferings were continued upon us for some time after king James the second came to the throne, and until he was prevailed upon to afford us some relief and liberty. All which, we have cause to ascribe principally to the

over-ruling power and providence of Almighty God, in whose hands the hearts of kings and princes are, and he can turn them like waters. To him be the dominion and praise of all for ever.

A copy of a conviction filed by the Recorder of London against George Whitehead.

London, ss. memorandum.

That the one and twentieth day of October, in the five and thirtieth year of the reign of our lord, Charles the second, late king of England, &c., above twenty persons, being subjects of this realm, and above sixteen years of age, were met in a conventicle or congregation, under colour or pretence of an exercise of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy or practice of the church of England, in a house near the Bull and Mouth, situate in the liberty of St. Martin's le Grand, in the aforesaid city of London, where no family was, and then and there George Whitebread, of the parish

in the city of London, aforesaid, grocer, took upon himself to preach and teach to the conventicle and congregation aforesaid, contrary to the form of the statute in that case made and provided, as sufficiently appears to me, by the oath of two witnesses, to wit, John Sharpless, of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, mason, and Peter Burdet, of the parish of St. Bridget, alias St. Brides, London, weaver; whereby the aforesaid George Whitebread, by this my record, stands convicted, and has forfeited, and moreover, upon the aforesaid George Whitebread I have imposed a fine of twenty pounds, for his first offence before me convict, by the tenor of these presents, in testimony whereof, I Thomas Jenner, knight, recorder of the city of London, and one of the justices of our said lord the king, assigned to keep the peace for the city aforesaid, have to this record, put my hand and seal, the five and twentieth day of October, in the year abovesaid.

THOMAS JENNER, *Recorder.*

Remarks on the foregoing conviction.

That no conviction is entered against the appellant, George Whitehead, though in pursuance of a pretended conviction, yet a warrant, dated the 17th of February, 1684, was brought against him, to break open and enter his house for seizure; whereupon he was constrained to enter an appeal for,

First; The conviction pretended against him, is against one George Whitebread, four times so named therein, for an unlawful assembly or conventicle, said to be held the 21st day of October, in the five and thirtieth year

of the reign of our lord Charles the second, late king, &c.

Secondly; That a record of the said conviction against Whitebread, was the fourteenth day of January, in the five and thirtieth year of Charles the second, late king, by Thomas Jenner, knight, under his hand and seal, according to an act of Parliament, in the same case and by his own proper hand delivered and certified in court, at the general quarter sessions of the peace, held for the city of London, &c., as is declared in the said record, which was above a year before seizure was attempted upon the said George Whitehead's goods; whereas, according to the act of Parliament, the record of conviction is to be certified into the next quarter sessions, after seizure, or after the penalty is paid or levied.

Thirdly; The conviction is for a conventicle said to be held in a house in St. Martin's le Grand, where no family was. But in the warrant for distress, it is said, it was held in a house in the parish of St. Martin's le Grand, where there were more than twenty persons, besides those of the family where the said conventicle was held. These are contradictory.

Great notice was taken in and about the city of London, what an eminent friend to, and encourager of, the informers, the said Thomas Jenner, recorder of London, was in those days.

William Luffe and other constables, came to make distress, the 13th of the first month called March, 1684-5. The seizure was respited until the 23rd of March *ibid.*, and then the twenty pounds fine deposited to the recorder, upon an appeal made by the said George Whitehead.

Thus it may appear how industrious the recorder was to serve the informers, and to ruin us; seeing he could authorize officers in several counties, to break open and enter our houses, to seize, levy and take away our goods and chattels; whereby he showed what his will and intents were against me and my friends, though at that time frustrated by my appealing from his conviction to the quarter session, where, upon traverse and trial my appeal was gained, though through a considerable charge; which I was the more willing to undergo, not only upon my own account, but also for the sake of many others of our suffering friends, under the like prosecution, by those informers, that they might not always make havoc upon us, but be frustrated of their destructive designs, if we could find and obtain so much justice upon our appealing from our most notorious persecutors, and favourers of those devouring informers.

A statement of the case of the prisoners called Quakers, indicted at common law, for being routously and unlawfully assembled, with force and arms.

Proposition.—That their assemblies are not routous or riotous, nor with force and arms, nor seditious; consequently not unlawful.

On the legal and true definition of riots, routs, &c.

First; What a rout and riot is, defined by the Lord Coke, Instit. part 3, cap. 79, fol. 176, viz:

Riotum cometh from the French word *Rioter*, and in the law signifieth when three or more do any unlawful act, as to beat any man, or hunt in his park, chase or warren, or to enter or take possession of another man's land, or to cut or destroy his corn or grass, or other profit, &c.

Routa is derived of the French word *Rout*, and properly in law signifieth when three or more do any unlawful act for their own or the common quarrel, &c. As when commoners break down hedges or pales, or cast down ditches, or inhabitants, for a way claimed by them, or the like.

Observe also William Lambard's *Eirenarchia*, lib. 2, p. 175, under the title, Riots, viz:

An unlawful assembly is of the company of three or more persons, disorderly coming together forcibly to commit an unlawful act, as to beat a man, or to enter upon his possession, or such like, [viz: any injurious force or violence moved against the person of another, his goods, lands or possessions, whether it be by threatening words, or by furious gesture or force of body, or any other force used *in terrorem populi*, as Mic. Dalton saith, of the breach of the peace, fol. 7. The like of riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, consisting of three or more persons.]

A rout, saith William Lambard, is a disordered assembly of three or more persons, moving forward to commit by force, an unlawful act: for it is a rout whether they put their purpose in full execution or no, if so be that they go, ride, or move forward after the first meeting.

A riot is where three or more persons be disorderly assembled, to commit with force any such unlawful act; and do accordingly execute the same.

And thus upon the whole reckoning an unlawful assembly is the first degree or beginning: a rout the next step or proceeding: and a riot the full effect and consummation of such a disorderly and forbidden action.

Two special things there are that are common, and must concur both in the unlawful

assembly, rout and riot: the one, that three persons at least be gathered together; the other, that their being together do breed some apparent disturbance of the peace, either by signification of speech, show of armour, turbulent gesture, or actual and express violence, &c.

Pray observe in case of a rout;

Suppose a company of rude persons met to contrive some mischief or injury against the persons, goods, or possessions of their neighbours, and moving forward with clubs, or any offensive weapons, to commit the riot designed, and these should be apprehended in their motion before the fact be committed, and then indicted for a rout and unlawful assembly, &c. The question is, whether the indictment framed against these, be not in the same manner and form, or of the same kind that these indictments are against us, for our religious meetings to pray to God, &c. What book case, or precedent in common law or equity, can parallel or warrant the last?*

Observe. The meetings for which we stand indicted are religious and peaceable, therefore we conceive they are not such as in common law or reason, can be deemed routs, riots, and unlawful assemblies.

Secondly; Not routous or riotous, by the conventicle act, 22 Car. 2, because

Four persons besides the respective family, may meet and exercise religion, whereas three persons make a rout or riot, if met with intention forcibly or violently to do an unlawful act, or do it to the injury of the person or property of another.

The Parliament in making the said conventicle act, would not have permitted four besides the family to meet in pretence of religious exercise, if they had judged them routous or riotous in fact, or such in their own nature: it is not only the circumstance of number, but the injurious fact which makes a rout, riot, &c.

Besides, praying to and praising God are not assigned as matters of fact incurring the penalty of twenty pounds, awarded for preaching and teaching in such conventicle as therein described. If praying to or praising God come under the pretence of exercise of religion, for which five shillings or ten shillings is the fine, praying is not mentioned in the clause relating to preaching and teaching.

Thirdly; Seeing the indictment is upon common law, what book case or precedent,

can make our religious meetings routs or riots, they being really for worship to God, and to pray to and praise him according to our faith and persuasion?

There being divers meetings for disports and pastimes, &c., which in common law are not routs or riots, but judged lawful, because not deemed *malum in se*; query, What reason then, that the said peaceable religious meetings should be judged routous or riotous, seeing they, or any religious exercise in them, cannot be proved *malum in se*, or evil in their own nature.

Fourthly; There is a noted book case and precedent, namely, that of Bushel, in the twenty-second year of the king, reported by the learned sir John Vaughan, in his book of reports, which begins at fol. 135, and continues to 150. The case was this:

Bushel and others of a jury, having not found Penn and Mead, two persons called Quakers, guilty of a trespass, contempt, unlawful assembly, rout and tumult, &c., whereof they stood indicted, were fined forty marks a man, and committed till payment. Bushel brings his *Habeas Corpus*, and upon the return it appeared he was committed for that, contrary to law and against full and clear evidence openly given in court, and against the directions of the court in matter of law, they had acquitted William Penn and William Mead,* to the great obstruction of justice, &c., which, upon solemn argument, was by the judges resolved to be an insufficient cause of fining and committing them: and they were discharged, and afterwards brought actions for their damage.

The reasons of which judgment are reported by the said judge Vaughan, one whereof was this, fol. 140, viz:

One fault in the return is, that the jurors are not said to have acquitted the persons indicted, against full and manifest evidence corruptly, and knowing the said evidence to be full and manifest against the persons indicted. For how manifest soever the evidence was, if it were not manifest to them, and that they believed it such, it was not a fineable fault, nor deserving imprisonment.

In the margin of fol. 142, it is thus noted; Of this mind were ten judges of eleven: the chief baron Turner gave no opinion, because not at the argument.

And in the same, fol. 142, he saith,

The verdict of a jury, and evidence of a witness, are very different things in the truth

* ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, page 28. King Charles the first, in his prayer to God, saith, viz: Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent or injurious, can be religious. Therefore in routs, riots, and unlawful assemblies, as defined in common law, religion is wholly set aside.

* Note, that the aforesaid William Penn and William Mead were taken at a religious meeting; for which they were indicted for being at an unlawful assembly, routously, riotously, &c.

and falsehood of them. A witness swears but to what he hath heard or seen generally, or more largely to what hath fallen under his senses; but a juryman swears to what he can infer and conclude from the testimony of such witnesses, by the act and force of his understanding, to be the fact inquired after: which differs nothing in reason, though much in punishment, from what a judge out of various cases considered by him, infers to be the law in the question before him.

Fifthly; Of the credit, good reputation and fame of the witnesses, to render them good and lawful men, and responsible, &c., which the defendants do question concerning some of them, if informers, for such witnesses as law and justice assign, are no parties, nor interested persons, but such as the law renders credible, as sir John Fortescue, lord chancellor of England, in the reign of king Henry the sixth describes them viz:

Not unknown witnesses, hired persons, poor men, vagabonds, unconstant people, or such whose condition and naughtiness is unknown; but such as are neighbours, able to live of their own, of good name and fame, of honest report, &c. It is by the evidence of such witnesses, that jurors ought to be informed. *Vid. Fortes. de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 26, p. 60, 61, cap. 28, p. 63, 64.*

Observe further what sir John Fortescue saith in this case, in his said book, in commendation of the laws of England, chap. 28.

Verily, no man can be safe in body or goods, when his adversary may convince in every case, with two unknown witnesses of his own choosing and bringing forth, &c. But such mischief and inconvenience cannot be wrought by witnesses that make their depositions in the presence of twelve credible men, who also know the manners and conditions of the same witnesses, especially if they be nigh dwellers, and know also whether they be men worthy to be credited or no.

Sixthly: We do really, and in humility conceive, that our religious assemblies, and the manner thereof, as well as what we pretend, profess or practice therein, are warranted and justified by the liturgy of the church of England, in these following instances, viz:

For a meeting of a hundred and twenty persons.

In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, &c. The number of the names that were together, were about one hundred and twenty: to which add, In an upper room, verse 13. Where they continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, verse 14.*

* Used by the Church of England, on St. Matthias's day, Acts i. 15. cited.

For assembling and mutual exhortation.

Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but let us exhort one another, and that so much the more, because ye see the day approaching.*

For freedom of ministering by the gift received.

As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God: if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ.†

The spirit prayed for by the church of England.

Grant us Lord, we beseech thee, the Spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful, that we who cannot do any thing that is good without thee, may by thee be enabled to live according to thy will &c.‡

Give thanks at all times, and in all places, &c.

Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

People answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Priest. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty and everlasting God—which art one God, &c.: page 198.||

Seventhly; If the indicted persons aforesaid, be by the jury brought in guilty, and so liable to be sentenced to pay fines, or to imprisonment till payment, and suppose they cannot for conscience sake pay the fines, it being for their religiously meeting to worship God, or to pray to God, the question is, whether such imprisonment may not occasion the death of some of the said prisoners? And whether this in common law, common justice, equity, or reason, can be esteemed a punishment suitable to the supposed offence; or whether such peaceable meeting and religious exercise can be justly judged to demerit such severity in a Christian and Protestant nation.

We commit our case to Almighty God, the judge of all, and to be conscientiously considered by you who are in authority.

On the 27th day of the 6th month, called August, 1684, being the fourth-day of the

* On Good Friday, Epist. Heb. x. 24, 25, cited in the liturgy.

† Sunday after Ascension day, Epist. 1 Pet. iv. 10, cited.

‡ Ninth Sunday after Trinity, collect.

|| Communion.

week, the said George Whitehead being at the meeting of the people of God called Quakers, at Whitehart court, near Lombard street, London, and near the conclusion of the meeting, being upon his knees in prayer to Almighty God, John Levens a constable, came in an angry, turbulent manner, and apprehended him, commanding him in the king's name to go along with him, pretending he had a warrant, but showed none, though divers times desired. The constable carried George Whitehead before the lord mayor, and there the wife of one Collingwood, an informer, appeared as prosecutor, and urged to have the said George Whitehead fined for a conventicle and preacher. Whereupon he told the mayor and others present, thus, viz: This woman dictates to the lord mayor, which is not her place to do, or to direct him, or any justice of peace, what law to proceed upon. The lord mayor then told her, it was at his discretion to choose what law to proceed upon, and then asking George Whitehead if he had sureties for his appearance at the next sessions? he answered, No, I have none. Collingwood's wife being somewhat urgent and troublesome, the lord mayor asked her if she would take her oath that George Whitehead was preaching; she answered, that he was either preaching or praying. George Whitehead replied, that her evidence was uncertain and doubtful, it is an ignoramus evidence, she knows not whether it was preaching or praying, therefore not sufficient for conviction. Then the mayor asked George Whitehead himself if he did not preach? He answered, No, not at that time, I was only praying. And the constable declared that he took him at prayer. The mayor asked if it was according to the liturgy of the church of England? George Whitehead answered, It is warranted and required by the liturgy; for there is a spiritual worship and praying required in the liturgy. The mayor asked, if there was none there that would be bail for his appearance at sessions? Upon which one of his officers or servants, i. e., one Hern, voluntarily proffered to be George Whitehead's bail: which the mayor accordingly accepted. And so for that time George Whitehead was dismissed until the sessions of the peace for the city of London.

Proceedings at the sessions at Guildhall, for the city of London, against George Whitehead, the 1st of September, 1684.

Present on the bench, Henry Tulse, knight, lord mayor; Peter Daniell, knight, and Samuel Dashwood, sheriffs; James Smith, knight, alderman; Thomas Jenner, knight and recorder.

On the 1st of September, 1684, the said

George Whitehead, according to the bail given for his appearance, attended the court of sessions at Guildhall in the afternoon, and near evening was called into court. An indictment for an unlawful assembly, routously and with force and arms, was read against him. To which he was required by the recorder to plead, viz: "Mr. Whitehead you must plead guilty or not guilty, in the first place, which he promised, provided his pleading might not debar him from giving his reasons for his plea in his own defence, after the witnesses were heard. The recorder promised he should be heard. George Whitehead enquired of the court if it was an indictment at common law, or statute law; but heard no positive answer. He then pleaded not guilty; the clerk asked him if he would traverse, or put himself upon trial now? He answered, I think not to enter traverse, but to put it to a trial now, and told the court he conceived it was an indictment at common law, being for a rout, &c. The witness was called; first the little constable that took him; whose evidence was, that he took George Whitehead at prayer, in the meeting-house at Whitehart court in Lombard street. The recorder asked, "In what posture did you take him praying?"

Constable. Upon his knees. One in court said, "I thought the Quakers had not kneeled at prayer."

Recorder to George Whitehead. What say you to the evidence? Do you deny it, or not?

George Whitehead. No, I shall not deny that I was taken upon my knees at prayer to God, but that can be no rout, when I was on my knees at prayer, this could be no moving forward to commit a riot, &c.

Recorder. But did you do nothing else before prayer?

George Whitehead. No, I did not.

Recorder. Did no body preach?

George Whitehead. Excuse me there, &c. [at which question George Whitehead somewhat wondered, that the recorder should thus endeavour to make him an informer against our religious meetings.]

Recorder. Call Mrs. Collingwood. [who presently appearing, was sworn.] What say you Mrs. Collingwood? Was there no preaching before George Whitehead prayed?

Collingwood's wife answered. Yes, there were two others that preached before he prayed.

Common Sergeant. Preaching and praying are both one—their kind of preaching and praying.

George Whitehead. No; they are not, there is a distinction in common acceptation; preaching or teaching is done to men, but

prayer and supplication is made to God ; men do not preach to God, or teach God, but pray to God.

Common Sergeant. You preach to deceive people.

George Whitehead. That is a reflection ; I teach for no such end.

Recorder. Gentlemen of the jury, you hear the evidence, that there was preaching and praying ; it was therefore a conventicle, an unlawful meeting.

George Whitehead. I am not indictable upon the conventicle act, there lies no indictment upon it. The conventicle act allows of four to meet besides the family ; whereas the law allows not three to meet routously. It is for a rout I am indicted at common law, as I conceive, though some words of the conventicle act are in the indictment, that is but an aggravation, the matter is a routous assembly that I am charged with ; wherefore I entreat the court to suffer the Lord Coke's definition of a rout to be read in court : George Whitehead calling for Coke's Institutes, which one present handed to him, opened at the place in the third part of Coke's Institutes, chap. 79, and fol. 176.

Common Sergeant answered. My Lord Coke was mistaken, [but he did not declare wherein, it was his own *ipse dixit*, without proof against Chief Justice Coke.]*

George Whitehead. Pray hear him, hear his definition of a rout and unlawful assembly.

Common Sergeant. I tell you my lord was mistaken.

George Whitehead. Is that the sense of the court ? the Lord Coke and other learned writers agree in the definition.

Recorder. Gentlemen of the jury, we have heard George Whitehead with a great deal of patience, he is used to long speaking, you have heard the evidence and what he says.

George Whitehead. Pray hear the Lord Coke in the case.

Court. The king's council has done, take him away. Upon which George Whitehead was drawn out of court, and after some time he, with the rest of friends tried before him, were called into court again, to hear the verdict of the jury, which upon the question, put severally by the clerk concerning each person, whether guilty or not guilty of a rout and unlawful assembly ?

The jury answered, Guilty, to each particular name.

The prisoners heard not their sentences. The bench consulted about their several fines privately. The prisoners had liberty that night to go home, but the next day returned to the prison of Newgate.

12th of September, 1684. *Sir Samuel Dashwood's, then sheriff, liberate for George Whitehead.*

To the keeper, or under keepers of Newgate, London.

Whereas you have in your custody the body of George Whitehead for payment of a fine, being convicted of being at an unlawful assembly ; these are to desire you to discharge the said George Whitehead from his imprisonment. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant. This 12th September, 1684.

SAMUEL DASHWOOD.

I do confess that some of the magistrates of the city of London, were men of more moderation and compassion towards us than their recorder, who sought our ruin, not only by imprisonment, but also by the encouragement given to the informers, to ruin us in our estates and livelihoods.

George Whitehead's plea and defence, relating to his appeal from his conviction by Thomas Jenner the recorder, &c.

That seeing the appellant by the law may plead and make defence, he humbly offers his defence, viz :

1. That the conviction is made against Whitebread, so named therein four times, and not against Whitehead.

2. That it is for a conventicle in a house near the Bull and Mouth, situate within the liberty of St. Martin's le Grand, London : in which liberty the Quakers have no meeting, nor is the Bull and Mouth within that liberty. Witness, William Cowley and Nathaniel Norris.

3. That seeing he hath, as the law directs, appealed in writing from the person convicting to the judgment of the justices of the peace in quarter sessions, to whom it is said, the justice or justices that first convicted, shall return the money levied, and certify under his and their hands and seals, the evidence upon which the conviction past. Wherefore the said appellant humbly requests that the convicting justice may not sit as judge, nor determine in the trial of his traverse or appeal.

4. That the long concealment of the conviction, as well as its being made in the ab-

* We may presume Chief Justice Coke was a more eminent lawyer and author than ever that Common Sergeant was, though he had the confidence thus to slight judge Coke, to stop the prisoner from pleading him in his own defence.

sence of the appellant, appears injurious to him.

5. If the said appellant be the person intended in the record, then his being convicted, and a judgment and fine of twenty pounds passed on him in his absence, without so much as any previous notice or summons given him thereof; he conceives such kind of procedure to be expressly contrary to the law of God; Deut. xix. 17, 18, and chap. i. 16, 17, and John vii. 51;—to the common justice and law of the ancient Romans and other nations; to equity and right, due order of law, and common course of justice; and to ancient English laws and statutes, in the reign of king Edward the third, &c., requiring that none be condemned to suffer in person or estate, without being brought in to answer by due process and order of law, 25 Edward, 3, c. 4, and 28 Edward, 3, c. 3. And to the great charter of England, 9 Henry, 3, c. 29.

Consequently such concealed conviction is not consistent with the oath of justices, and therefore ought to be void, and holden for none. For as the Lord Chief Justice Coke saith, How can they be indifferent who have declared their opinions beforehand, when a small addition or subtraction may alter the case? And how doth it stand with their oaths, who are sworn that they shall well and lawfully serve our lord the king and his people, in the office of a justice, and do equal law and execution of right to all his subjects, vid. Coke's Inst. part III. fol. 29.

6. What credit the witnesses are of is to be inquired; whether they have not assumed the place of informers for their own profit, or whether they are neighbours, able to live of their own, of good name and fame, of honest report, &c., as sir John Fortescue describes credible witnesses in his treatise in commendation of the laws of England.

If the merits of the cause be entered into, about the circumstances of the facts, then enquire,

First; What manner of exercise of religion did that assembly of twenty persons and above, as mentioned, pretend or practice, which the appellant is supposed to preach or teach to? What did that assembly do? And

Secondly; What did he preach or teach to or among them? The law describes the circumstances of fact and fines relating to the conventicle, distinct from those of the preacher, but gives no distinct circumstance of preaching, as whether it be according or not according to the liturgy, but mentions only preaching or teaching, without exception or distinction.

Thirdly; The appellant solemnly denies that he did either preach or teach in any such

conventicle as the law describes and provides against; as either in a seditious one, or such an assembly as was met under colour or pretence of an exercise of religion in other manner than according to what the liturgy and practice of the church of England do in confession and profession allow of.

Fourthly; The said appellant solemnly affirms, that he neither pretends nor practices any other thing in the exercise of religion and worship towards Almighty God, than what is required by holy Scripture, and consequently warranted and allowed by the liturgy of the church of England, as is also apparent and proved in the liturgy itself.

First; For spiritual worship, John, chap. iv. appointed in the second lesson at morning prayer, in March 17th; and July 16th, [worship the Father in spirit and in truth,] verse 23, 24.

Secondly; For assembling and mutual exhortation, Heb. x. 24, 25. Epistle on Good Friday, [not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, but let us exhort one another, &c.] p. 97.

Thirdly; For a meeting of one hundred and twenty persons in a certain house, Acts i. 15. On St. Matthias day, [the number of names that were together, was about one hundred and twenty.] p. 163.

Fourthly; For freedom of ministering by the gift of Christ received; 1 Pet. iv. 10. Epistle Sunday after Ascension day, [As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same, &c.] p. 114.

Fifthly; For the worship of God, being free without exception of time or place. [Communion.]

It is our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, &c.]

Sixthly; For what the said appellant and others believe, profess, or pretend, for the pouring out of the holy Spirit, and liberty of prophecy thereby; Joel chap. ii. appointed at matins, 20th Sunday after trinity, first lesson, and evening prayer. [Verse 28. I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, &c.] See also Acts, chap. ii. verse 17, 18, for the second lesson, morning prayer, April the 5th, and August 4th. This was an evangelical prophecy, fulfilled in the gospel-day, and church of Christ.

These brief memorandums upon the two precedent cases; viz: That about routs, and this about the recorder's conviction, were not only intended for my own private use and memory, when I drew them up; but also for the notice of others, and future information

and caution of magistrates in the like cases, if any such shall ever hereafter happen, and therefore left to posterity.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

The people called Quakers were left under severe persecutions, oppressions and sufferings, as before mentioned, when king Charles the second died, and his brother the duke of York succeeding, was proclaimed king. A fear entered many, and a question, What would now become of Protestant dissenters? expecting either the continuance of that persecution, which was endeavoured for some time after, or greater; besides the danger of popery, the king being of that profession. In a serious consideration of these things, I had a very lively opening, early on a first-day morning, that the Lord would be good to his people, and they should have ease, even under that king's reign; and I intimated the same to our brethren at our morning meeting, to their comfort.

Accordingly it came to pass, through the good hand of the Lord our God, that after we had used great endeavours to make the king sensibly understand the greatness of our suffering and persecution, in the several parts thereof; as, the great number of prisoners, the great havoc and spoil made by informers, and by bailiffs upon exchequer processes, &c., and all on account of our tender consciences, and the exercise thereof toward Almighty God; I say, after the king was made sensible thereof, and understood the same, by degrees we obtained relief for the oppressed and afflicted.

What care, industry, and methods were used and taken to procure the same, and how granted and obtained, I may give some relation of; being willing to make use of all opportunities under divine Providence, to do my suffering friends what good I could, as the Lord has been pleased to enable me, which he has often done: blessed be his name.

In order to give the king to understand the heavy, unmerited sufferings, persecutions and oppressions we were left under by his brother, king Charles the second, and which were still continued, renewed, and increased upon us, our dear friends, Gilbert Latey, Alexander Parker and myself, presented him the case of fourteen hundred and sixty of our friends then prisoners.

Our beloved friend, Robert Barclay and myself, made application to the king for the liberty of our consciences, that we might be freed from all those severe persecutions we were exposed to, and suffered under; I having then a large and free opportunity to discourse

the king upon that point, and to remind him of king Charles the second's declaration for liberty to tender consciences, A. D. 1672.

Upon further solicitation and petition, a commission was obtained from the king, directed to sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney general, to issue out warrants to release so many of our friends out of the prisons in England and Wales, as the king could legally discharge, being under processes as his prisoners; whereupon great numbers were discharged. All which the Lord enabled me earnestly to solicit and pursue with great industry, until our friends were released.

The informers continuing eagerly to make spoil and havoc upon our goods, thereby seeking our ruin, for our innocent religious meetings, which they hunted and haunted up and down, in city and country; I was greatly pressed in spirit to make complaint to the king, by way of petition against them and their injurious and unwarrantable proceedings against us.

Whereupon the king gave order to summon those informers in and about London, to appear before two of his commissioners, appointed to hear and examine our complaints, face to face, that they might see how matters of fact, viz: their excessive spoil upon our friends' goods; their bearing false witness, and forswearing themselves, as many of them had done, in several cases against divers persons; could be proved and made out, according to our complaints, and to make report thereof to the king.

All which was proved, and made evidently appear before the said commissioners, at two sundry meetings at Clifford's inn, to the informers' own faces, to their great confusion and shame, and to the weakening their hands and abating their persecutions; so as by degrees they came to be stopped, especially after the said commissioners had made their report to the king; and divers of the informers were prosecuted by other dissenters, for perjury, and some of them stood in the pillory for the same.

Particular application was made to the king for a *noli prosequi*, or a stop to be put to the processes, *qui tam writs*, out of the exchequer, &c., which were commonly issued out against some hundreds of our friends in many parts of the nation, for twenty pounds per month, and two-thirds of estates made forfeit to the king and prosecutors, for being absent from parish churches, so called, upon old statute laws made against popish recusants. A commission from the king was accordingly obtained, to put a stop to those exchequer writs, processes and estreats, which prevented the ruin of many families. To

effect this relief I earnestly solicited, and laboured early and late, as if it had been to save many lives, until one time I was almost disabled by a fit of sickness; but the Lord restored, revived and helped me: blessed be his name for ever.

I shall proceed to give some more particular accounts of our applications and endeavours relating to these cases before hinted, as they were presented to the king, and how far relief was obtained.

TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

The humble application of the people called Quakers.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, by whom kings reign, to take hence the late king Charles the second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we thy subjects heartily desire that the Giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, by the assistance of Almighty God, to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects, under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God; we do humbly hope that the king's tenderness will appear and extend with his power, to express the same; recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed.

This petition, with the case and account of the number of prisoners annexed, was presented together to the king, and by him accepted, the 3rd day of the first month, called March, 1684-5, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and Gilbert Latey.

TO THE KING.

The distressed case and request of the suffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

Showing,

That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for tender conscience toward Almighty God that made them. Many under sentence of premunire, and many near it; not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear: others under fines on the act for banishment; many on writs of ex-

communication; besides some hundreds have died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment, since the year 1680, as it is judged, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate, in distress and sorrow. These two hard winters' confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and jails, their healths being greatly impaired thereby: besides, the violence and woful spoil made by merciless informers, on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country. As also on *qui tam writs*, and other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king: all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families; to some not a bed left, to others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal: and all these, and other severities, done under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter. And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly profess and declare, in the sight of the heart-Searcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety and the kingdom's peace. We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.

And knowing that where the word of a king is, there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, entreat that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prisons, spoil and ruin.

And we shall, as in Christian duty bound, pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come.

London, the 2nd of the First month,
called March, 1684-5.

An account of the number of the said prisoners called Quakers, in the several counties.

Bedfordshire, 30; Berkshire, 37; Bristol, 103; Buckinghamshire, 19; Cambridgeshire, 8; Ely, 11; Cheshire, 9; Cornwall, 32; Cumberland, 22; Derbyshire, 1; Devonshire, 104; Dorsetshire, 13; Durham, 39; Essex, 10; Gloucestershire, 66; Hertfordshire, 18; Herefordshire, 1; Huntingdonshire, 10; Kent, 16; Lancashire, 73; Leicestershire, 37;

Lincolnshire, 12; London and Middlesex, 66; Norfolk, 52; Northamptonshire, 59; Nottinghamshire, 6; Oxon, 17; Salop, 18; Somersetshire, 36; Southamptonshire, 15; Staffordshire, 1; Suffolk, 79; Surrey, 29; Sussex, 17; Warwickshire, 31; Westmoreland, 5; Wilts, 34; Worcestershire, 15; Yorkshire, 279; Wales, 30.—Total, 1460.

Considering our continued sufferings by informers, and those magistrates who abetted and encouraged them to take away our goods, and that to great excess and spoil, I was deeply concerned in spirit to go to the king, to give him further information thereof, and to endeavour to persuade him to put a stop to those informers' ruinous persecutions. I was the more desirous to argue for the same, from what the king had before promised in council the first time, after he was proclaimed. And acquainting my beloved friend, Robert Barclay, with my intention of going to the king, he was willing to go with me, and accompany me, he being more acquainted with the king than I was, and the king having a particular respect to him, from the knowledge he had of him in Scotland, the said Robert Barclay being an inhabitant of that country, and having occasion to visit him when he was there, before he was king, it being in his brother king Charles the second's days.

On the 26th day of the third month, called May, 1685, about four in the afternoon, we had admittance into the king's presence.

George Whitehead. We thankfully acknowledge the king's favour in granting us this admittance: having acquainted the lord Peterborough with our great sufferings by informers, &c., in and about London, he promised us to acquaint the king therewith, which we hope he did, for he said he had acquainted the king with our desire, that he would speak to the recorder, that a stop be put to the informers. And further told us, that the king promised to send for the recorder and speak to him himself, and that we should shortly feel the effects. But the informers still proceed against us.

King. The lord Peterborough did speak to me, and acquainted me with it: I have not as yet spoken to the recorder, but intend to speak to him to-morrow; I will send for him into the prince's lodgings, and speak with him about it: therefore do you put me in mind of it when I go into the House of Lords to-morrow.

George Whitehead. If the king please to speak to him and the lord mayor, that a stop may be put to these informers, that they may not go on to ruin families as they do, we doubt not but it would be effectual. With the king's

leave and favour, I have something more to propose.

King. You may.

George Whitehead. It is about the king's late promise, which hath two parts in it, namely, that which concerns the defence of the church, and that which concerns the king's endeavouring to follow the example of his deceased brother the late king, most especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people. This being the first and principal part of the promise, the church takes hold of that part which concerns its defence. We take hold of that part which concerns the king's endeavours to follow the example of his brother the late king, most especially in his great clemency and tenderness to his people, and these may very well consist; which if the king please to give me leave, I shall, under favour, remind him of some acts of clemency, which his deceased brother, the late king, showed towards us.

King. Leave granted to go on.

George Whitehead. The late king, after his coronation, gave out his proclamation of grace, to release our friends out of the jails throughout England, upon which many hundreds were released.

And in the year 1672, the late king gave out his declaration of indulgence, for the liberty of tender consciences, and his letters Patent, or pardon, under the great seal, to release our friends out of prisons. Whereupon we had liberty for some years.

King. I intended a general coronation pardon, but the reason why it was deferred until the meeting of the Parliament, was, because some persons who are obnoxious, by being in the late plot, would thereby have been pardoned, and so might have come to sit in Parliament, which would not have been safe. But I intend that your friends shall be discharged out of prison. And for the declaration you speak of in '72, I was the cause of drawing up that declaration, and I never gave my consent to the making of it void: it was the Presbyterians who caused it to be made void, or cancelled, in Parliament, &c.

George Whitehead. They were our adversaries to be sure, that caused it to be made void. The king may defend the church of England, and yet grant indulgence, which may very well stand together, so as liberty to tender consciences may be allowed, with such moderate defence of the church as may not destroy conscientious dissenters.

King. I am of that mind that they may consist.

George Whitehead. There is a plain instance in the said declaration, the late king grants indulgence and liberty to tender consciences;

and yet engages to preserve the church of England in doctrine and discipline; and if the king please, I will leave him the said declaration of indulgence, for the sake of that passage, to remind it; for I have it.

King. You need not leave it, for I have it without book.

George Whitehead. The imprisonments, as also the great spoil made by informers, are still very hard upon many in and about London, and other parts; five warrants at once have been executed upon one person, amounting to fifty pounds, being ten pounds a warrant: we entreat the king to put a stop to these informers, for many are greatly disabled by them, and about giving over their trades and shops; although we are as willing to pay our taxes and civil duties to the king as any other people. And by the close imprisonment of many, even here in London, in Newgate jail, divers of our friends have been so suffocated, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and in a few days died.

King. I intend your friends shall be released out of prison; and I will consider of a way how to stop the informers; but they having a part of the fines, I must consider which way I may best take to stop them, and ease you: or to the very same effect.

George Whitehead. We have just exceptions against the conventicle act itself, in divers clauses.

Robert Barclay. Convicting men behind their backs, is contrary to the law of nations.

George Whitehead. And then the awarding treble costs against the appellant, in case he is cast in the trial of his appeal, but no costs against the informers, nor any provision made, that they shall make any restitution to the party grieved, in case they be cast or nonsuited in their unjust prosecution: this appears very unequal. And if the king please to give me leave, under favour, I will give him one instance of a law somewhat like this against conventicles, which was made in the reign of king Henry the seventh, for informers, prosecutions, &c., which was repealed in the beginning of the reign of king Henry the eighth, by his first Parliament; yet that was more tolerable than this conventicle act, i. e., in the prosecution, for we do not find that persons were thereupon convicted in their absence; and provision is made therein for the informers, or prosecutors, if nonsuited, to make restitution to the party grieved; but here is no provision in this for their making any restitution. Therefore this conventicle act is more intolerable than that repealed one, which is not cited in the new statute book, but only mentioned as repealed; but it is cited at large in some old ones. We are inclinable to pre-

sent an account of our sufferings to the Parliament, wherein we desire the king's favourable concurrence, and therefore thought meet to acquaint the king first with our intention; for we are willing and desirous that he should be acquainted with all public applications we make to the parliament.

King. What is it?

George Whitehead. It is a plain account of our sufferings in matters of fact, of the same kind with that which we lately gave to the king, with some reasons offered for the repeal of the conventicle act.

King. Let me see it, and I will give you my opinion concerning it.

George Whitehead. We intend to show it to the king.

Conclusion. And we humbly and thankfully acknowledge the king's favour, in admitting us thus far to be heard.

On the 1st day of the fourth month, 1685, George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey had access to the king, with the papers of the suffering case of our friends, having the case fairly transcribed at length, and a summary abstract thereof, for the king to take which he pleased; which George Whitehead tendered in this wise, viz:

We are come to give the king the case of our suffering friends, as we were engaged: here is the case at large, and the abstract, the king may take which he pleases.

King. I will take the abstract.

George Whitehead. When shall we wait the king's pleasure to have his sense upon it?

King. You need not wait now.

George Whitehead. We would not willingly miss our opportunity to present it to the Parliament.

King. You may deliver it when you please.

After Robert Barclay and I had been with the king, and discoursed him as before related, Robert Barclay expressed himself very much satisfied in my discourse with him, and in the king's behaviour towards us, and hearing matters so fully and well as he did: so that we had still hopes of some relief from the great hardships of imprisonment, and that a stop would be put to those devouring persecutors, the informers.

To the king and both Houses of Parliament:
the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God; humbly presented.

Showing,

That of late above one thousand five hundred of the said people, both men and women, having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales, some of which being since discharged by the judges, and

others freed by death, through their long and tedious imprisonment, there are now remaining, according to late accounts, about one thousand, three hundred, and eighty three; above two hundred of them women. Many under sentence of premunire, both men and women, and more than three hundred near it; not for denying the duty, or refusing the substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear: many on writs of excommunication, and fines for the king, and upon the act for banishment. Besides above three hundred and twenty have died in prison, and prisoners since the year 1660; nearly one hundred whereof, by means of this long imprisonment, as it is judged, since the account delivered to the late king and Parliament, in 1680, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving them in distress and sorrow: the two last hard winters' restraint, and the close confinement of great numbers in divers jails, unavoidably tending towards their destruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

And here in London, the jail of Newgate has been from time to time crowded within these two years, sometimes near twenty in one room, to the prejudice of their health; and several poor, innocent tradesmen, of late, have been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

Besides these long continued and destructive hardships upon the persons of men and women, as aforesaid, great violence, outrageous distresses, and woful havoc and spoil have been, and still are, frequently made upon our goods and estates, both in and about this city of London, and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, and their prosecutions upon the conventicle act, many being convicted and fined unsummoned and unheard in their own defence. As also on *qui tam* writs, at the suit of informers, who prosecute for one-third part for themselves, and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king: all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry and farmers, and the impoverishing of many industrious families, without compassion shown to widows, fatherless, or desolate. To some not a bed left to rest upon; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work with: the said informers and sheriff's bailiffs, in some places being outrageous and excessive in their distresses and seizures, breaking into houses and making great waste and spoil. And all these and other severities done against us by them, under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to

force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, of which we are very tender.

The statutes on which we, the said people suffer imprisonment, distress and spoil, are as followeth;

The 5th of Eliz. chap. 33, *de excommunicato capiendo*.

The 23rd of Eliz. chap. 1, for twenty pounds per month.

The 29th of Eliz. chap. 6, for continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. chap. 1, for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

The 1st of Eliz. chap. 2, for twelve pence a sunday.

The 3rd of king James I. chap. 4, for premunire, imprisonment during life, and estates confiscated.

The 13th and 14th of king Charles II. against Quakers, &c., transportation.

The 22nd of king Charles II. chap. 1, against seditious conventicles.

The 17th of king Charles II. chap. 2, against nonconformists.

The 27th of Henry VIII. chap. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed against our peaceable religious assemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c., on which many, both men and women, are fined, imprisoned and detained for non-payment, some till death. Instance, the city of Bristol, where a great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in jail, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682, and 83, about seventy were kept in hold, forty five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardships have been and are in other places. So that our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c., when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury, either done, threatened, or intended against the person, or property of any other whatsoever.

The during and tedious imprisonments are chiefly on the writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines, said to be for the king.

The great spoil and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two-thirds of estates, and on *qui tam* writs. In some counties, divers have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years last past, and writs lately issued out for further

seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds, sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and making sale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop goods, moveables, cattle, &c., and prosecution here-upon still continued, and in divers counties much increased. So that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures, as well as by long imprisonments. So many Serge-makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, were disabled by imprisonment: many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, were sentenced to a premunire, one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the wool-len manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

On the conventicle act, within these two years past, many in and about this city of London, have been extremely oppressed, impaired and spoiled in their estates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants made against them in their absence, upon the credit of informations sworn by concealed informers, divers of them impudent women, who swear for their profit in part of the fines and seizures, their husbands being prisoners for debt through their extravagancies. The warrants were commonly made to break open and enter houses, which is done with rigour and great spoil, not sparing widows, fatherless, or poor families, who are sustained by their daily care and industry, nor leaving them a bed to rest upon: the fines upon one justice's warrants amounting to many hundreds of pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds executed upon one person, and three warrants at once from another justice, for sixty pounds upon another person, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart-loads; and five warrants at once for fifty pounds upon another, besides what we have suffered by others in the like kind. And in this destructive course the informers have encouragement, and are suffered still to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods; divers being so discouraged and disabled, that they are forced to give over their shops and trades.

These informers being accepted for credible witnesses, yet parties swearing for their own profit and gain, in the absence of the persons prosecuted, we think is very hard, and an

undue proceeding, not consistent with common law or justice.

As also convicting and fining us upon their depositions, unsummoned and unheard in our own defence, and so keeping us ignorant of our accusers, unless upon traverse of our appeals. This procedure appears contrary to the law of God, common justice and equity, and to the law and justice of the ancient Romans, and of nations.

And although it has been openly manifested, upon trial of appeals, at several quarter sessions, both for Middlesex and London, and other places, that the depositions of divers informers have been false in fact, yet the great trouble and charge in the traverse of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the most warrants, hath been a discouragement to many from seeking such difficult remedy, considering also the treble costs against the appellant, in case he succeeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial. Whereas neither costs nor restitution is awarded or given against the informers for unjust prosecution. Some also have refused to grant appeals, and others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals; and whether this be equal or just, pray consider, ye that are wise and judicious men; and whether it be for the king's honour, and the people's interest, that idle, drunken, extravagant informers, should either be encouraged or suffered to go on thus to ruin trade, husbandry and families, or to command and threaten justices of peace, with the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions and issue out warrants, upon their bare informations and uncertain depositions, frequently in the absence of the accused.

Lastly, one-third part of the fines being assigned to the king, he can only remit that, but the informers and poor being assigned two-third parts, seems not to allow him to remit them, how much cause soever may appear to him to extend his favour in that case. Is not this against the king's prerogative, to restrain his sovereign clemency? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is scandalous thereto, for beggarly, rude informers, some of them confident women, not only to command, threaten and disquiet justices, peace officers, &c., but to destroy the king's honest, industrious, and peaceable subjects, in their properties and estates, is worthy of your serious considerations? And whether the said conventicle act ought not therefore justly to be repealed? A noted instance of the like case, we have concerning the statute of the 11th Henry VII. chap. 3, for determining certain offences and contempts, only upon informers' prosecutions, being repealed

in the first year of king Henry VIII. chap. 6, though that, in some respects, was more tolerable than this.

Be pleased to make our case your own, and do to us as you would be done unto; as you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons or estates, nor have your properties invaded, and posterities ruined, for serving and worshipping Almighty God, that made all mankind, according to your persuasions and consciences, but would enjoy the liberty thereof. We entreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves; and to disannul the said conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience, and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless and innocent families lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great trust reposed in you for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said suffering people, do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, they being wholly contrary to our Christian principle and profession, so we have nothing but good will and true Christian affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and your safety, prosperity and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom.

Having thus given you in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection, we, in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, entreat that you will tenderly and charitably consider of the premises, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil and ruin.

After the king was given fully to understand our hardships, through the great persecutions and sufferings, which many of our innocent, conscientious friends had long undergone, both in their persons and estates; divers applications having been made to him for relief from the same; he was pleased to grant a comprehensive warrant or commission, to the then attorney general, sir Robert Sawyer, in our suffering friends' behalf, including the several sorts of processes, convictions, and judgments, which many then suffered under, even by laws never intended against us, espe-

cially by those made and designed against popish recusants. These were often perverted by persecutors, and they many times exceeded the severity of those laws in their mal-administrations, executions, and outrageous distresses, havoc, and spoil of goods, as also close, unmerciful confinements of men and women's persons. Many of the forfeitures, fines and confiscations were made forfeit to the king, and imprisonment during his pleasure; and many suffering by such old laws as were made against popish recusants, in the reigns of queen Elizabeth, and king James the first; and this affecting king James the second, being a Papist, he might the more easily conclude it in his power, and the prerogative of the crown, to pardon and relieve dissenting Protestants from their extreme oppressions.

A copy of the aforesaid warrant and commission follows, viz :

James R.

Whereas we are given to understand, that several of our subjects, commonly called Quakers, in the schedules hereunto annexed, are either convicted, or upon process in order to their conviction of premunire for not swearing, or indicted or presented for not coming to church, or convicted for the same, and several of them have been returned into our exchequer, and in charge for twenty pounds per *ensem*, according to the statutes in that case provided, and some of them lie in prison upon writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, and other processes for the causes aforesaid, and we being willing that our said subjects, and other our subjects, commonly called Quakers, who are, or have been prosecuted, indicted, convicted, or imprisoned for any of the causes aforesaid, should receive the full benefit of our general pardon, which we have been pleased to grant to our loving subjects, by our royal proclamation, with all possible ease to them, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorize, will, and require you to cause such of our subjects commonly called Quakers, who are in prison for any of the causes aforesaid, to be forthwith discharged out of prison, and forthwith to stop and discharge, or cause to be discharged, by giving your consent on our behalf, all fines, forfeitures, or sums of money, charged upon any of our subjects, commonly called Quakers, for not coming to church; or set upon them any process for the same; as also all processes, indictments, presentments, and convictions, for any of the said causes, by entering *noli prosequi*, or otherwise, as you shall judge necessary for rendering that our pardon most effectual and beneficial for our said subjects;

and for your so doing, this shall be your warrant.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 15th day of March, 1685-6, in the second year of our reign. To our trusty and well beloved, our attorney general: by his majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND, *P.*

When this warrant was granted and delivered to us, the attorney general, sir Robert Sawyer, was not in London, but nearly forty miles from thence, at his country house at Highcleare in Hampshire; and friends in London being very desirous that our friends in the several prisons in the cities and counties throughout England, might forthwith be released; it was concluded that two or three of us should take a journey to the said attorney general, and deliver him the aforesaid warrant from the king; and obtain a warrant or liberate thereupon, to discharge and release our friends in and about London.

John Edge, Rowland Vaughan and myself were desired forthwith to undertake the journey to the attorney general for that service. At which time I was but weakly in body, and so much indisposed as to my health, having laboured and attended much at court for our friends' ease and relief, that I thought myself very unfit for that journey, for I then kept my chamber. Howbeit, they not being willing to go without me, having been mostly concerned in solicitation to obtain the said warrant from the king to the attorney general, I was in the greater strait, and after a short consideration was persuaded and concluded to go with them, if possibly I might be enabled to perform the journey.

We were part of two days and the morning following, before we reached the attorney general's, who civilly received and entertained us, when we had produced the king's commission to him; and we quickly persuaded him to give instructions to our then companion, Rowland Vaughan, to draw up a warrant to release our friends, who then were prisoners in London. And according to his instructions Rowland drew up several warrants to discharge our friends out of prison, which the attorney general signed that day; to get which done he would have us stay dinner, as it was near the fourth hour before we could get all done and signed, to come away. It was within night before we got to Theal, about four miles beyond Reading, where we stayed at an inn, and the next day came to Brentford; before which time I was recovered, and was so well that I could travel much better than when I left London; wherein I thankfully observed the merciful providence of

God, in affording me health and ability beyond expectation.

In a short time the attorney general returned to London, to his office in the temple, where I attended him, with Gilbert Lathey sometimes, to sign the rest of the warrants; which according to his direction, Rowland Vaughan had prepared, to discharge the rest of our friends out of prisons throughout England, so far as he had power given him by the commission aforesaid, which took up considerable time to see effected. The prisoners by degrees were released, although we had something to do to obtain the warrants for release in some places, especially at Bristol, because of the fees demanded. The town clerk detained our friends there in prison, for non-payment of his demands, which occasioned our complaint against him to the king; and I debating the matter with him before the attorney general, he was persuaded to submit the matter to our friends' courtesy and freedom, and was desirous I should let him have the attorney general's warrant to discharge our friends when he returned to Bristol; and accordingly I entrusted him with it, whereupon he got them released out of prison there.

We were greatly concerned to importune the king to put a stop to the ruinous prosecutions and persecutions of the mercenary and merciless informers in London and Middlesex, and presented divers petitions and complaints against them to him; the Lord having laid a weighty concern upon me, and enabled me by his power, in faith and zeal for his truth and suffering people, to pursue them, in order to discover their deceits and wickedness, their unlawful and unjust proceeding against us, to the government, for a due examination and proof thereof; which at last was obtained, pursuant to our petitions and complaints.

I also wrote a short request to the king, to appoint commissioners to hear us and the informers face to face, that we might have a fair opportunity to prove the matters of fact complained of against them, to their faces. The king granted my request, and gave commission accordingly, which was delivered me by the secretary freely, without fees. And I, with some others, prosecuted the same effectually against the informers.

We were constrained to repeat our complaints by way of petition to the king, because those persecuting informers, even after the king had expressed some clemency and compassion towards us, and averseness to persecution, would take no notice thereof for some time, but contrary thereto, confronting the king's favour, would renew their unjust and ruinous prosecutions frequently against us;

until they met with open detection and repression before the king's commissioners, for their great injustice, false swearing, clandestine convictions, excessive and outrageous distresses and havoc which they made and caused to be made upon the goods and estates of our friends, tending wholly to disable and ruin them, and all this occasioned only for their tender consciences towards Almighty God, in sincerely serving and worshipping him, to whom only we are accountable for the same.

Upon the said request to the king, to appoint commissioners to hear us and the informers face to face, he gave commission to two persons, whom he nominated to hear us and make report of the case to him. The commissioners were R. Graham and P. Burton, esquires, to whom we delivered the king's commission; and they authorized me to give out summonses to those informers whom we had complained against, as also to those friends who were persecuted and injured by them. I had liberty to summon whom and as many as I thought fit, both of those informers and of our friends in and about London and the county of Middlesex, to appear before the said commissioners at Clifford's inn, the 4th of June, so called, 1686.

Having beforehand collected, and fairly stated the particular cases of above fifty of our friends, sufferers by the informers' unjust prosecutions and false informations, I sent out summonses for them to appear before the said commissioners, on the day and at the place appointed, and to bring their witnesses who could detect the informers of their swearing falsely, &c. And likewise we gave timely notice by summons, to many of the informers, who were chiefly concerned.

When we were at Clifford's inn the day appointed, we met a great company of informers without door, who seeing a large number of our friends, the informers were in a great rage, and some of them cried out, Here comes all the devils in hell; and seeing me, they said, And there comes the old devil of all.

Jeffery Nightingale and Peter Lugg, esquires, justices of peace, came also, against whom the informers were offended, and some of them had entered actions against the first, because they had refused to grant warrants against some of our friends, or to convict them in their absence.

Being called before the commissioners into a large upper room, to manage and prove against the informers, our complaints and charges, which were comprehended in our petition to the king; and having in readiness the cases fairly and distinctly written in above twelve broad sides of sheets;

I began first with those cases wherein the informers had sworn falsely in fact, producing each friend's case in order, and each one was called upon, and the particular informer, or informers therein charged, called in to hear his and their charge, and proof made against him and them; which was effectually done, and made obvious against many of them, to their great confusion and shame, to be so proved false witnesses and false swearers, against our friends, in plain matters of fact; as their informing upon oath against divers of our friends, for being at such and such meetings, which they were not at; and also for having meetings at certain places and houses, where there were no meetings; and sometimes swearing upon trust from one another's false and presumptuous information. The women informers were desperate in their swearing, and making oath against our friends, as well as the men, who were the grand informers.

The several cases of swearing falsely in fact, could not well be contained in six broad sides. I showed the commissioners one case after another, in order for a thorough consideration and examination of each, and produced plain demonstration and positive proof of each article as we went along, not only by the sufferers themselves, but also by divers credible witnesses present, how grossly and abominably those informers had forsworn themselves, and borne false witness in divers cases. The king's commissioners, and the said justices present, were made apparently sensible thereof, and could not otherwise be, when they saw those informers so confounded and put to a *nonplus*, that they could not defend themselves.

One thing by the way was somewhat remarkable; that when their captain, John Hilton, was called to come in, to answer for himself before the commissioners, his companions would not suffer him to come in before them; for they said, he was in drink, and not in a fit condition. He was several times called for; at last he told the messenger that went out for him, that he cared not for the king's commissioners; which answer of his was told them; and they understanding what disorder he was in, passed by his incivility. How little regard or honour he showed to the king; yet such drunken informers esteemed themselves eminent servants to the king and the church in those days.

Secondly; Breaking open doors of houses and shops with force and violence, by informers and constables, to make distress upon our household and shop goods to great excess; for sometimes they carried away by cart loads. Thus was I served as well as divers

others, who had their doors broken open, and goods taken away to great excess and spoil, so that the cry of these oppressions was loud among our neighbours, and we are sure the cry thereof entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, and he did plead our innocent cause.

We gave to the said commissioners, the first day of our meeting, so many instances and proofs against the informers' abuses, false swearing, violence and spoil, that they seemed almost weary with hearing them that day, matters of fact being evidently proved against the informers to their faces, and to their great shame and confusion. The season also was hot, and the room pretty much thronged; which made the time of so many cases and discoveries, the more wearisome to them, although on the first day of our meeting we did not go through scarcely the fourth part of the cases and charges which we had to produce before them. The commissioners appointed another day of meeting, which was the 14th of the same month, called June, at which time we met again, and many of the informers aforesaid, who appeared as they were called, one after another. Thomas Hilton brought a lawyer with them in his gown, to plead their cause and help them; but when he attempted, he could not vindicate their unjust and barbarous proceedings, their forswearing themselves, convicting persons in their absence, breaking open houses to seize and take away our goods, &c. For these unwarrantable proceedings he had no colour of law to plead; though he would at first have excused the informers a little faintly. I showed him out of the conventicle act, how they had exceeded the severity thereof, and how mistaken he was in his allegation for them; so that he was quickly silenced before the commissioners and his clients the informers.

At the second meeting we got not through half of our complaints and charges against those persecuting informers. The commissioners then thought they had enough of them for their discovery, and to ground their report upon to the king: and the informers to be sure, had enough to their shame and confusion.

In the close of that our last meeting, I made this proposal for the commissioners' consideration, viz: that seeing it was evidently proved before them, how frequently the informers had forsworn themselves in plain matters of fact, and made such spoil upon the king's peaceable subjects, they would consider whether they ought not to be discouraged and stopt from any further proceeding in their prosecutions against us, that they might not be reputed to be the king's servants therein,

as they would be esteemed, while seeking the ruin of his subjects, by swearing falsely, &c. or to this effect.

To which proposal the commissioners made little answer; but they conceived it was not within their commission to give their opinion or judgment in that case; yet one of them said, that in point of prudence he thought it safest for them to desist.

The guilty informers being clearly detected, and their falsehoods exposed, they were in a great rage against me, especially for proposing to have them discouraged and stopped from any further prosecution against us. They were so bitterly enraged against me, railing, and threatening, that friends somewhat feared they would endeavour to do me a mischief. I told them, I feared them not, nor what they could do, for I was bound in conscience to make them manifest to the government; they should not deter me by their threats; for I durst and could appear before the highest in authority against them; which I questioned whether they durst do, to vindicate themselves.

I can truly say, I was greatly assisted and strengthened by the Lord's power, in true faith and zeal, to clear my conscience in those concerns, against that persecuting spirit, and the destroying work thereof. I bless the worthy name of the Lord our God, who strengthened and sustained me, in that and many other exercises and services, for his blessed truth and people's sake.

I may not omit an exercise that befell some of us, between the two meetings we had before the king's commissioners at Clifford's inn, before mentioned, the 4th and 14th of June, so called, 1686, in the following case of John Dew, William Ingram, John Vaughan and George Whitehead.

Some of the informers having procured a warrant, bearing date the 12th of June, 1686; the persons abovesaid were apprehended thereupon, on the 13th day of the same month, at their usual meeting place in Gracechurch street, London, being about to come away, and no proclamation made for their departing; and in the said warrant no mention was made of Quakers, but of disloyal, factious, and seditious sectaries, no ways justly chargeable upon the persons there met, and apprehended.

We four were taken prisoners, and went with the constable to the lord mayor's, where we waited several hours for his coming from his worship: when he came, I signified to him, that we were engaged to appear that week before the king's commissioners at Clifford's inn, who had order to enquire into certain complaints we had made to the king against the informers, and showed him one of

our summonses to the informers to appear also before them. And seeing none of them appeared to give evidence against us, according to the warrant, whereby we were apprehended, I desired we might be dismissed, especially seeing our habitations were well known, and we should be ready to appear upon lawful summons.

But this the mayor would not grant, but we must stay till witnesses, i. e., informers, came to give evidence against us, who he said, would come by and by, but none came; though under pretence of their coming by and by, we were detained, I think, till about ten o'clock that night; at last the mayor came to us and demanded security, or for us to be bound over by recognizance to appear at the next sessions for the peace, and in the mean time, to be of good behaviour, and presently caused the clerk to write the same. I told him we were willing to promise to appear, if the Lord please, but not to be bound to good behaviour, seeing there was no misbehaviour proved against us; for I conceived, that to require bond for good behaviour, implied some misbehaviour, which could not be proved against any of us; to which the mayor answered, "You are a company of coxcombs; make their mittimus," said he to his clerk. Howbeit he withdrawing a little space of time, and the constable and some of his officers seeming unwilling we should be sent to prison, after some private consultation, and the said constable refusing to be bound to prosecute us, knowing nothing against us, the mayor took our words to appear at the next sessions without our bond; so we were dismissed for that time.

Appearing at the sessions, and our names being called, and none, either informers or others, coming in against us, upon proclamation made in court, we were discharged, so that the informers, who caused us to be taken, were disappointed of their design against us. They would have been glad to have had us confined to prevent our appearance the second time at Clifford's inn, before the said commissioners, that we might not further detect their misdemeanours, irregularities, forgeries, and false swearing, but the Lord our God, who stood by us, frustrated their evil designs in that case, so as we had liberty to appear again at Clifford's inn, to make further public discovery of the injustice and wickedness of those implacable and restless men. Their ungodly gain, gotten by rapine and spoil upon the king's peaceable subjects, did not prosper; though for a long time they swarmed about in city and country, they were so extravagant and profuse, that divers of them could not keep out of prison for debt; and

others were fain to turn beggars when their informing trade was stopped. In order where-to, the Lord was pleased to make our endeavours successful in a short time after our second appearance at Clifford's inn. At our second meeting we got through but about half of our cases, having the second part also fairly drawn up. But no further meeting could we have, to examine the second part of our complaints, against the informers' work. The commissioners thought they had heard enough at the two meetings before, though I would gladly have met again, having many sufficient witnesses, to detect the informers' abuses, which were particularly and plainly specified in the second part as well as in the first; and they are worthy to be fully recorded and divulged to posterity, that it may be understood and seen what wicked courses have been taken by informers, to ruin honest people, and how such vile persons have been exposed, to their utter shame and contempt.

Seeing we could not have a third meeting, I persuaded the commissioners to allow me an hour or two in an afternoon, to show them the second part of our case, before they drew up their report to the king. This they granted, and accordingly I read it to them. After that I went to them again, and desired to see their report, which they showed me a draught of; and then I saw it was very deficient and improperly drawn up: for instead of stating plainly matter of fact, as it had been proved before them against the informers swearing falsely, unjust prosecutions, and cruel oppressions, &c., against us; the commissioners gave their opinions for some easier ways of dealing with us; as for not going to parish church, twelve pence a Sunday, &c. I told them how improper that was for them to report to the king; it was rather to dictate and prescribe to the king what penalties we should suffer, whereas their business was to make true report of matter of fact, which we had complained of, and which was plainly proved and made appear before them, against the informers' unjust and injurious proceedings. One of the commissioners told me how hardly they were put to it, to draw up their report, being sent to out of London, from some great person or persons of the church, and requested to do or report nothing that might disable the informers, they being of so great service to the church, as I understood his relation of the caution sent them, for I took good notice thereof: notwithstanding this, I pleaded for justice to be done us, in their report to the king, respecting matter of fact.

Whereupon they were so honest, as to amend their report, and made it more to the purpose: and then we gave the king some

further intimation of our case, in the following letter, viz :

May it please the king,

Since the king was graciously pleased to refer our late petition about the informers' proceedings, to the enquiry of two appointed commissioners in Clifford's inn, we, with many of our suffering friends, have, at two sundry times, clearly proved matter of fact complained of in our said petition, to the informers' faces before the said commissioners, to their full satisfaction ; and therefore, many cases were omitted to avoid tediousness, as is signified and implied in their report ; as their convicting our friends upon oath behind their backs ; their frequent false swearing, upon the bare report from one to another ; their taking compositions or bribes, that is of other people ; besides their breaking open houses, excessive distresses ; charge of appeals ; ruining families and trades, &c., not expressed ; their troubling such justices with suits, as scruple granting warrants against us unsummoned, as in the case of justice Nightingale and justice Lugg. And since the discovery as aforesaid, they have appeared very revengeful against divers of us, causing several to be taken and bound over to sessions, and others to be imprisoned, as they threatened us at the time of their false swearing, &c., was discovered to the commissioners : the two Hiltons and their accomplices, as also Christopher Smith and John Brown, Arthur Clayton, and other informers, being most busy and violent against us : since which, several of the informers have been indicted and convicted of perjury, at the quarter sessions for London, and for Middlesex, prosecuted by other people.

These, with the said report considered, we hope the king will be graciously pleased, in his wisdom to put a speedy stop to these informers, and restrain them and the rest of their confederates from further spoiling of us, &c.

10th of the fifth month, 1686.

Delivered the day following at Windsor, to the king, per George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey.

Some proposals to the Lord Chancellor about the informers.

Since the king in cabinet, on the 11th of July, 1686, hath been graciously pleased to refer the matters complained of by the people called Quakers, in their late petition against the informers, together with the report made thereupon by two appointed commissioners, viz : Rd. Graham and Ph. Burton, esquires, to the Lord High Chancellor of England, in

order to correct the irregular proceedings of some justices and the informers, we the said people do humbly propose as followeth ;

1. That no person charged on the conventicle act, 22 Car. 2, for meeting, be convicted, or warrants issued out for distress, without being first summoned to appear before the convicting justice, to answer his accusers or prosecutors face to face, according to the law of God, and of nations, and the common course of justice.

2. That no persons be admitted to take upon them to be informers or prosecutors, but such as are credible persons, and responsible in estate, to make satisfaction to the party grieved, if unduly or unjustly prosecuted.

3. That those informers named in the said report, made by the king's commissioners aforesaid, having committed great abuses, irregularities and misdemeanours, not only through their unskilfulness in law, but dishonesty, as by false swearing, and some of them by compositions and bribery, &c., be utterly disabled from any further prosecuting henceforward, together with all their party, servants, or deputy informers, confederates and abettors ; some whereof being already convicted of wilful perjury, and divers others having voluntarily made oath as witnesses, in the case of the perjured persons, in the court of quarter sessions, held at Guild-hall, London, the 14th day of July, 1686, thereby attempting to make good the same information, wherein their associates were convicted of perjury, as aforesaid.

4. That the intention of the said act, in employing informers, and providing reward for their encouragement, being for discovering or finding out conventicles, which supposes them obscure or hidden, as well as seditious, or tending to insurrection, this work of informers being altogether useless and groundless, in reference to the public, known, and constant meetings of the people called Quakers, which have never tended to sedition or rebellion, but always have been peaceable and inoffensive towards the king and government ; it is therefore humbly requested, that a stop may be put to the informers' prosecutions, with respect to those known public meetings of the said people.

5. That no convicting justice may be admitted to sit judge or chairman in the traverse or trial of appeals ; seeing the appellant by law appeals from the convicting justice to the judgment of the other justices of the quarter sessions.

6. That the peace officers, constables, church wardens, or overseers of the poor, &c., may not be forced to turn informers, either by any justice of peace, or court of sessions,

before whom any supposed offender, or person under prosecution is or may be brought.

7. That no justice of the peace may be prosecuted for not gratifying the informers, or not receiving their informations, he being dissatisfied with them; either because they are not persons of credit, or that he does not believe in his conscience that they are credible witnesses; or for his refusing to grant them warrants, without summoning the prosecuted parties to answer them face to face.

8. That neither the convicting justices of peace, nor constables, or other officers, after distress made, be suffered to divide, embezzle, or detain to themselves the monies levied, or any part thereof, as some have done, but that the whole sum of money levied, be brought into the sessions, according to the act; many having suffered by embezzlements, that they could not have the legal benefit of appeals.

9. None ought to be allowed to prosecute as witnesses, or make oath for profit or gain, nor be allowed part of the fines for swearing against any persons under prosecution; that being a snare whereby divers have been tempted to forswear themselves, and have so done in plain matter of fact.

Under a profession of Christianity, the Protestant religion and church, and also under pretence of law, legal authority, serving the church and king, &c., a company of loose, irreligious, profligate wretches, have been encouraged and suffered to plunder, rob, steal, break houses, commit burglary, tear away, and make havoc and spoil of their neighbours' goods; as those informers have shamefully done, and all this to support a Protestant church, and to be countenanced or encouraged by the same therein, especially by priests!

What Protestant age or church can parallel such barbarities and cruel persecution, all circumstances considered? And how scandalous to church and state are such agents? Oh! Church! Church! thou hadst need to be greatly humbled under the mighty hand of God: however, under all these inhumanities, the hand of the Lord our God supported us, and carried us through them; and his divine hand and power was with us and assisted us, both in our suffering, opposing, and testifying against such cruelties; and in our endeavours to make the king and government sensible thereof; whereby he was at last induced so far to commiserate our extreme suffering, as to afford us relief from those devourers, by signifying his pleasure to some of his subordinate ministers, magistrates and justices to put a stop to and prevent that destructive persecution and spoil made upon us by those

informers; insomuch that their unjust trade and gain ceased, being discountenanced both by the justices, and by the quarter sessions in London and Middlesex, and their course stopt in other parts of the kingdom, and such discoveries made of their wickedness and injuries, that some of them were forced to escape, and others turned to beggary; their ungodly gain and ill gotten goods did not prosper with them, nor succeed to support them.

After their trade of informing was over, I remember George Hilton, informer, came to my house, complaining to me, that he was to be a servant to a great person, but he wanted clothes, or money to buy him some; whereupon I gave him something, being willing to render good for evil, he having been a very injurious adversary against myself and many others of our friends; however I was comforted, for that the case was so well altered, as from taking away our goods by force, now these poor wretches were fain to come and beg of us.

A great number of our friends in many, or most counties throughout England, were sorely oppressed, and many of them greatly impoverished, being charged or estreated in the exchequer, and writs annually issued out against them, to the several sheriffs of the counties, to make seizure on their goods and estates, under pretence of their being recusants, for twenty pounds per month, and for two-thirds of their estates, for their monthly absence from their parish churches, so called, and thereupon their corn and cattle and other goods were seized and taken away by the bailiffs, &c. Seizing for eleven months, twenty pounds a month, which amounts to two hundred and twenty pounds forfeiture in that space of time. The rude bailiffs, when they had seized on farmers' goods, remained at their houses, eating and drinking until they had gotten the goods removed.

This sort of suffering was as extreme as unjust, being by old laws never intended against the people called Quakers, that we should suffer as popish recusants, who are not such persons; but if we had not been so scandalously misrepresented, the persecutors would have had no pretence or colour for such their barbarous persecution.

Upon this case of oppression and persecution, the king being applied to, and moved by some of us for a *noli prosequi*, or stay of process in the exchequer, he was pleased to give direction to the lord treasurer and attorney general for the same, that the exchequer writs might not be issued out against our friends on that occasion; for the case, we knew, did affect the king and his friends, who were

popish recusants, seeing we suffered in their stead, who never were Papists, nor popishly affected in the least, but wholly averse thereto.

When the king's consent was obtained for the stay of process in the case, the following petition was drawn up by Rowland Vaughan, an attorney, employed by us, he being informed how far Gilbert Laty and I had proceeded in our solicitation therein, and what effect the same had with the king.

To Lawrence, Earl of Rochester, Lord Treasurer of England.

The humble petition of us whose names are here under subscribed, on the behalf of the persons called Quakers, named in the list hereunto annexed, sheweth,

That in pursuance to the king's reference made to his attorney general, upon petition to him lately made, by many of his suffering subjects, commonly called Quakers, he, the said attorney general, amongst other things, did, on the 20th of January last, 1685, make his report, That the persons named in the list hereunto annexed, are convicted for their monthly absence from church, and are returned into the exchequer, and in charge there for twenty pounds a month.

That upon the reading of the said report, the king was graciously pleased to signify his royal pleasure amongst other things, that process might be forthwith stayed from issuing forth for the future out of the exchequer against the said persons named in the said list.

That it now remains under the consideration of the attorney general, to direct, or prepare fit instruments to discharge the proceedings, as well against the persons named in the said list, as all others mentioned in the said report.

That forasmuch as process is now likely to issue forth out of the exchequer against the persons named in the said list before the attorney general can prepare, or direct fit instruments to be made for relief of the persons in the said report, according to the king's gracious will and pleasure.

May it therefore please the said Lord Treasurer in the mean time, to issue forth his warrant to the clerk of the Pipe, for staying of process against the persons named in the said list, until their discharge can be effectually completed, in pursuance of the king's said gracious will and pleasure. And the said petitioners shall, &c.

A copy of the Lord Treasurer's warrant to the clerk of the Pipe.

After my hearty commendations, these are to authorize and direct you to forbear making

forth any process against any of the persons mentioned in these four sheets of paper hereto annexed, each sheet being subscribed by myself; and the three first sheets having four columns of names, the fourth only two; till the next term: and if any processes are already made forth, you are immediately to supersede the same: and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

ROCHESTER.

Whitehall, Treasury chamber,
March 4, 1685.

To my very loving friend, the clerk of the Pipe, or his deputy, &c.

I was very industriously concerned to obtain such a warrant for a speedy stop to be put to the said processes, which were then ready to be issued forth of the said Pipe office in Gray's inn: I had something to do, first with the treasurer's deputy, and clerks of the treasury chamber, about their high demands of fees, which we could not answer; whereupon I made complaint to the Lord Treasurer himself; and he was so kind, as to cause them considerably to abate their demands of fees, and to accept of what we could give: I remember our friend Samuel Waldenfield kept me company at that time one day. So the warrant was delivered to me.

Rowland Vaughan went with me to the clerks of the Pipe, with our warrant to stay process, who seeing such a long list of a great number of names annexed to the warrant, demanded very high fees, amounting to many hundred pounds, which we could in no ways come near: they were very huffing and high towards us, though we civilly treated them, threatening if we did not pay them the fees demanded, that the writs should be issued out to the sheriffs of the several counties, to seize upon our friends' estates; and to be sure it would be done to purpose, for said they, This is like to be the last time, seeing process was to be stopped; so that if the writs then went forth, they concluded they would be the more severely executed and fall heavier upon the convicted than ever. Such like threats were to affright us into a compliance with their unreasonable demands of fees; which we neither would nor could do; whereupon we parted at that time.

Being much toiled, weakened, and impaired in my health, by attending and labouring for our friends' relief in that case, I was taken suddenly ill, so that I was forced to keep house a few days: yet still the burden of friends' sufferings lay so heavy upon my spirit, and care to have them relieved, by a stay to the said processes, that they might not be further issued forth against them, that

I forthwith sent to divers friends to let them know how the case stood with me, and how far I had procured and brought forward the case, in order to their relief from the exchequer process; particularly I sent for my companion, Gilbert Latey, he being then in the country at Kingston, at his mother-in-law's, Ann Fielder, who quickly came to London: and I acquainting him, and our loving friend William Mead, how our case stood, as to the clerks of the Pipe, they refusing to stay the process, unless they had the fees they demanded; I desired Gilbert Latey and William Mead to go and treat with those clerks, and see what they could bring them to: at last they brought them so far to abate their demands, as to come down to those friends' terms, and accept of what they proffered, i. e., about sixty pounds instead of the many hundreds demanded, though it was not without complaining that they were deprived of what they esteemed their proper fees and dues. However our friends did as well as they could with them, to prevent their complaining to the king, and getting leave thereupon to issue any further process against our friends in the counties.

The stay of proceedings thus obtained, prevented the ruin of some hundreds of our friends in their respective counties, and saved many thousands of pounds in their estates; and I had great peace and comfort in the Lord, in that he made me any ways useful in helping towards our friends' relief from those heavy persecutions and oppressions. Blessed be the Lord my God, who greatly helped me to serve him in helping his people.

Another case of hardship and suffering befell our friends at two of their meetings, viz: the one at the Park in Southwark, and the other at the Savoy in the Strand, Westminster; by having their meeting-houses taken from them, and possessed by soldiers and their officers, and made guard houses of, and our friends kept out, and forced to meet without doors.

The case more particularly is as follows, viz:

About the third month, 1685, the soldiers came and made part of the said meeting-house at the Park, a guard house, and did great spoil and damage, about and in the same by pulling down pales, digging and cutting down trees, carrying away and burning them; and also the wainscoting and benches about the room, and they carried away one of the out doors, and many of the casements: and when the soldiers drew out to the camp, they left the house open. Whereupon John Potter, the then owner, entered again, and made up the outward door and some other

necessary repairs, and had a survey of the damages done, which amounted to about forty pounds.

The soldiers returning from the camp, again possessed themselves of the place, and kept their guard therein for some time, in manner following, viz: on the 22nd of October, 1686, a quarter-master belonging to Col. Hayle's regiment, came to the chambers of the said John Potter's tenants, and demanded entrance, which being denied, the quarter-master, with the help of soldiers, broke in, handed away their goods, and turned out three aged women to another house. When they had taken possession of our said meeting-house and rooms below, they pulled down the galleries, and made a brick wall cross the lower room, with many other alterations, as if they intended to have the sole and perpetual possession to themselves, having made a sort of a place for prayers, or a mass house, in one end, enclosed from the rest by the said partition wall; notwithstanding the said John Potter, the owner, showed his lease and title to the premises several times to the Colonel and his quarter-master; by which they understanding his right and title, the Colonel asked him if he would sell, and what he would have for it? But that he could not yield to, knowing what other use the lease was intended and used for; the low room being our meeting place, he could not in good conscience shut his friends out of the same.

But being by force kept out of our meeting-house and property, as before related; we had no other way to have the same restored, but by application to the king, and also for our meeting place at the Savoy in the Strand. Whereupon my friend Gilbert Latey and I were desired to attend the king; to which we gave up, I being prepared to vindicate our property, especially in our meeting-house at Park aforesaid. When we had sent notice to the king of our desire to attend him in this case, and that he would please to appoint the time, he granted our request therein.

On the 1st of the tenth month, 1686, in the morning, Gilbert Latey and myself went to Whitehall, and in a lower room of the closet-keeper's, waited some time. When we had sent up word to the king of our waiting for admittance, after some time, he came down to us, and the said Col. Hayles only with him.

After I had opened our case to him, how our said meeting-house at Park was detained from us, I found that he had been misinformed and prepossessed; as if that meeting-house and others were forfeited to him on the conventicle act. I presently showed him the mistake, for by that act the owner's houses,

where meetings were held, were not forfeit, but they fineable; the penalty was fines, not forfeiture of houses; and yet, as I told him, I hoped he would not take advantage against us upon that act, seeing he had intimated that his opinion was for liberty of conscience, from persecution.

He further alleged that John Potter had given his consent to part with the said house for a compensation; as also the Colonel affirmed, having given the king the notes he had taken out of John's lease, showing the conveyance of the title from one to another, till it was settled on John Potter. But the king told me, as the Colonel had informed him, that since John had assented to part with the said meeting-house for a compensation, we had had a meeting about it, and that our friends had persuaded John not to sell it.

To all which I gave answer, That John Potter never appeared of that mind to us, as to sell it,* and that it is really a property, &c. I further told him that divers of our meeting-houses in London were seized, and the broad arrow set upon the doors, pretendedly for the king, in the reign of king Charles the second, and particularly our meeting-house at Gracechurch street; where the mayor encouraged a priest of the church of England to read their mass, or liturgy, and to preach; which was such a wonder, that a priest should come and read common prayer, and preach in a Quakers' meeting, that people did numerously gather and crowd into and about the meeting; and afterward at another meeting, the priest came to be so affrighted with their crowding and noise, that he got away, and forbore coming again to read and preach in our meeting-house.

The king smiled at my mentioning their mass, because I presume he understood that the book of common prayer was much of it taken out of his mass book.

Having taken notes out of our friends' lease of the said meeting-house at Park, I demonstrated the title and pleaded the property against the said Col. Hayles' pretensions or claim to it.

After pretty much discourse upon this matter, the king several times gave this answer, "I am resolved to invade no man's property or conscience." And he told us he would look further into the title and inform himself, but that at present he could not spare the place, because of his guards.

Our friend Gilbert Latey being with me, spake also to the king, about the Savoy meeting-house; our friends being there kept out

in a cold yard for many weeks, by the guards. Whereupon Gilbert requested the king to grant our friends their liberty to meet twice a week, it being winter time, and hard for ancient people to stand abroad in the cold. The king did not refuse his request, but was pleased to delay it for a time, for further consideration.

However our endeavours in God's power and counsel, took such effect upon the king, that in a few weeks after he caused both our meeting-houses, viz: at Park and Savoy, to be restored to us.

Before we parted from the king that time, I mentioned to him our friends' great sufferings in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, by Smith the informer, and two or three petty justices, that took his part; and I entreated two or three lines from the Lord Sunderland, to the Duke of Newcastle, to put a stop to the said informer's proceedings. The king freely granted my request, and two or three times promised to speak to the Lord Sunderland, to write to the Duke of Newcastle for the same purpose. After which, one of the lords of the council, at my desire, undertook to procure a letter forthwith from the Earl of Sunderland, pursuant to the king's promise before mentioned. Our friends and John Edge also, were concerned to attend the result thereof; so that through the power and help of the Lord our God, in our endeavours, a general stop to those persecuting devourers, the informers, was obtained, to the great comfort and relief of our suffering friends throughout the nation. I was greatly comforted in serving them to the utmost of my ability, for their relief, when the Lord opened a way for such endeavours, and I had great peace therein. And though I was often much wearied, and some times weakened, as to the outward man, yet the Lord revived my spirit and renewed my strength, and gave me suitable arguments to plead in that service, to authority. In all which, I humbly confess and praise his divine power and goodness; glory to his name for ever.

Being tenderly concerned to visit the king, in order to encourage that good work he had begun and declared for, in respect to liberty of conscience, in matters of religious worship, and to intimate the good effects of his declaration for that intent towards dissenters; as well as to acquaint him with some information I had from Leeds, in Yorkshire, of sufferings remaining upon some of our friends there, Gilbert Latey and I had admittance into the king's presence, on the 14th of the tenth month, 1687, at Whitehall. The king appeared glad to see us, and the substance of our discourse was as follows, viz:

* John Potter fully cleared himself thereof to friends' satisfaction.

George Whitehead. We are glad to see the king, and heartily wish him health and happiness, and a happy and prosperous reign, and that his government may be easy to him in all respects, that is, to himself and the people.

King. I thank you; and for your parts, I believe well of you and your friends; and that you do wish me well.

George Whitehead. I desired to attend the king some time since, but a long journey this summer, into the north parts of England, and some sickness since, prevented. We have daily cause to bless God for the mercy we enjoy under the king, as being made instrumental in the hand of God therein, and daily to pray for the king's preservation.

In this late journey I have been as far as Cumberland, and other parts of the north of England, and find the good effects of the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and how well it is resented by all good people, by all who are sober, moderate and rational.

King. It is well resented by all good Christians I am sure.

George Whitehead. I find that persons of understanding and quality, do commend the king's prudence and conduct therein. And many innocent families, who have been sorely distressed by the persecutions and hardships they have long been under, have received such relief through the king's clemency and declaration, that they find cause daily to pray for the king, and to him may justly apply the words of that just man Job, in this case, respecting the justness of his proceeding, "Thou hast broken the jaws of the wicked, and delivered the prey out of his teeth." "And the blessing of them that were ready to perish under their hardships, came upon me." And further, that by thy declaration for liberty of conscience, thou hast yielded submission to the great God and given to him his due therein, namely, that God may rule and bear sway in men's consciences, whose sovereign right it is to rule therein; "And when the Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice; and when the evil beasts of prey are made to cease out of the land, the earth shall yield her increase; according as God's holy prophets have testified."

King. It is very true.

George Whitehead. Let liberty of conscience, as declared or promised, be vindicated or maintained, and the good effects thereof will appear more and more.

King. I am resolved to maintain it as long as I live, and make it as firm as a *magna charta*, and more firm if possible, that it may remain for the benefit of future ages, and that posterity may not have cause to alter it.

George Whitehead. Whensoever the king
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shall please to call a Parliament, we do heartily wish it may be such as may concur with the king's clemency, according to his declaration, for liberty of conscience, and confirm it by a law;* and for our parts, I hope we shall contribute our endeavours, so far as argument and reason will go, or may prevail, to persuade them to confirm it, and give it the sanction of law, and repeal those penal, persecuting laws, which are against that liberty.

[Those persecuting laws, as the conventicle acts and others, being to force persons by penalties, contrary to their consciences, belief and persuasions, even in point of worship, consequently tend to make them hypocrites towards Almighty God, which no sincere soul can yield to.]

King. You have a right to election of members of Parliament: I would have your friends to have a care that they do not give their voices for such that are against liberty of conscience.

George Whitehead. It concerns us all to have a care of that; it is certain there can be no free Parliament upon a general and free election, whilst the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and tests requiring a conformity, are made the qualifications of all members of Parliament; for such qualifications admit none to be members of Parliament, but such as are strict churchmen for conformity. Whereas a mixed, or more equally chosen Parliament is most likely to consider all interests, and to establish liberty of conscience, which those penal, persecuting laws allow not.

King. Those laws and qualifications are against property, and destructive to it. [With other words full and explanatory of his mind, to the same effect, not so clearly remembered, but generally importing those limitations to be also against the king's interest and prerogative of the crown, as well as against the people's property.]

George Whitehead. By a mixed Parliament, I meant consisting of dissenters and of such churchmen as are against persecution, as the grand jury at Hertford assizes, who stopped all the presentments against dissenters for twenty pounds a month, some time before the king's declaration for liberty of conscience came forth. This mixed grand jury appeared a fit example, as I thought, in this case relating to a free Parliament.

King. You know when I was Duke of York, how envious many were against me,

* This was on occasion of something spoken by the king, in a former discourse to the same purpose.

and how monstrously they pictured me in their pamphlets, to render me odious to the nation, and what a dangerous successor I should be. But in point of Christianity, I freely forgive them all.

George Whitehead. That is a great point of Christianity and charity indeed, freely to forgive injuries, and is generous and noble; and I am truly glad to hear so much from the king. It is true, the Duke of York was such a formidable person in the thoughts of many, that they greatly feared and were jealous of of his succeeding: but now since come to the crown, he has given such open demonstration of his clemency and good will to the people, as has convinced many of their mistake therein, and given them cause to lay aside their former fears and jealousies of that kind.

King. I was always of the same judgment for liberty of conscience, that now I have declared publicly. I remember about twenty years ago, or above, I was at Tunbridge, though I never drank the waters; there was one Owen, John Owen, a dissenter,* who had a mind to speak with me, but was, or seemed something bashful or fearful of coming to me, until some acquainted me therewith; and then I gave him liberty to come and speak with me, and told him my opinion, that it was for liberty of conscience, as I have now declared.

George Whitehead. I heard as much a great while ago, from Edmund Waller, esq., who is lately dead; he signified to the same purpose, concerning the Duke of York's being of that opinion for liberty of conscience, long since.

Gilbert Lathey. That which the king has signified secretly, he has now declared openly, to the comforting the hearts of many thousands, who truly bless God for the king's kindnesses, and return hearty thanks to the king for the same; and for all the kindnesses thou hast shown to us the Lord reward thee, and return thee a thousand fold into thy own bosom.

King. I thank you heartily.

Gilbert Lathey. We remember when we were at Windsor to attend the late king, which was a time of great persecution, when we were likely to be torn to pieces by our persecutors, how kind thou wast to us; and we can truly say we were not easy in our minds till we had seen the king's face, that we might acknowledge the kindnesses we have formerly received from him. And further, I remember when we were last with the king, as I am not willing to approach the king's presence often, being afraid to appear too

troublesome, I made it my request, that our poor friends at Kingston might enjoy their meeting-house again, which they had been long kept out of, and were forced to stand in the street. And likewise, that the king would suffer us again to meet in our meeting-house at Savoy, where I live. Whereupon the king was pleased to promise us, that he would speak to sir Edward Evelin, then mayor of Kingston, that our friends should have their meeting-house again; which accordingly was granted them. And the king has also been lately pleased to give us possession of our meeting-house at Savoy: I do therefore for myself, and in behalf of the rest of our friends at Westminster, return the king our humble and hearty acknowledgment and thanks for the same.

George Whitehead. I have one particular case from Leeds in Yorkshire, which our friends desired me to acquaint the king with; and that is, the magistrates of Leeds, in the late persecutions, have been more severe to our friends there, than in all the county of York besides. At Leeds they have not only imprisoned them and endeavoured to banish them out of the land, having prosecuted them in order to banishment, on the statute of the 13th and 14th of the late king, which extends to imprisonment and transportation, but also they have taken away their goods for their religious meetings, and do still keep the goods of one person or more unsold, and refuse to restore the goods to the respective owner or owners, when desired by our friends concerned. Wherefore we entreat the king to speak to the Lord President, to write two or three lines to the mayor and aldermen of Leeds, to cause them to restore the goods to the respective owners. [And thereupon George Whitehead delivered the case in writing to the king.]

King. I will do it; I will speak to my Lord Sunderland to write as you desire. [Which accordingly he did, and an order was the next day taken out for restitution of the said goods.]

George Whitehead. We thankfully acknowledge the king's kindness in this case also.

Gilbert Lathey. We pray God reward the king into his bosom, for all his favours and kindnesses, and grant him, if it be His will, long life and a happy reign here, and a crown of immortal glory hereafter.

George Whitehead. We sincerely desire it.

King. I thank you heartily.

A copy of the said order follows, viz:

Whitehall, December 14th, 1687.

Gentlemen,

The king being informed that some goods belonging to John Wales and other Quakers

* Dr. Owen.

of Leeds, which were seized and taken from them, upon the account of their religious worship, do remain unsold, in the hands of John Tood, who was constable at the time of the seizure, or in the hands of some other persons; and his majesty's intention being, that all his subjects shall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conscience, his majesty commands me to signify his pleasure to you, that you cause the goods belonging to the said John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds, which were heretofore seized upon the account of religious worship, and are unsold, in whose hands soever they remain, to be forthwith restored to the respective owners, without any charge. I am, gentlemen, your affectionate friend and servant,

SUNDERLAND, P.

Superscription,—For Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen of Leeds, in the county of York.

Finding it our Christian duty to be industrious in our solicitations for our conscientious and religious liberty, and for the ease and relief of our friends from their great hardships, under long, severe persecutions for the same, when the Lord our God had made way for it, and opened a door for access to the king and the government, and inclined his and their hearts to hear and understand our grievances, we were the more obliged to lay hold of God's providence therein, and to make the best improvement thereof we could, with his assistance, which he graciously and freely afforded us, who laboured in that service. And as the king granted our friends relief and liberty from their cruel persecutions, imprisonments, fines, forfeitures, seizures, and spoil, &c., we could do no less, in point of civility and gratitude, than return him our own, and our friends' hearty thanks. And also as Christians, pray for him and all in authority; for if as Christians, we are required to love and pray for our enemies and persecutors, much more are we obliged to do so for our friends, and such who show kindness and compassion towards us, when under persecutions and afflictions.

Some of the principal passages in king James's declaration to all his loving subjects for liberty of conscience: given at his court at Whitehall, the 4th day of April, 1687, in the third year of his reign, viz:

"It having pleased Almighty God, not only to bring us to the imperial crown of these kingdoms, through the greatest difficulties, but to preserve us by a more than ordinary providence, upon the throne of our royal ancestors; there is nothing now that we so earnestly desire, as to establish our govern-

ment on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us, by inclination as well as duty; which we think can be done by no means so effectually, as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come; and add, that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been in any case invaded by us, since our coming to the crown: which being the two things men value most, shall ever be preserved in these kingdoms, during our reign over them, as the truest methods of their peace and our glory.

"We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic church; yet we humbly thank Almighty God it is, and hath of long time been, our constant sense and opinion, which upon divers occasions we have declared, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion: it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination; as we think it is to the interest of government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers; and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed.

"And in this we are the more confirmed, by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns: for after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them, to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible. We therefore out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade, and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit, by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two houses of Parliament, when we shall think it convenient for them to meet.

"In the first place we do declare, that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops and clergy, and all other our subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever. And that all, and all manner of penal laws, in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or for any other non-conformity to the religion established, be immediately suspended, &c.

"And to the end that by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of our government, in the practice thereof, may not be endangered, we have thought fit, and do

hereby straitly charge and command all our loving subjects, that as we do freely give them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired or built for that use, so that they take a special care that nothing be preached or taught amongst them that may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government: and that their meetings and assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held; and all persons freely admitted to them. And that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of the peace, what place or places they set apart for those uses.

"And that all our subjects may enjoy such their religious assemblies, with greater assurance and protection, we have thought it requisite, and do hereby command, that no disturbance of any kind, be made, or given unto them, under pain of our displeasure, and to be proceeded against with the utmost severity, &c." With much more in the said declaration, respecting liberty of conscience, from certain oaths, pains, penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities, &c.

In conclusion, the king thus declared, viz: "And although the freedom and assurance we have hereby given, in relation to religion and property, might be sufficient to remove from the minds of our loving subjects, all fears and jealousies in relation to either, yet we have thought fit further to declare, that we will maintain them in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands, as in any other their lands and properties whatsoever."

Considering the difficult circumstances the king was under, being reputed of the Roman Catholic church, so called, or declared Papist, his declaration for liberty of conscience, so contrary to the religion and practice of that persecuting church, was the more remarkable; and it appeared that the Lord had opened his understanding therein, above the priests and others of that religion and church, whose principle and practice and chief support, are coercion, force and persecution, about matters of religion and conscience; contrary to the said declaration for liberty of conscience, which in itself appears both rational, prudent and politic.

1. Respecting those of his own communion for their liberty; yet there appeared to be also a conscience on his part in the case; especially seeing he so solemnly declared, That for a long time it had been his sense and opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion.

2. Respecting his promise to the bishops and clergy of the church of England, he seemed therein cautious and politic, to quiet and put them out of their fears of losing their great revenues, tithes, oblations and obventions, &c. As also to quiet the great and rich men concerned in abbey lands, impropriate tithes, and great revenues thereby, &c.

3. As for us the people commonly called Quakers, and our ministers, having no such revenues as tithes, hire, or wages for preaching, to lose, our gospel being free, we were not so afraid of popery or a popish prince and clergy, as those who enjoy those great revenues which the popish church and priesthood claim, and would gladly come into and possess.

4. The king having often seriously declared liberty of conscience, as from force and persecution, to be his principle and persuasion, and we who had long deeply suffered, partaking thereof, especially in the latter part of his reign, had great reason to be the more easy and thankful, that we had some relief from those extreme persecutions and hardships we had long suffered under.

5. Howbeit, the king's aforesaid declaration not having the sanction of an act of Parliament, for the confirmation and continuance thereof, we did not think our liberty secured to us thereby, any more than it was under the reign of his brother, king Charles the second, but uncertain and precarious, as it was before, when we had only that king's specious promises and declarations, which lasted but a little while, and were soon made void by the Parliament and himself, and many persecutors let loose upon us again, because the liberty granted was not passed into a law.

6. Lastly; as to king James the second's abdication or removal from the throne, upon the revolution, it is not my business or concern, to treat of the particular causes or occasions thereof; they are matters of state and government.

Although the liberty of conscience declared and allowed by him to us, and other dissenters, whereby we all had relief, was envied by our persecutors, priests, and others, yet that could not be the cause of his abdication, so as to move divine providence thereto, or cause his armies to be dispirited or discouraged from defending and supporting him; for he thought himself safe both with dissenters, in allowing them their liberties, and with the church of England, by their professed doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and especially safe with the Quakers by their passiveness and non-resistance under their manifold sufferings and persecutions; and their

being principled not to revenge, fight, kill, or destroy men's lives.

What then moved divine providence to give such an invisible stroke upon his army, so as they could not stand to support him? Not the lenity, indulgence, or kindness of the prince to his conscientious, dissenting subjects, but some other cause, best known to the Divine Majesty, the Searcher of hearts, by whom both the intentions and designs of men and princes, as well as their actions, are foreseen and known; who by His power and spirit can move upon the waters, even upon the spirits of men, nations and kingdoms, to cause what overturnings and revolutions he pleases. For it is certain, the Most High rules in and over the kingdoms of men, and he giveth them to whomsoever, and for what causes he pleases; Dan. iv. 17, 25, 32, 35.

Glory to the Most High, the great Emperor over the world, who has hitherto helped us, preserved his peculiar people, and defended them through many storms and tempests, and divided the sea, the many waters and floods, for his redeemed to pass through towards their everlasting inheritance and rest in his kingdom of glory and triumph: glory, glory forever.

George Whitehead introduces his account of his own and his friends' proceedings in the early part of the reign of William and Mary, with the following review.

1689.—The great and merciful providence of the Lord God Almighty, towards us his people, is worthy to be for ever remembered; and I hope shall never be forgotten by us, who have been really sensible thereof, and seriously considered the same through many great trials, deep exercises and hardships, wherein the Lord our God helped and stood by us, and suffered not our enemies and persecutors to lay his heritage, among us, desolate or waste. He gave us not over to the will of our enemies, who often breathed out cruelty against us, threatening our ruin and desolation. Blessed be our God, who hath frustrated their cruel designs, and restrained the remainder of their wrath, and contrary thereunto hath carried on his own work, and prospered the same, to his own praise and his people's comfort; causing all to work together for good to all them who truly love his name and power: blessed forever be the same.

Although for the space of about twenty-five years, from 1660 to 1684, we had but little respite from some kind of persecution or other, notwithstanding the liberty of conscience so often promised and declared from the throne, yet the truth lost no ground, but

gained through all. The persecution time was a seed time for the truth and gospel of Christ Jesus, which we suffered for, and the faithful grew and multiplied. The good seed of the gospel being sown and planted, the same increased and spread, even in those suffering times, which neither the devil nor his instruments could ever root out. That divine presence attended us in our many deep sufferings, which reached and tenderly affected many hearts, as they beheld the patience and innocency wherein the Lord sustained us in our many trials and sufferings, whereby many were not only moved with compassion to us, but also to inquire after the Lord and his truth, the cause for which we patiently suffered. As the more Israel was afflicted and oppressed under Pharaoh in Egypt, the more they multiplied and grew: so as the Lord's people have been persecuted and oppressed in this gospel day, the more their number has increased, and they multiplied; wherein still the merciful providence of Almighty God has appeared, to frustrate the evil designs of ungodly persecutors and wicked men.

And moreover it is very remarkable and memorable, how the Lord God by his wisdom and power, has appeared and wrought for his people, even for his name and suffering seed's sake, in gradually making way for their Christian liberty, even for that liberty of conscience from persecution, so greatly laboured for; insomuch that the understandings of many in outward government, even of the supreme in authority, have been so far enlightened, as to see that liberty from persecution is not only most equal and consistent with a Christian spirit and temper, but also with their own safety, and the peace of the government and nation where they rule; and has been confessed to by many of the great ones in authority. Yea, I have heard it declared by a great person of the church of England, as in the name or person of the church, viz: Neither we nor you are safe without the toleration. And many that have formerly had a hand in persecution, are now willing that former sin of theirs should be covered, that they may be esteemed sincere for liberty of conscience, against persecution. Others, even persons of note, have gloried and seemed to rejoice in that they never had a hand in persecution, nor signed a warrant against any of us for our conscience; it being generally by men of ingenuity and sobriety deemed scandalous, or a brand of infamy to be accounted a persecutor.

As the Lord our God hath been graciously pleased to help us through many deep sufferings, hardships and trials, he hath also been at work in the hearts of men in power, and

judging among the gods for his heritage; Psalms lxxxii. 1. And in order to give his churches among us, rest from open persecutions, he prepared the heart of the government, after the revolution, to allow us the sanction of a law for our liberty, together with other dissenting Protestants, respecting our religious exercise in our public assemblies.

I may now give some brief account of the said act, and how I and others of our friends were concerned for the same. It commonly goes by the name or title of, The Act of Toleration, but the real title is, An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. [*Anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ.*

The preamble is, viz: Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majesties Protestant subjects in interest and affection, Be it enacted, &c.

Which act contains much of the substance, and divers clauses of the bill entitled, A Bill of ease to all Protestant dissenters, which was endeavoured to have been passed into an act, by the Parliament in king Charles the second's time, A. D. 1680 and 1681, but not effected either in his reign, or in his brother's succeeding, as before related.

After a bill was brought into the Parliament, in order to the aforesaid act, entitled, An Act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, &c., divers of our friends, with myself, had great care and concern upon our minds, and endeavoured that it might be as effectual and clear, without being clogged or perplexed with any snare in it, as we could obtain; so that we might be truly eased from persecution, and our religious liberties be uninterrupted.

Upon perusal of the bill, we found some passages or terms not clear, but such as tended to infringe our liberties, and render the intended law ineffectual, and in some things, rather a snare to us, if enacted: as particularly about some articles or confession of faith, that some members of the House of Commons would have imposed, for terms of liberty or ease to dissenting Protestants, which seemed partly to aim at us, the people called Quakers; occasioned by one member especially, openly declaring in the House, that the Quakers were no Christians: which was but an old refuted calumny, cast upon us by our notorious adversaries and some apostates.

Some of the terms in the said bill, required of Protestant dissenters to prove themselves Christians, were, viz: That all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in

the holy Spirit, coequal with the Father and the Son, one God, blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the revealed will and Word of God.

Although we knew that when the Parliament had granted liberty of conscience to dissenting Protestants, in religious exercise, grounded upon this or the like reason, namely, for the increase of charity among Christians, and that no person or persons, professing the Protestant religion, although dissenting from the church of England, should be disquieted or called in question for the same; which was very fair and plausible; yet to prevent any such from being stumbled or ensnared by some expressions in the aforesaid profession or creed, which appeared unscriptural in the said bill, we instead thereof, did propose and humbly offer, as our own real belief of the Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, viz: I profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by divine inspiration.

Which declaration John Vaughton and I delivered to sir Thomas Clergis, who, with some others, were desirous we should give in such confession of our Christian belief, that we might not lie under the unjust imputation of being no Christians, nor thereby be deprived of the benefit of the intended law for our religious liberty. We were therefore of necessity put upon offering the said confession, it being also our known professed principle, sincerely to confess Christ the Son of the living God, his divinity, and as he is the eternal Word: and that the three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are one: one divine Being, one God, blessed for ever.

Moreover, the said sir Thomas Clergis being satisfied with our confession aforesaid, delivered unto him, moved for the same before a grand committee of the whole House of Commons, mentioning of our names, from whom he had the said confession. Whereupon we were called into the house, and some other friends, as William Mead and John Osgood, that the committee might have our confession from ourselves, and the Parliament be the better satisfied therewith, in hearing us. So that I had then occasion to answer the committee very clearly, and to their satisfaction, both as to our really owning the Deity and the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as given forth by divine inspiration. The last being most in question, we gave them such plain

and clear satisfaction, both as to the holy doctrine contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the historical parts thereof, as being preserved by divine Providence to us, that I clearly perceived our confession and testimony had such influence and effect upon the spirit of the Parliament, that it made for the furtherance of the said bill in order to bring it into an act.

Some of the members, when the committee was over, would have had it made but a temporary act for three years, in which I opposed them, and showed the unreasonableness of such a limitation of our religious liberty, urging, that it ought to be perpetual. So after much labour and attending on our parts the bill was passed.

Although under the reign of king William the third, we had so far obtained liberty by law, as to enjoy our religious meetings for the worship of God peaceably, without molestation or disturbance by informers or other persecutors, yet many of our friends remained prisoners, and under prosecution by priests and others, for non-payment of tithes, and many of them detained in prisons, chiefly upon contempts, as their term is, for not answering upon oath to the priests' bills and complaints, &c.

These cases being considered among us, after I had impartially stated and drawn them up, our friends agreed to have presented to the king, that he might both understand their cases and suffering, for not paying tithes, and not swearing: as also that the contempts were by the laws, or court rather, deemed to be against the king, which therefore he had power by law to pardon and to discharge the prisoners who lay under that process or judgment of contempts.

Our friends thereupon desiring me to present the case to the king, and to take with me three or four friends, that were free thereto, I accepted of that service, being always willing and ready to serve and help suffering friends, as I had been in the two king's reigns before, according to my ability, and as the Lord was pleased to enable me.

Whereupon I desired my ancient companion in solicitation, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower the doctor, John Taylor of York, my late brother-in-law, and our friend Daniel Quare, to go with me, or accompany me to the king, and they were all willing, as I believed they would. Daniel Quare being known to the king, which the rest of us then were not, we sent him in, to procure our access into his presence. The king inquired of him who we were, and in what station or places among our people? Daniel told him we were ministers and elders.

The king then sent for us into a little private apartment, or room, where he was alone, and I presented our case, which I desired him favourably to accept, which he did. He inquired of us, what places we belonged to, or to what congregations we did minister? Which gave me good occasion to answer him, That we were not settled as ministers or pastors over any particular congregations, but visited our friends' meetings in divers places, as the Lord inclined us. For we do not make a gain of our ministry; we do not take stipends or hire for preaching; but preach the gospel freely, according to Christ's command to his ministers, Freely ye have received, freely give. The king gave no reply, but appeared very serious, and satisfied with my answer.

I proffered to read our case to him; he said nay, he would read it himself; seeming rather willing to hear us in discourse than read at that time.

I thereupon acquainted him, that the chief of our friends' suffering then was, because they cannot make their answers to the priests' suits for tithes upon oath, which for conscience sake they refused in any case; and no less for conscience sake do they refuse the payment of tithes; whereby the priests take great advantage against our friends, to run them to contempts and imprisonments, and to make seizures upon their goods and estates. Wherefore we had applied to the Parliament for relief in the case of oaths, that they might not be imposed upon us in any case; we offering to submit to the penalty of perjury in case any of us were found false or corrupt in our evidence or testimonies given without oath. But our applications to the Parliament have not taken effect as desired, being sometimes prorogued or otherwise dismissed, before we could get our case through both Houses.

This our case of conscience in refusing to swear, I told the king, is the same with the people's called Menists in the low countries, as it was a matter of conscience to them; to whom his predecessors gave liberty, that their word, in attesting the truth in courts, might be accepted instead of an oath, which is what we desire: and therefore when we saw it a season to apply again to the Parliament for relief in this case, I desired the king to stand our friend, and favourably to recommend our case to some leading members of Parliament; which he seriously promised he would do.

And accordingly he did perform his promise, as we had account from some of the noted friendly members of Parliament, one of whom in particular, told me he was present with the king and one of the House of Lords,

and heard them discourse about the Quakers; and how the king pleaded on their behalf, contrary to some objections that lord made against them; which was, That they were against, or disaffected to the government. And that the king answered him, "My Lord, I am not of your opinion; for there is an honest people among them." Thus much I very well remember the said member, sir John Austin, told me.

When I answered the king in several things before mentioned, relating to our conscience and Christian testimony, he made this objection, viz: "You are a divided people." I told him, No; as we are a people, we are not divided, but in union: although there are some who have separated or gone out from us, and therefore are not of us; as there were of old, some who separated and went out from the primitive Christians. And although some are gone out, separated or revolted from us, yet we remain a people in unity, i. e., of the same faith and profession. To which our friend John Taylor, added, "Such as turned into separation or division from us, were some disorderly persons, who therefore were denied by us; or to that very effect." And I further added, That I had known the people called Quakers from the first; and, as a people, they were still the same, as to faith and principle, which allows not of division or separation in our Christian society, and not a people divided.

The king replied to this effect, viz: "But some among you are disaffected to the government."

I answered, It is a hard matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons, without some overt act. We do not know that any of our friends have manifested disaffection to the government; for if we did certainly know that any of those in communion with us, should by any overt act, in word or deed, show any disaffection to the present government, we should certainly disown them therein, and give testimony against them. It is true, we have of late been aspersed and misrepresented with such nicknames, as Meadites and Pennites, as if we set up sect masters among us, yet own no such thing; but Christ Jesus to be our only master, as we are a Christian society and people. The king appeared well satisfied with my answer, and with the rest of our discourse, being very serious in his attention to the matters proposed unto him.

I had very great satisfaction and freedom of spirit, to open divers weighty matters relating to our principles and testimony; and the more, because he was seriously attentive to hear and receive information concerning us.

Near the conclusion I proposed to the king, that inasmuch as the Lord Keeper, viz: the Lord Sommers, knew the laws, and how far the king might safely extend his prerogative, particularly in the case we had delivered, if he pleased, we would deliver him a copy thereof, that he might be the better prepared to give advice in our case, what way the king might release our friends, who were prisoners upon contempts, as set forth in the said case. The king answered, "You may deliver it to him; for I will speak with my Lord Keeper about it." After our humble and grateful acknowledgment for the king's kindness to us and our suffering friends, we withdrew.

It was the next day, or soon after we had been with the king, that our friend John Edge, went with me to the said Lord Keeper with a copy of the case we had presented to the king, which I thus introduced when I gave it. I told him we had presented the case to the king, and having heard a good character of thyself, I being then little acquainted with him, we made bold to mention thee to the king, for counsel in this case, how our friends, who are prisoners upon contempts, might be released: and the king told us he would speak with the Lord Keeper about it.

The Lord Keeper took it kindly of us, showing not only his own willingness and desire our suffering friends should be released, and enjoy their liberties, but also freely signified to us, that the king was really for liberty of conscience to dissenters, and that it was his real principle; which we were very glad to hear from him, being a person of honour and credit.

A copy of the aforesaid case, which was delivered to the king and the Lord Keeper, follows.

TO THE KING.

The case and request of the peaceable people commonly called Quakers, in behalf of many of them who are present sufferers for conscience sake, humbly presented.

Showing,

That as the God of all our mercies hath preserved us a peaceable and quiet people in the land, according to our Christian principle and profession, under the various revolutions of government; so we humbly hope and resolve, by his divine assistance, ever so to continue; being heartily thankful for the several kindnesses and compassions received from the government; especially for the present liberty we now by law enjoy, in point of religious worship.

Yet forasmuch as many of the said people are continued under deep sufferings in their persons and estates, by tedious imprisonments,

seizures and sequestrations; divers also of late having died in prisons, and many more under prosecution, and liable so to suffer in England and Wales; tending to the ruin of many families, for these cases of conscience, viz: chiefly on contempts, as adjudged, for not answering upon oath, in cases of tithes when sued in the exchequer, and also for not answering upon oath when prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, for tithes, church rates, &c. Whereupon they proceed to excommunication, and by *significavit* procure writs *de excom. cap.*, and sometimes justices' warrants to imprisonment.

We therefore humbly remind the king, that the great severities and persecutions formerly inflicted on us, were sometimes abated and respited, when it pleased God to move the heart of the kings and governments to show some compassion and favour to us; whereof these are some instances, viz:

1. By king Charles the second's proclamation of grace in 1661, whereby many of our friends were released and freed out of prisons.

2. By his letters patent, or pardon, in 1672, pursuant to his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences in the same year.

3. By an act of Parliament, 25 Car. 2, chap. 5, entitled, An Act for the king's majesty's most gracious and general pardon, pardoning contempts, &c. against the king, whereby many also of the said people were discharged and released out of prisons.

4. Also by king James the second, many were released out of prisons, and relieved by divers commissions, and two general proclamation pardons, the one in 1685, and the other in 1688.

5. And also by an act of gracious, general, and free pardon, in the second year of king William and queen Mary, several were discharged from contempts and imprisonments.

6. And by thy late consort the queen, on application made to her in thy absence, a poor innocent woman, who had been long prisoner at Lancaster, upon a fine, was released; which as an intimation of the queen's tender and merciful disposition, we very thankfully acknowledged; as we do also very kindly acknowledge the king's late favourable inclination, to discharge two of our friends, prisoners on fines in Westmoreland, upon a petition presented by our friend Daniel Quare.

These noted precedents of favour and compassion to the oppressed, and the present confinements and hardships of many innocent persons tenderly considered;

We the said people humbly request that the king would be pleased to extend his favour and compassion towards the said sufferers,

for their lawful ease and relief from their present confinements, prisons and hardships, either by proclamation or otherwise, as in his wisdom and clemency shall seem most meet and convenient.

This case was presented to king William the third, the 2nd day of the second month, 1695, by George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor and Daniel Quare; and was favourably accepted.

In a very short time after the aforesaid case of our then suffering friends, prisoners, was presented to the king and Lord Keeper, there came out an act of grace by the king and Parliament, in the year 1695, entitled, Pardoning contempts, &c. Whereupon about forty of our friends were discharged out of prisons.

As to our endeavours with the Parliament for relief in the case of oaths, from the imposition thereof; I saw it very meet and requisite that I should give some account, having been greatly concerned to assist friends in that weighty case, wherein some of us innocently laboured early and late, in solicitation.

1. To bring the members of Parliament to a right understanding of our case, as it is a case of conscience toward our Lord Jesus Christ, that we are under his express prohibition and command, not to swear at all, or in any case.

2. To show them the great necessity of affording some relief to us in this case, from the hardships, oppressions and disappointments that many suffered, because for conscience sake they could not swear or take an oath, either to relieve themselves or neighbours.

3. Our case and petition to the Parliament, and a copy of the bill, as it passed the House of Commons, and how the *solemn affirmation* was formed and passed the House of Lords, are fairly stated and related in the ensuing collection.

The suffering case of the people commonly called Quakers, relating to oaths and swearing, humbly offered.

It is not unknown to this nation, that ever since we were a people, it hath been our principle not to swear, make or take oaths, which He who is the searcher of all hearts knows, is no other than a case of pure conscience, in tender obedience to the mind of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as we are fully persuaded, according as many eminent martyrs and men of wisdom and renown were, who testified against oaths and swearing in the gospel day, and not any obstinacy, disaffection or

worldly interest whatsoever on our parts. We are really willing and desirous to answer the just and good ends of law and government, as a peaceable people fearing God; and for this cause of not swearing, we have been exposed to great sufferings and inconveniences, in our persons and estates, by tedious imprisonments, and disabled from receiving our due debts, or defending our just titles and properties; not suffered to give evidence in courts of judicature at common or civil law, nor to answer in chancery or exchequer, prove wills and testaments, or take administrations, or to proceed in our trades at Custom house, or be admitted to our lands, or trusted in our duties and services in Courts leet, and Courts baron, but great advantage is taken against us, because we so fear an oath, as that we dare not swear. For this cause also, our children and young men are not allowed their freedoms in cities or corporations, when they have faithfully served out their apprenticeships, nor admitted to give our voices in elections of magistrates and Parliament members in divers places, though known to have right thereunto as freeholders, &c.

Wherefore our request is, that in all cases where oaths are imposed, and swearing required, our word, that is, our solemn affirmation or denial, as in the fear and presence of God, may be accepted instead of an oath, for which we humbly offer and freely submit, that if any under the same profession among us break their word, or be found false in such their affirmation or denial, or guilty of falsehood in any unsworn testimony, evidence, or answers, that then such penalty be inflicted on the person so offending, as law and justice require in case of false swearing or perjury.

To the respective members of the House of Commons, the humble application of the people commonly called Quakers.

We the said people, being a member of that body which you represent, and concerned in trade and industry, and employing many poor in the manufactories of this nation; as also in contributing to the charge of the government, according to our abilities; do desire and humbly crave that our liberties, rights and properties, may be secured to us and ours; that we may no longer be exposed to unjust and vexatious suits, nor be a prey to ill-disposed persons, who take advantage against us, to prosecute and ruin us, merely because in point of tender conscience, we dare not swear in any case; which is in obedience to the command of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as we verily believe is our duty in this gospel day; but hold our-

selves obliged to declare and testify the truth without oath, in cases wherein our answers and testimonies may be required.

Wherefore we humbly entreat your Christian compassion in your favourable acceptance of our petition, which is, for leave to bring in a bill for our relief; and so to consider our suffering case, as if it were your own, and you in our stead; that we and our posterities may have cause to bless the Lord on your behalf.

To the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled: the humble petition of the people called Quakers.

Showeth,

Our many, long and renewed sufferings for not swearing, we hope may give satisfaction to this nation, that it is purely our conscientious and religious principle not to swear in any case, in tender obedience to the command of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as we are fully persuaded; and according to the example of many eminent martyrs and men of holiness, wisdom and renown, who testified against oaths and swearing in the gospel day. Nevertheless we have been, and yet are, exposed in our persons to tedious imprisonments, in our estates to sequestrations and seizures, disabled from defending our just titles and properties, recovering our due debts, or helping others in like cases, and to many unjust and vexatious suits.

Wherefore, the power of relieving us by law, from these our grievances and hardships resting in the king and Parliament, our humble request is, that you will favourably please to give leave to bring in a bill, that our solemn affirmation or denial may be accepted instead of an oath, freely submitting that whoever in this case, shall falsify the truth, and be thereof duly convicted, shall undergo like pains and penalties, as in law and justice are due unto perjured persons.

This petition was agreed to and signed by the friends following, viz:

John Staploe, John Harwood, William Bingley, Walter Benshall, Jo. Hall, George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Gilbert Latey, William Mead, Richard Thomas, Thomas Hudson, Thomas Hart, Theodore Ecclestone, Jo. Butcher, Michael Russel, Samuel Jobson, John Hermon, Daniel Quare, John Bull, George Oldner.

Our petition, thus agreed unto, and some fair copies thereof prepared for members of parliament, we showed to many of the House of Commons. And it took us some weeks'

time in solicitation, to prepare them for our case and petition, that it might not be moved too soon or abruptly, before many of the House were well apprized and prepared. I did particularly pitch upon Edmond Waller, esquire, and engaged him to help us therein, he having then pretty great influence in the House, and being my particular acquaintance and friend: and when I had given him fully to understand our case, and what we requested, he sincerely undertook to assist us what he could, and was very helpful by solicitation and motion in the house, for our said petition, which when moved, was read on the 7th of the twelfth month, 1695, and carried by a great majority; and leave given to bring in a bill, that our solemn affirmation, and negation or denial, might be accepted instead of an oath, &c.

Whereupon many of the members came out to us with great joy, love and tenderness also, and showed their satisfaction, that they had so well gained the point for us.

Leave, as before, being given to bring in a bill for our relief, according to our petition, several draughts were prepared; the first by counsellor Conyers, which was something large and long, yet he took some pains in it, to answer what we requested in our petition, particularly about our solemn affirmation, &c., to be accepted instead of taking an oath, and to exempt us from swearing. In his bill, he stated the matter, that the Quakers should solemnly declare the truth, in like manner and form of words, as are used by all other persons who are required to declare the same, except only the attestation thereof upon oath; that is, the words, swear, and, So help me God, &c., to be omitted. But then to make our attestation, affirmation or negation, so solemn as was expected from us by the Parliament, in courts of justice, &c., it was the opinion of most of our friends in Parliament, that there must be some solemn or sacred expressions, religiously respecting God, as solemnly to declare the truth in his presence; which we durst not gainsay, lest we should be deemed atheistical; it being our principle that God is Omnipresent, and Omniscient also.

However, as in a multitude of counsel there is safety, we discoursed the point with several ingenious men of the House of Commons, that we might proceed with what safety and success we could. We went particularly to sir Francis Wynington, an ancient, able counsel, who greatly stood our friend; and we showed him counsellor Conyer's draught of the said bill, which, upon perusal, sir Francis judged much too long, and that it would be the more tedious and difficult to get it through the House into an act; adding this

reason, that it had better be too short than too long, that the committee might have the amending of it, and then they would be the more willing to pass it; whereupon he drew up a short bill, but would not insert therein the bare words, yea or nay, for attestation in courts of justice; and to offer the same in the House of Commons, in a bill for an act of Parliament, his opinion was, would be laughed at, or ridiculed and rejected.

Many others were of the same mind, that such expressions or terms must be offered in the bill, as might appear solemn or sacred, whether in affirmation or negation, as to declare, In the presence of God, to an answer or evidence, &c. Their forms of oaths and swearing having been of such long standing, and such great stress and obligation laid upon them, for many hundred years, that it was a very difficult point, and a great thing to gain any such variation or alteration from them, as conscientiously to declare or affirm, In the presence of Almighty God, instead of the imprecation oath of, So help me God; and the ceremony of handling or fingering and kissing the Bible.

To obtain such a great alteration from an oath and imprecation, to a plain, solemn affirmation, as before, was indeed a great point, as many of our friends were very sensible of, and thankful for, when it was gained.

A copy of the aforesaid bill for solemn affirmation, instead of an oath, as it was drawn up by sir Francis Wynington, corrected and passed by the House of Commons, the clause relating to tithes excepted, which was ordered by the House of Commons, and is in the printed act.

A Bill that the solemn affirmation or denial of the people called Quakers, may be accepted instead of an oath.

"Whereas divers dissenters, commonly called Quakers, refusing to take an oath in courts of justice, and other places, are frequently imprisoned, and their estates sequestered, by process of contempt issuing out of such courts, to the ruin of themselves and families.

"For remedy thereof, be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 4th day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1696, every Quaker within this realm of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, who shall be required, upon any lawful occasion, to take an oath in

any case, where, by law, an oath is required, shall, instead thereof, be permitted to make his or her solemn affirmation or declaration, In the presence of Almighty God; which said solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes, in all courts of justice and other places, where, by law an oath is required, within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, as if such Quaker had taken an oath. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any Quaker making such solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falsely and corruptly to have affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which if the same had been upon oath, would have in any case amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury; every such Quaker so offending, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures, as, by the laws and statutes of this realm are enacted, against persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury."

The bill was read the 17th of the twelfth month, Feb., 1695, the first time, and the 3rd of the first month, 1696, a second time; and committed: the same day the committee met. For its being committed, one hundred and thirty votes; against it, sixty-eight; more for it than against it, sixty-two.

The 4th of the first month, the committee met again, and passed the bill. The 10th of the first month it was ordered to be engrossed; and on the 13th the bill passed the House of Commons by one hundred and forty-six voices for it, and ninety-nine against it; forty-seven more yeas than noes; and the same day it was carried to the house of Lords, where it was read twice; but the opposition some members of that House made to us herein, occasioned our longer attendance and labour to inform them rightly of our case, and the necessity of our being relieved. Upon my reasoning with divers of the peers, who had opposed us, I so far convinced them, that they were changed in opinion concerning us, and appeared for us; insomuch, that I was daily sensible the hand of the Lord our God, that was with us in our endeavours, made way and did work for us therein. To Him be the glory of all forever.

To incline the House of Peers to grant relief from our sufferings for not swearing, our case was reprinted and presented with several reasons subjoined; and among others this following, viz:

"We also propose to your serious consideration, that this moderation to persons scrupling to swear, hath had good effects in neigh-

bouring countries, as above one hundred years experience hath manifested, in the following instance; on the 26th day of January 1577, Guillaume de Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Statholder of Holland, Zealand, &c., with the consent of the government and council, sent his mandate to the magistrates, commanding on behalf the people called Menists, who refused to swear in any case, that their yea should be accepted and taken instead of an oath, they being subject, in case of falsifying the truth, to the pains of perjury."

"In the year 1593, Prince Maurice, son of the former prince, with the consent of the States, gave forth a mandate in behalf of the Menists, to the same effect."

Upon these passages of the Menists having this liberty to be exempted from taking an oath upon their yea, there was this quotation in the margin of the second impression, viz: G. Burnet's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, part 1. page 587, 588.

Whereupon some of the temporal lords told me, that the Bishop of Salisbury had taken occasion to exclaim against the Quakers openly in the House of Lords, for falsely quoting his name as author of the said History. Whereby I was somewhat surprised, and told the Lords I would make inquiry about the mistake; and quickly searching the first impression found it to be a literal mistake of the printer; for in the first, it is G. Brant's History, not Burnet's. I went the next day, and showed the same as first printed, to two of the said Lords, i. e., the Earl of Carbery, and Earl of Marlborough, desiring them to call the said bishop out, that I might show him where the mistake was; which they did, and then I plainly showed the bishop, that it was a literal mistake of the printer; and that the Quakers could have no design to misrepresent him in the quotation; neither could the mistake be any great disparagement to him, to be rendered the author of such a noted or esteemed History of the Reformation aforesaid. And therefore I hoped he would pardon the mistake, so as not to charge us therewith, which he cheerfully granted, making then but slight thereof. Thereupon I wished him to be our friend with respect to the bill depending before the house of Lords, to relieve us from oaths, meaning, that it might be put forward and not delayed. He then objected that the name of God was not mentioned in it, viz: solemnly to bear witness in the presence of God; and if we did not allow of that, he would be against us; but if the presence of God, was in it, he promised he would be for us. I told him those solemn expressions, In the presence of God, were in the bill, as it came from the House of

Commons, I was sure ; desiring him to go in and see the bill, that he might satisfy himself of the truth thereof ; so he went into the House of Lords to see the bill, and quickly came forth again to us, standing with the two temporal lords : and he then said it was true, as I had told him, the presence of God was mentioned in the bill. The Earl of Carbery told him, "Then you were mistaken, my lord;" whereupon I said to him, I hoped he would now be for the bill, and be present on the day it was appointed, and intended to be moved in the House, to second the motion for it. He promised before the two lords he would, but did not, being absent that very day it was moved ; of which, notice was taken by them and others. Howbeit the Lord our heavenly Father stood by us and helped us, and inclined many of those in power to help forward the case, for our desirable and requested relief.

On the 15th of the second month, called April, 1696, the bill was read a second time, debated, and committed to a committee of the whole house, and then some debate held a while, chiefly about a solemn declaration instead of an oath ; some of them not being willing it should pass in those general and solemn expressions, as sent up from the House of Commons, viz ; their solemn affirmation or declaration, to be in the presence of Almighty God. But some of the bishops urging some other words to be added as, viz :

I call God to witness and judge ; As witness and judge ; I call God to record upon my soul, and appeal to God as judge, &c. These, and such like expressions, some would have had put in the bill, instead of the usual oaths.

Whereupon divers of the temporal lords came out several times, we waiting at several doors and ways into the House of Lords, to discourse about those words, which some of the bishops would have had put upon us ; to all which, as I told some of them at first, our soliciting and petitioning to be freed from the imposition and burden of all oaths, was not to have any new oath imposed upon us ; for if there be any imprecation, appealing to, or invoking God as judge or avenger, it would be construed to be an oath, or the nature of an oath. Upon which, and the like exceptions, some of those lords who were the most friendly to us, returned into the House, to discourse further with the bishops. When they perceived how tender and careful we were, not to be imposed upon in any thing contrary to our consciences ; after they had further discoursed in the committee with those bishops, they came out again to us in the lobby, where a few of us were attending, under a true Christian care and fear towards

Almighty God. And those lords who came out to us, and showed most care and kindness to us, urged, that in as much as the bishops were caught upon these words to be added to the word [God] viz ; The witness of the truth of what I say, as containing no imprecation or invocation of God, as judge or avenger, we would admit of the addition, rather than lose our bill, or have it thrown out ; for as much as God is really witness to the truth sincerely declared, he being Omniscient as well as Omnipresent. Then seeing the bishops were argued out of their first proposition, of calling God to witness and judge, &c., the matter was left to those who appeared our friends and were really kind to us, with this caution not to exceed these words, which they had obtained concession to, viz : the witness of the truth. Whereupon they constrained the bishops, so as not to exceed them, by any imprecation, invocation, or appeal to God, as judge, avenger, &c.

After report made of their amendments by the committee of the lords' House, the bill was passed, with the following form of a solemn affirmation inserted in it, and agreed to by the House of Peers, viz ; I A. B. do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say.

With some few additions in the bill not very material, they returned it to the House of Commons, which, on the 17th of the said second month called April, agreed to the lords' amendments, and on the 20th of the same month, the bill was sent up and carried again to the House of Peers, agreed on, concluded, and confirmed by the king and both Houses of Parliament, as a temporary act, then to continue in force for seven years from the 14th of May, 1696, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament, according to the words of the act. It was renewed again for eleven years, beginning the 22nd of November, 1702 ; at which time not being well in health, I could be but little with the other friends in their attendance on the Parliament in that concern.

There was a bill entitled, An Act for the better payment of church rates, small tithes, and other church duties, and the better passing church wardens' accounts : which bill the Bishop of London endeavoured to promote in the House of Lords, in November, 1689, grounding the same partly upon the statute of 32 Henry VIII., chap. 7.

We having beforehand obtained a copy of the said bill, or heads thereof, and previous notice of the day appointed for a committee of the lords to sit about the said bill, I prepared some few exceptions, to show how injurious it would be, if passed into an act ; and

how repugnant to common law and justice, and the rights and properties of the subject.

In the first place it is meet to recite some heads and clauses of the said bill, which follow, viz :

Preamble.—Forasmuch as the fabrics of divers parochial churches and chapels, and the value of poor vicarages, within this realm, are daily growing into great decay, because very many persons do refuse to pay their church rates, small tithes, and other ecclesiastical duties and charges. And whereas by a statute made in the two and thirtieth year of king Henry the eighth, chap. 7, entitled, An Act how tithes ought to be paid, and how to be recovered being not paid, it is enacted, That if any person or persons, after definitive sentence given against them, in the court ecclesiastical, obstinately and wilfully refuse to pay their tithes, or such sums of money adjudged, wherein they are condemned for the same; that then two justices of the peace for the same shire where the person condemned doth inhabit, shall have authority upon information, certificate, or complaint to them made by writing by the ecclesiastical judge, that gave the same sentence, to cause the same party so refusing to be attached and committed to the next jail, and there to remain without bail or mainprize, till he or they find sufficient sureties to be bound by recognizance, or otherwise, before the same justices, to the use of our sovereign lord the king, to perform the said definitive sentence and judgment, as by the said act, relation being thereunto had, more at large appeareth.

Be it now enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if hereafter any suit, or complaint shall be brought, in any court ecclesiastical, concerning church-rates, small tithes, or offerings, oblations, obventions, or other church-duties to the clerk, or sexton of the parish, or touching the passing, or refusing to pass churchwardens' accounts, and paying over the remainder to the churchwardens that shall succeed; the ecclesiastical judge, in all and every such suit, and for, and concerning all and every of the causes aforesaid, shall have power to call both the parties before him: And in case any party so called, and being duly summoned, shall contumaciously absent himself for the space of one calendar month, after the return of such summons; that in such cases, it shall and may be lawful for the ecclesiastical judge, to declare the party so called or summoned, to be taken *pro con-*

fesso; and if both parties shall appear, then the said judge shall, and may hear and examine the matter summarily, according to the course and process of the said ecclesiastical law, and to examine witnesses upon oath *viva voce*. And having heard and examined the whole matter, or in case of either of the parties contumaciously absenting as aforesaid, and being declared *pro confesso*, the said ecclesiastical judge shall by interlocutory decree, order, judge and determine the same, as well principal as costs, and monish the party condemned, to pay and satisfy the same accordingly. Which if any person or persons being so monished, shall neglect or refuse to do, or perform, the said judge his order or judgment, then the ecclesiastical judge shall certify two of the justices of the peace of the same county, and the said justices shall issue out their warrant to distrain the goods of such person or persons, against whom such judgment is past; and in case no distress can be found, then the same remedy shall be had and used in every of the said causes, as by the fore-recited Act is given and provided in the cases of tithes.

And be it further enacted, by, &c. That if any party or witness being duly cited, shall not appear in court, but contumaciously absent themselves, it shall, and may be lawful upon like certificate to two justices of peace, to issue out warrant for the attachment of such party or witnesses, and for his commitment to prison, there to remain until sufficient surety be given to the king, to make his appearance in court to which he was cited.

Provided also, that if the party sued for any of the causes in this Act specified, shall during the suit, or after sentence, go into any other county, than that wherein the cause is commenced or depending, that the ordinary before whom such cause shall be brought, shall (at the instance of the party who has obtained judgment, &c.) under his seal of office, make information and request touching the premises to any two justices of the peace of the county where such person shall be and reside, who are hereby empowered to attach such person, and to commit to prison without bail or mainprize, till the said person shall give in security to stand by, and make good the orders and decrees of the ordinary in such cause, or to cause the goods of such party to be distrained, as is above enacted.

Provided nevertheless, that if the ordinary for the time being, shall be in the commission of the peace in that county, where the complaint lies for any of the causes in this Act specified, he shall be, and is by this present statute empowered to act after the same manner, and to the same effects and purposes in

law, as the justices of the peace upon information, or request to them made by the ordinary might have done, or may do by virtue of this statute.

An account of the substance of what was pleaded before the committee of lords, against the said bill, the 14th day of the ninth month 1689. With some remarks thereupon added, by George Whitehead.

Present in the committee,—the Bishop of London, chairman, the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Mulgrove, Earl of Suffolk, Earl of Craven, Earl of Kingstone. After discourse, came in the Earl of Stamford, and the Duke of Bolton.

The friends who appeared before the committee,—G. Whitehead, J. Vaughton, T. Ecclestone, J. Fiddeman, W. Bingley, T. B——Jo. Edge, J. Hall.

We being on our request admitted to appear before the said committee, and permitted to signify what reason we had to except against the bill aforesaid, and the Bishop putting the question; I answered, the same reason that is given in the Act of Parliament, in the 17th of king Charles the first, for the taking away the court commonly called the Star-chamber and the power of the ecclesiastical commissioners and their high commission court, being removed, because of their oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, upon the repeal of a branch of a statute Primo Elizabeth, concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, 17 Car: 1 cap. 10 and 11. It is conceived, with submission, that the same reasons may be alledged against the present bill, giving such absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts, their judges and ordinaries, to give definitive sentence and judgment as therein described.

Bishop. You except against the bill itself. What particulars do you object against?

George Whitehead. Observing divers particular clauses therein, it appears contrary to the great charter of England, i. e. *Magna Charta*, as the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the Star-chamber and High-Commission court were judged to be, and therefore they and their power or jurisdiction which they exercised, were justly taken away from them.

By the present bill, the ecclesiastical judge or ordinary, is made the sole judge and determiner by his definitive sentence, concerning the penalties upon the persons and estates, and no appeal to any other or higher court, seems to be granted or allowed by it.

The ecclesiastical judge and court, commonly favour the plaintiff, i. e. the Vicar,

Priest, or Curate, as a party for him, and therefore appear not to be impartial judges in the case.

And suppose the defendant be sued for a tithe-pig, goose or hen, or a little orchard fruit, i. e. a few apples, pears, plums or cherries, or the value thereof, and the party for conscience sake cannot pay the same, then must he or she be committed to prison for it? Surely there is no proportion between the punishment and the pretended offence, whereas punishments ought not to exceed the nature of the offence. They should be adapted to the quality and quantity of the offence, as it is a maxim in common law and justice, and in *Magna Charta*, for a greater offence, a greater amercement; and for a lesser offence, a lesser amercement. But if a person for conscience sake cannot pay a tithe-pig, or goose, &c. the ecclesiastical court, judge or ordinary, by their certificate, will cause two justices to commit the person to jail, there to remain perhaps without bail or mainprize, until the court receive satisfaction, or until payment; which if he can never do, there he must remain under confinement till death, and his days may be soon shortened thereby, as many have been, by close confinement, causing sickness. How unchristian, as well as inhuman and unjust is it, thus to prefer a tithe-pig, &c. before a man's liberty, health or life!

One of the committee queried, which would you have then? Do you choose rather to have your goods seized or distrained, than imprisonment of your persons?

George Whitehead answered, of two evils we had better suffer by the less, yet choose neither. If we must suffer for non-payment of tithes, we would rather suffer the less penalty than the greater; rather loss of goods than our liberties; as it is a more easy suffering, to have the small tithes or a tenth taken away, than to be confined in prison all our life time.

As to paying parish-clerks, or sextons, or to the fabrics of parochial churches, (so the bishop termed them) we do not think it equal we should suffer for not paying to them, whom we do not employ; and we do not require any of the church of England to pay toward the repair of our meeting-houses; they would not be so dealt by.

The Bishop reflected, viz. what, then, you compare your meeting-houses to ours, which are established by law. I replied, we are thankful to the government, ours are now legally allowed by the late Act of exemption, or toleration, &c.

If any party or witnesses cited to appear in the ecclesiastical court, and absenting, must

incur imprisonment, upon certificate from the same court, judge or ordinary thereof, may not this tend to force some persons to be informers against their honest neighbours?

And do not the courts ecclesiastical, their ordinaries and judges, render themselves voluntary informers, as well as severe judges, if by their certificates to justices of peace, they should cause the justices to be the executioners of their definitive sentences, decrees or judgments, to imprisonment of men's persons; or taking away their goods?

Does not this bill exceed the Stat. of 32 H. 8. cap. 7, in severity, and allow a greater and more absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts over men's persons and properties, than ever they had since the times of popery, excepting that of the Star-chamber, and ecclesiastical commissioners, or high-commission court, before mentioned? Both taken away and made void in the seventeenth year of king Charles I. cap. 10 and 11. An appeal being also admitted upon condition by the Stat. 32 H. 8. c. 7. quoted, yet none by this bill, but sureties required to satisfy the definitive sentence and judgment of the court.

One of the lords temporal of the said committee, put this question to us, viz: But what reason have you in point of conscience, for your refusing to pay tithes?

I answered, that is a serious and weighty question, and deserves such an answer, viz: The reason of our conscience in this case, is grounded upon, and has respect unto our Lord Jesus Christ's command in his commission to his ministers, freely ye have received, freely give, Mat. x. And to his changing the priesthood of Levi, and disannulling the commandment and their law for tithes, as is fully signified in the seventh chapter to the Hebrews. Therefore Christ's ministry is a free ministry, under the gospel dispensation, and not to be upheld by tithes, or forced maintenance; and it is very manifest, that Christ changed the priesthood from the tribe of Levi to himself, as our great High-Priest, who came not of the tribe of Levi, but of the tribe of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood; Heb. vii. 14.

And our refusing to pay tithes for conscience sake, in these respects, in this gospel day, and for these reasons, under the gospel dispensation, is no new or strange thing; for many eminent martyrs and reformers were of the same judgment with us in this matter, or testimony against tithes, in this dispensation.

And as I was then beginning to mention some of those martyrs, &c. as William Thorp, Walter Bruce, John Wickliff, &c. the said Bishop being chairman, was pleased to interrupt me from proceeding further in my instan-

ces, and thus reflecting turned upon me, viz. Here you bring scraps of scripture, but we have scripture as well as you, viz: If we have sown unto you spiritual things, should not we reap of your temporal, or carnal things. And the Lord hath ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel, &c.

Ans. Reaping temporal things, or living of the gospel, is not limited to tithes. Here I was interrupted and prevented from further discourse against tithes.

The Bishop asked us, viz: Have you any exceptions or reasons to offer in writing? I answered, yes, we have, which we then delivered to the clerk, John Relph, Esq. to read; which he did very distinctly, and no reply was given; but the Bishop directed him to lay them by for further consideration, or to that effect. But we heard of no further consideration, or debate about the said bill, in the House of Lords, but that it was wholly laid aside.

The temporal lords, who were present in said committee, were very civil to us, and after that discourse, divers of them appeared more kind to us than ever before.

I was very glad and esteemed it a great mercy from the Lord to us, that the said bill was stopt and laid aside; for if it had been gotten into an act, or law, I was persuaded that the priests of the persecuting sort, would have taken such strength and encouragement thereby, that they would have persecuted and imprisoned a great part of our friends throughout England, &c.

Blessed be the Lord, they were disappointed, that that weapon was not formed ready to be put into their hands, or power to make use of.

Exceptions against the Bill, entitled An Act for the better payment of Church-rates, Small Tithes, and other Church-duties; and for better passing Church Wardens accounts; humbly offered.

It is observed,

That in the said bill, no appeal to any other, or higher court is granted, or provision made for redress, or restitution to the persons wrongfully prosecuted; nor for the punishment of such as may maliciously or wrongfully prosecute others: but the ecclesiastical judge is made the sole judge and determiner, by his definitive sentence, concerning the penalties upon the persons and personal estates.

No trial by juries is allowed, although the penalty seems to be two-fold, or of two kinds, imprisonment of person and distress of goods.

No discharge of the prisoner is provided, when distress is made. Doth not this amount

to two punishments, for one supposed offence, that is, loss of liberty, and loss of goods,* tending to starve the poor wife and children at home.

No legal excuse is admitted or provided for the party cited, summoned, or prosecuted, suppose he be gone a long journey, or otherwise unavoidably prevented by his emergent occasions from appearing, but he must be taken *pro confesso*, which is to condemn him without hearing.

The penalty is the same for not paying the clerks or sexton, or church-rates, as it is for not paying small tithes. Query, how can this be equal, or bear proportion? May not this increase our trouble and sufferings, by thus giving power to so many and such prosecutors, as clerks and sextons, &c. and on such small accounts as theirs?

Any party, or witness cited to appear in the ecclesiastical court, are liable to imprisonment upon certificate from the said court, which is, or may be very hard, especially as to our friends, who cannot, for conscience sake, swear in any case.

Whether this bill does not exceed the Stat. 32. H. 8. c. 7., in severity, and give greater and more absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts over men's persons and properties, than ever they had, excepting the power of the Star-chamber, and the ecclesiastical commissioners, or high commission-court, which was taken away, repealed, and made void, 17 Car. 1. chap 10, 11.

An appeal seems allowed, Stat. 32. H. 8. chap. 7., but there is none in this bill.

Imprisonment till sureties to perform the definitive sentence and judgment of the court ecclesiastical, but no distress of goods in the interim, by the said Stat. 32. H. 8. c. 7, which yet is very hard and severe of itself.

It is also with submission conceived, that other reasons against this bill may be duly alledged, and such as formerly did legally and justly induce the Parliament to repeal the Statute made the 11th year of king Henry VII. ch. 3, which was repealed in the first year of king Henry the VIII. ch. 6. Vide Chief Justice Coke's Institutes, part 4, fol. 40, 41, and second part, fol. 51. where Rd. Empson, and Edmund Dudley's arbitrary proceedings thereupon, are discovered and condemned; as well as the said court of the Star-chamber, and the power of the high commission court, were taken away by king and Parliament, as before quoted.

It is conceived, that the same reasons for

removing those courts, and the repeal of the branch of the said Stat. 1 Eliz. (which gave them their power and jurisdiction) stand good against the present bill, as being contrary to the great charter, and common course of justice, by giving such absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts and their judges, to determine and give definitive sentence and judgment upon subject's personal estates, or goods and chattels, and for confinements of persons; which tends greatly to oppress, burthen, and ruin them.

Lastly, the liberty of conscience already confirmed by law, may greatly be infringed and lessened, if the ecclesiastical judges, or courts, have such absolute power and jurisdiction given them over men's persons and properties, according to the import of the present bill; which it is really believed, must needs greatly dissatisfy many thousands of the king's conscientious protestant subjects, and increase the number of prisoners, of whom there are many on the account of conscience already.

There was a suffering case and complaint of some of the people called Quakers, concerning an undue execution of the late Poll-acts, by distraining the goods of certain persons, as preachers, or ministers, for twenty shillings quarterly, who had no contributions or wages for preaching; with some reasons against such execution, humbly presented in print to the members of Parliament, requesting the prevention of the like suffering for the future.

There being a clause in a late Poll-act, which runs thus, viz: Every clergyman not being a lord spiritual, having or receiving, in or by, any benefice or contribution or otherwise, sixty pounds by the year, or upwards; and every preacher or teacher, in any congregation whatsoever, not having taken orders according to the discipline of the Church of England, other than French Protestants, shall be charged, and pay twenty shillings quarterly.

These last words relating to every preacher or teacher, being general and without limitation, or mention made of any profits or contribution received by such preachers, proportionable to raise such tax upon, advantage has been taken thence, on a literal construction by some commissioners and assessors, to extend the same to the great injury of divers persons, as preachers among the said people, who have no profits, gain, or contribution at all, on that account. Which severity we conceive to be both contrary to the just intention of the Parliament, and to the equity, tenor, and coherence of the said act in its other parts.

Of which said suffering in this case, by

* Some have suffered by imprisonments and sequestrations, being excommunicated, &c.

execution of the said Poll-act, about thirty instances of sufferers were subjoined for proof.

When the said Poll-act was near expiring, the Parliament ordered a new one to be drawn up, or the old one renewed in the year 1695, and many of our friends were still liable to suffer, as before they did, upon the old Poll-act, (the same clause being recited in the bill for the new one) some of us, particularly Thomas Lower and myself, renewed the remembrance of our said suffering case and complaint, to divers eminent leading members of Parliament, and acquainted them how undeservedly many of our friends had suffered as preachers, by a mal-administration of the said Poll-act, when they have no profits, gain, or contribution at all on that account. We convinced some of them how incoherent it was to the tenor and equity of the said act, that persons that had no gain or profit for preaching, should have a tax of four pound per annum laid upon each of them, equal to a clergyman, having, or receiving sixty pound per annum, or upwards. Whereupon I proposed a brief emendation to the aforesaid clause, in order to defend our friends from the undue imposition of the tax as preachers, and for prevention of the like suffering for the future.

The amendment I offered to be inserted in the bill and clause following was this, viz.

And every teacher or preacher in any congregation whatsoever, (receiving ten pounds per annum, or upwards) not having taken orders, according to the discipline of the Church of England, (other than French Protestants) shall pay twenty shillings quarterly, at the several days before mentioned; and none of the said last mentioned persons so charged, to be further charged, or pay as a gentleman, or reputed gentleman.

The words I proposed to be inserted in the said clause, (viz. receiving ten pounds per annum, or upward) I desired them to insert in the bill before it was enacted, and some leading members were quickly convinced of the reasonableness thereof, as William Lownds, Esq., who drew up the bill, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and divers others, to whom I applied particularly.

I proposing ten pounds per annum, in relation to dissenting preachers, though that might seem to pinch harder upon us than other preachers, who as teachers or preachers, receive sixty pounds or upward per annum, and might better pay twenty shillings quarterly, than we who receive no contributions, wages, or profits, for preaching or teaching; yet considering how clear our ministers are in this case, from making the gospel chargeable, and how free they are from making a gain of their

hearers for preaching to them; it being our principle and practice to preach the gospel freely, as Christ our Lord commanded, and not for any worldly profits, or filthy lucre, I was the more ready to offer what I did then in this case, in order to give the design of charging any of us as preachers, a short turn, that we might not have twenty shillings quarterly imposed upon us, for teaching, or preaching the gospel freely, as we do.

My said proposal for an emendation being approved of as reasonable, took such effect, that our ministers were not taxed in that last Poll-act, 9th and 10th W. 3. 1695. Nor did they suffer thereupon, as many of them had before upon the other Poll-act.

I was still thankful to the Lord our God, when I was in any measure instrumental in obtaining some ease to our friends and brethren, or in preventing further oppressions and sufferings, which they might be liable to, by undue or mal-administration, if not timely prevented.

To the Czar of Muscovy, when in England. A salutation of Christian love, from certain persons commonly called Quakers.

May it please thee, O great Czar!

We heartily wish thee tranquillity, health and happiness in this life and that which is to come, having true love and good will to thee, and all people in thy dominions.

We are a people loving and fearing the Most High God, who rules in the kingdoms of men: and because we have trembled at his word and power, as his prophets and servants of old did, being humbled under his mighty hand, we are commonly called Quakers, though under the sincere profession of Christ Jesus, in the life and purity thereof, worshipping the true God in the Spirit, and having no confidence in the flesh. In the love of our God, we give thee this good and necessary counsel, viz:

Do thou love and fear the Lord God, who is thy Maker and Preserver, who giveth life, breath, and being to all mankind. O, fear to offend him; he hath extended great love to thee and all men, in sending his dear Son, Jesus Christ, a light into the world, and in giving all men light and grace to guide them in his way of truth, righteousness and peace, unto everlasting salvation and felicity.* And it is by Him, who is the wisdom and power of God, that kings reign and princes decree justice: and they, as well as all other men, are accountable to the just and holy, and all-

* John i. 4, 9, John iii. 16, 19, John viii. 12, John xii. 46, Acts xii. 47, Luke i. 75, 79, Luke ii. 32, Ephesians iv. 7.

seeing God, for all their ways and actions, and by him must be rewarded accordingly: and know, that he who ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and then he shall be as the morning without clouds, when the sun riseth.

Oh! Czar! The great God requireth of thee, to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before Him, who is a God of knowledge, and by whom actions are weighed, and who is the righteous Judge of all.

We pray thee, observe the good resolution of that great king Artaxerxes, when he was made lord over many nations, he would not exalt himself by reason of his power, but proposed with equity and gentleness, always to govern his subjects, and wholly to set them into a peaceable life, and thereby to bring his kingdom into tranquillity.

And know, that it is by mercy and truth that the thrones of kings are established, and that thereby thou mayest obtain mercy and favour with the Most High God, and gain the real love and affections of thy subjects. O be tender and merciful to them all, as they are all thy fellow creatures, created by one God: break off thy sins by righteousness and showing mercy to the poor.

And let the example of our renowned king William, influence thee to the like moderation and clemency throughout all thy dominions, which he hath showed, in granting free liberty of conscience, in the peaceable exercise of religion and worship towards Almighty God, as they may be persuaded by him who is the Sovereign Lord over the consciences of men.

From thy real well-wishers, and friends to thy immortal soul, who desire thy everlasting happiness. Signed,

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,
THOMAS LOWER,
JOHN VAUGHTON,
WILLIAM PENN,
FRANCIS CAMFIELD.

London, the 23rd of the Twelfth
month, 1697-8.

When it was agreed among friends that some of us should visit the Czar, the contents of the foregoing paper were presented to my view, as very meet to visit him with such a just Christian testimony; and I had true ease and satisfaction in spirit, in drawing up the same; yet it was some time before we could pitch upon an opportunity to go to him, in order to visit him, as I find, it was in the second month, called April, 1698, 5th day, that we took boat in the morning for Deptford, where the Czar then had his palace. When we came, we sent up to him in his chamber, to know his pleasure, if he would admit us into

his presence to speak with him, and we waited for his answer; which, when it came, was of this import, That it was not meet to speak with him at that time, he was not well, or under some indisposition of body, or the like. We understood the meaning thereof, as what such great persons are incident to, who do not keep within the bounds of temperance and moderation, in their manner and course of living.

Seeing we could not then be admitted to speak with the Czar himself, we declared the intention of our coming to a great person or prince, who attended him, and left our paper with him to deliver to the emperor, which he seriously promised us he would do; who appeared a very fair, discreet man. So not doubting but the emperor would have our paper safely delivered him, and a fair account of us, we returned in peace.

There were some priests in the county of Norfolk, who appeared very invidious against us and our liberty of religious exercise, being instigated by our old apostate and adversary, Francis Bugg, having what assistance he could afford them, they must needs have a public meeting with some of our friends at West Deerham, in their parish church, so called, where some of our friends of London and of the country, met them at the time appointed; and though the priests had gotten many of our friends' books together, and endeavoured to render them obnoxious, yet they gained no advantage against them, but were disappointed of their evil designs; which were for some pretence to incense the people and the government to raise a new persecution against us, as hereafter is made more obvious. I intended to go that journey into Norfolk, to meet them, but was prevented by a sudden indisposition and weakness of body, which remained for some days, till the Lord was pleased to recover me.

However, the said Norfolk priests, in pursuit of their invidious designs and attempts, published two calumnious books, entitled,

1. A Brief Discovery, &c.

2. Some few of the Quakers' many horrid Blasphemies, &c.; which they delivered to the Parliament: the priests chiefly concerned against us in the said books, that they might appear men of note and learning, gave their names and distinctions in the title page of their said Brief Discovery, in this order viz:

Edward Beckham, D. D. and Rector of Gaytenthorp; Henry Meriton, Rector of Ox-borow; Lancaster Topcliff, L. B., sometime Senior Fellow of Gonvil and Caius college, Cambridge; all of Norfolk.

The said L. Topcliff, also styled himself Rector of Hockwold in Norfolk.

These priests thought to do great matters

against the people called Quakers, by most falsely and maliciously rendering their principles blasphemous and seditious, &c., wherein they were sufficiently detected and refuted, in two books which I wrote, in full answer to them and their most bitter and unjust charges against us and our principles.

One of my answers to them is entitled, *Truth and Innocency Vindicated, and the People called Quakers defended in Principle and Practice, against invidious attempts and calumnies, &c.*, printed 1699, and delivered to members of Parliament, in order to wipe off the priests' calumnies.

The other answer I put forth is entitled, *Truth prevalent, and the Quakers' discharged from the Norfolk Rectors' furious charge, in a sober answer to their book falsely styled, The Principles of the Quakers further shown to be Blasphemous and Seditious*, printed in 1701. Which though it be large, several of them were delivered to members of Parliament, and I delivered some of them myself.

Yet the implacable enmity of the said priests, and their assisting agent, Francis Bugg, and others of their abettors, was such, that their persecuting us with gross aspersions and calumnies in print, would not appease their wrath; but they got an invidious petition framed against us, which they intended to present to the House of Commons; in order to which, the two knights of the shire were instructed to move the said petition in the House; two priests, viz: John Meriton and the said Lancaster Topcliff, attending and soliciting for some time, to have their petition moved and promoted in the House, but were disappointed therein, and their persecuting purposes justly frustrated.

For I having obtained a copy of their petition, showed it to divers leading members of Parliament, and how greatly the design thereof tended to raise a new persecution, and to make void the toleration and liberty of conscience, granted and legally settled by the government. They were made sensible thereof, and resolved to oppose the said petition, and to throw it out with contempt, if it came to be moved in the House, asking me in whose hands it was; I told them, in the hands of the two Norfolk knights, with whom I divers times discoursed about it, to show them the nature and tendency of the petition, and how greatly we were misrepresented in it. They understanding that many eminent members in the House were set against it, were in a strait, and intimated thus much to me, that the clergy and some of the gentry of their own county of Norfolk, were earnest with them to present the said petition; but perceiving it would be rejected and thrown out, it brought

them under that strait, that they must either displease those of their own county, who chose them, or the House of Commons. I told them it was an unthankful office that was put upon them: they confessed it was. However I said, we did not solicit them to prevent their presenting, or moving the said petition in the House; but if they were disposed to present it, we desired the justice of them to give us some previous notice of the time when they intended to move it, that we might attend in readiness to answer for ourselves, to those charges that were against us in the petition. This was fairly granted by them; however, upon their deliberate consideration, the petition was prudently dropped, and not moved in Parliament.

A copy of the said petition follows, viz:

To the House of Commons: Norfolk petition of justices and grand jurors.

We cannot without resentment, take notice of the great growth and daily increase of the Quakers, and the mischiefs and dangers from thence threatening this nation.

It is observable with what restless zeal their deluding teachers and, as we suspect, many Romish emissaries under their disguise, ramble into all parts of these kingdoms, and boldly spread their venomous doctrines every where; attempting to infect and shake the minds of weak Protestants, and assuming rules of discipline, powers in matters of religion, and forms of government, repugnant to the established laws of this kingdom, contrary to the very acts of toleration, and not allowed by any other dissenters; vouching all their actions by divine inspiration for their warrant; and the indulgence of the government for their indemnity.

How apparently their blasphemous books and pernicious principles tend to subvert the fundamentals of Christianity, and undermine the civil government, are sufficiently demonstrable; the publishing whereof, by pretended permission of the government, is of most dangerous consequence. The prayer is, to take these things into consideration, that, with whatsoever tenderness to the persons and estates of these people, their said principles and practices may be strictly examined and censured, or suppressed, as they shall appear to deserve, and as in your great wisdom shall seem expedient; and that the true Christian religion may be preserved from popish superstition, and unpolluted with enthusiastical innovations.

I shall not need to make any large comment on this petition, to evince the nature and

tendency thereof; it being self-evident to proceed from a spirit of persecution and invidious prejudice, and is full of old, bitter, refuted calumnies, always made a cloak and excuse for persecution, against the most sincere professors of Christianity and religious reformers. I need say the less to it now, since it was so illy resented by the most sensible and judicious representatives of the House of Commons, that it was not suffered to come to life or birth in that house. And the same calumnies and unjust insinuations and charges contained in the said petition, being maliciously cast upon the Quakers, in divers books and pamphlets of Francis Bugg, and the three Norfolk priests before mentioned, were fully answered, detected and refuted, by me and some other friends; and particularly the said petition out of Norfolk, and another petition of the same kind from Bury in Suffolk, in a reply on behalf of the people called Quakers, to two petitions against them, the one out of Norfolk, the other from Bury in Suffolk, printed 1699, being some brief observations made on those petitions, and humbly tendered to the consideration of the House of Commons, to whom those petitions were directed.

And that it may further appear what a malicious spirit was then at work to raise a new persecution against us, after our liberty was legally granted; I think meet to add a copy of the said petition from Bury, which is as followeth:

To the honourable the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled; the humble petition of the aldermen, assistant justice, and chief burgess and burgesses of the common council, in behalf of themselves and the other inhabitants of the borough of Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk.

Humbly sheweth,

That we considering all ancient heresies, which have vexed both church and state, were never so formidable in their rise and progress, as are the Quakers; we have too just a cause of dreading the subversion of our government by them, if not carefully prevented and suppressed, being in their clandestine constitutions, opposite to the condition of our established policy, and in their principles of faith, anti-Christian; of government, anti-monarchical; in points of doctrine, anti-scriptural; and in practices, illegal; having their weekly, monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, which we cannot but reasonably believe, tend not only to the subversion of our laws, but of our religion also, to us of greater concern than our lives.

We therefore, obliged in duty to God and

our country, do humbly pray your timely consideration of our jealousies, and remove our fears, if not by totally suppressing, yet at least by preventing their after growth and increase amongst us: that our posterity may untroubled live, by this early care of our laws and liberties, and we enjoy the wished for happiness of a peaceful life.

I need not make any larger remark on this petition, than on that from Norfolk, it being a plain indication of the like envious and persecuting spirit. The old popish clamour of heresies and heretics, &c., against the conscientious reformers and Protestant martyrs, being always such brands of infamy as were designed to introduce persecutions, to suppress and destroy the most conscientious and sincere Christians: such clamorous defamations were bruited abroad by the persecuting, popish hierarchy, against the reformed Protestants and Protestant martyrs of old, to excuse their cruelties against them.

Although these aldermen of Bury, were wheedled or seduced to patronize such a foul and invidious petition against the people called Quakers, I do not believe that they could prove any one of their divers charges from their own knowledge, if they were asked one by one, upon the particular matters of fact, as they stand charged against the people called Quakers; neither can we think they are so frightened with the Quakers, or so afraid of them as they would seem to be. One would think they should have had better knowledge of the innocency of their neighbours by the time of their petition, than to render them so odious, so formidable, yea, seditious and obnoxious as their said petition very unjustly represented them.

However, one good turn was observable, that the Suffolk representatives showed more moderation and prudence, than either to solicit for, or promote the said Bury petition in Parliament; they showed more discretion therein, by dropping it, than the aldermen or common council of Bury did, in patronizing or countenancing such a bitter, invidious attempt.

I remember divers of the Suffolk members of Parliament were against the Norfolk petition, and expressed their dislike of such persecuting dispositions, which were so repugnant and contradictory to the toleration and religious liberty of conscience, granted and settled by the king and government.

Before we could get our answers to the three Norfolk priests' books, prepared and printed for the Parliament, it was thought meet the following short paper should be delivered in print, in order to moderate the spirits of those whom they endeavoured to

preposess with prejudice against us and our Christian principles.

The endorsed title on the outside of our said paper was,

"The Quakers' modest observation upon the three Norfolk clergymen's and Francis Bugg's books."

The title on the inside.

"The three Norfolk clergymen's brief discovery, &c.; presented by them to the king and Parliament against the people called Quakers, modestly observed to our superiors."

It does not surprise us to be evilly entreated, and especially by those that have an interest in doing it.

But if conscience prevailed more than contention, and charity overruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adversaries.

But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them, than breaking in upon the indulgence that we enjoy, if they could persuade the government to second their attempts to a new persecution.

In order to which, we perceive they have been hard at work to pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the patience of our profession, is their security in abusing of it.

However, if it has weight enough with our superiors to expect a fresh defence of our principles and practices, we shall, with God's assistance, be ready for their satisfaction, once more to justify both, against the insults of our restless adversaries; who otherwise, we take leave to say, would not deserve our notice: since we have already repeatedly answered their objections in print, and think it our duty, as well as wisdom, to use the liberty the government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive manner as may be.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD,	WILLIAM PENN,
JOHN VAUGHTON,	JOHN FIELD,
JOHN FIDDEMAN,	JOHN BELLERS,
HENRY GOULDNEY,	JOSEPH WYETH.

The priests in our days have made a great noise for tithes and offerings, &c., and the envy and persecution of many of them, against us, is chiefly for refusing to pay the same, which is purely for conscience sake to our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

As to the priests' claim of tithes, oblations and obventions, we find no warrant in holy Scripture, that Christ's gospel ministers ever made such claim or demand, but the contrary.

I have had many discourses with bishops and others of the clergy, and I never met with any of them that could maintain their

plea for their pretended divine right to them, under the new covenant dispensation; nor yet for ministers to force maintenance, wages or hire from their hearers; both being contrary to the new covenant dispensation and ministry, and repugnant to Christ's express commission and precept, and to his ministers' practice. Tithes as well as offerings or oblations were abolished and ended by Jesus Christ.

Their flying to human and popish laws for their claim to tithes, is but a weak shift and mean subterfuge, and a giving away the cause, viz: of their pretended spirituality and priesthood, on which their claim of divine right is grounded, and consequently thereby they unpriest themselves; Christ having put an end to both the priesthood, old covenant and law, which did enjoin the payment of tithes to the Levitical priesthood. Wherefore the priests' said claim now is to set up human authority and laws above Christ Jesus' divine authority, and law of the new covenant; which appears not only repugnant to his crown and dignity, who is Lord of lords, and King of kings, but also inconsistent with the true Christian profession, whereof Jesus Christ is our great High Priest and Apostle; to whom be glory and dominion for ever.

THE CONCLUSION.

Manifold exercises, trials, and tribulations hath the Lord my God supported me under and carried me through, in my pilgrimage, for his name and truth's sake, more than could possibly be related in this history; having spent a long time, even the greatest part of my life, from my youth upward, in the testimony, service and vindication of the living, unchangeable truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, my Lord; for whom I have suffered many things, both in body and spirit, as also by reproaches and calumnies, and sincerely laboured in his love, who has supported me, and hitherto helped me in the gospel of the grace of God, and of his dear Son Jesus Christ, even the gospel of life, salvation and peace, to them who truly believe: and yet I esteem not all my sufferings and afflictions worthy to be compared to the glory set before me. For all which, I must ascribe blessing, honour, glory, power, and dominion to the Lord God, and the Lamb upon his throne, for ever and ever.

And when, by the grace and assistance of my heavenly Father, I have finished the work he hath given me to do; I firmly believe and livingly hope in the Lord, I shall die in the Lord Jesus Christ, and ever live with and rest in him, in his heavenly kingdom. O my

soul! enter thou into thy rest, even thy eternal rest, from thy manifold labours, travails and sufferings; for the Lord thy God hath dealt bountifully with thee: glory to his excellent name for evermore.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

Concluded, London, the 18th of
the Sixth month, 1711.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE PRECEDING
HISTORY.

The author has closed the foregoing account of his Christian travails about the seventy-fifth year of his age, at which he probably expected the period of his life and labours; but it pleased God to prolong both, leading his outward man, by an easy and gradual declension to its natural dissolution, and enabling him, by preserving his intellects, to employ even the last remains of his bodily strength, in the same kind of religious services, which he had been from his youth habituated to. We have therefore thought proper to attend him to the end of his pilgrimage, by subjoining such occurrences in his latter years as have come to our hands.

On the 3rd day of the eighth month, October, 1714, the people called Quakers presented a congratulatory address to king George, upon his accession to the crown, which being read to and graciously accepted by the king, George Whitehead made a speech to this effect;

* "Thou art welcome to us, king George. We heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William the third was a happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration, which being intended for uniting the king's Protestant subjects, in interest and affection, it hath so far that effect, as to make them more kind to one another, even among the differing persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, is according to our principle and practice."

George Whitehead having thus spoken, his name was asked; whereupon he answered, George Whitehead. And having it upon his mind to see the prince also, and intimating his desire to a lord who was gentleman to the prince's bed-chamber, he made way for it: and thus George Whitehead, with some of

his friends, got access, and were introduced by one of the prince's gentlemen, into a chamber, where the prince met them; and then George Whitehead spoke to him, the substance of which speech was as follows;

"We take it as a favour that we are thus admitted to see the prince of Wales, and are truly very glad to see thee. Having delivered our address to the king thy royal father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit, in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father and come to the throne, thou mayest enjoy tranquillity and peace.

"I am persuaded, that if the king, thy father, and thyself, do stand for toleration, for liberty of conscience to be kept inviolable, God will stand by you.

"May king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz: He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by clear shining after rain." This speech was favourably heard by the prince.

In the year 1715, after the breaking out of that unnatural rebellion, which was suppressed by the king's forces at Preston, George Whitehead, accompanied by his friend John Butcher, having obtained an admission to the king's presence, presented to him a paper, a copy of which, found among the author's manuscripts, since his decease, we here insert.

A few words in true love to king George, humbly presented.

Seeing our most gracious God hath been pleased, by his overruling power and providence, to give thee a free and peaceable accession to the throne of these kingdoms; O let thy trust and confidence be in the same divine Power, and thy eye to that light and grace thereby given thee, and the Lord will, no doubt, confound thy foes, and disperse and expel that dark cloud and spirit of rebellion that is risen up against thee and thy lawful government, constituted for the defence and support of our just liberties and properties, religious and civil, against popery and slavery.

Thy Christian principle for liberty to tender consciences being maintained and stood by, against persecution, the pillar of popery, the Lord will stand by and defend thee and

* Sewel's History of the Quakers, p. 711.

thy royal offspring; for surely mercy and truth do preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy. Remember what the Spirit of the Lord spake by king David in his last words; He that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God, and he shall be as the light of the morning, even a morn- ing without clouds.

"The Lord, the God of hosts be thy defence, thy guide and counsellor, and replenish thy heart with his wisdom, whereby kings reign and princes decree justice; for in that wisdom, true dominion stands.

"That thou, O king, mayest be a blessing in the hand of the Lord, to these nations, and enjoy a safe, a peaceable and prosperous reign in this life, and a crown of righteousness in that to come, is the hearty prayer of an ancient servant of Jesus Christ, and a truly loving and faithful subject.

"GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

"London, the 25th of the Eighth month, called October, 1715."

In the month called May, 1716, the people called Quakers, at their yearly meeting in London, drew up an address, and presented it to the king, testifying their loyalty, and expressing their sense of the signal providence of God in confounding the late black conspiracy; at the presenting of which address, George Whitehead made a previous speech to the king, signifying,

"That in their annual assembly, held for the religious concerns of their Society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither, and preserved, so that he could well say, he was George, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, &c. And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects."

Although now above eighty years of age, and feeble in body, he nevertheless continued to bear his testimony in the public assemblies, to the virtue and excellency of that divine grace, which had supported him from his youth upward, imparting in most sensible expressions, such choice fruits of his own experiences, that an attentive hearer could not depart unedified. And even in meetings about church affairs, where sometimes diversity of sentiments may arise, he would express his thoughts with a convincing force and solidity

of reasoning, no less admirable than the unspotted integrity of his grey hairs was honourable.

He wrote in the latter part of his time, several small treatises, particularly one in the eighty-sixth year of his age, entitled, *An Epistle to our Christian Friends, called Quakers, &c.*, which being already in print, we refer thereto.

Sustained by the consciousness of a well led life, he passed the last infirmities of age with Christian patience and resignation, and, on the 8th day of the month called March, 1722-3, died the best of deaths; for as Cicero, in the person of Cato the elder, excellently expresses it; "The best end of a man's life is, when the understanding and other senses remaining entire, nature takes in pieces her own work, which she herself did put together." And again, "Whatsoever is according to nature, is to be accounted good; and, what is more natural than for old men to die; a thing, which happens also to young men, notwithstanding nature's opposition and reluctance. Young men therefore, seem to me to die, like as a fierce flame is quenched by abundance of water; but old men, as when a fire being spent, goes out of its own accord, without compulsion: and as apples, while green, are plucked from the trees by force, but, when ripe, fall of themselves; so violence bereaves young men of life, maturity the aged: which indeed to me is so delightful, that as I approach nearer to death, methinks I see the land, and after a tedious voyage am at last making to my port."

We shall conclude with the character given him after his decease, in two testimonies, the one written by Richard Claridge, his intimate friend and acquaintance, who survived him but a few weeks; the other by the friends of the monthly meeting at Devonshire house, London, in whose neighbourhood he had been an inhabitant many years.

*RICHARD CLARIDGE'S Testimony concerning
GEORGE WHITEHEAD.*

"George Whitehead was one whom the Lord had highly dignified in his day, calling him about the sixteenth year of his age, to the acknowledgment of the blessed truth, and about the eighteenth, to bear a public testimony to it, in which testimony the Lord preserved him faithful until the end of his day, which was on the 8th of the first month, called March, 1722, being about eighty-seven years of age.

The Lord had bestowed on him such a measure of his divine gifts of faith, wisdom, judgment, understanding, self denial, patience, love, meekness, utterance, and other graces

of the spirit, that he was an instrument in his hand to open the blind eyes, and turn men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God.

And as it pleased the Lord to make him an able minister of the New Testament, so his speech and his preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that our faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God; 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.; so that when he spake, he spake as the oracles of God; and when he ministered, he did it as of the ability which God giveth; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

He was not as many which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God in the sight of God, spake he in Christ; 2 Cor. ii. 17.

His ministry was a sound and living ministry, and many yet living have a testimony thereunto in their hearts and consciences.

He was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, and fervent in the spirit; Acts xviii. 24, 25.

A good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith, and much people was added unto the Lord; Acts xi. 24.

He was an elder, whom the Lord had anointed unto the spiritual and evangelical ministry, raised up among many others, near the first breaking forth of this gospel day, after a long night of apostacy, which had overspread this and other nations with gross darkness, in matters relating to Christianity.

And though bonds and afflictions attended him, yet none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy and the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God; Acts xx. 23, 24.

For having this ministry, as he had received mercy, he fainted not; but renounced the hidden things of dishonesty; not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God; 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

The Testimony of Devonshire house monthly meeting. A short account and testimony concerning our dear and worthy friend, GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

Our ancient worthy friends, who in the morning of this gospel day, were about the same time sent forth to declare the truth, with this our deceased friend, are now most of them gone to their rest; yet the generality of friends of middle age may have had a long

knowledge of him, and of his gravity, wisdom and abilities, beyond many in the church of Christ; but for the sake of the younger friends, that have not had that knowledge, and for the encouragement of those in faithfulness, that are, or may be convinced of the blessed truth, or receive a gift of the ministry, we of the monthly meeting of Devonshire house, of which he was a very eminent member, about the space of fifty years, esteem ourselves engaged to give in this our short account and testimony concerning him.

We find he was born at Sun-bigg, in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland, about the year 1636, of honest parents, who gave him an education in grammar learning.

At or about the seventeenth year of his age, when some friends, by the mighty power of God, were gathered to be a people, the Lord was pleased to visit him, and by the testimony of truth, he was reached unto and convinced of the necessity of an inward and spiritual work to be known and wrought upon the souls of men; and of the emptiness and insufficiency of outward show and formality, out of the life and power. In the year 1654, and the eighteenth year of his age, the Lord sent him forth to preach the everlasting gospel in life and power; and having passed through York, Lincoln and Cambridge, he had some service in his journey, and travelling on foot, came a youth into Norfolk and Suffolk, where he visited some few meetings of friends, and steeple-houses, and meetings of sober professors; at one of which, near a whole meeting was convinced, by the mighty power of God, through his lively and piercing testimony and prayer.

He continued some months in Norfolk and about Norwich, where having meetings, he preached the everlasting gospel, and thereby turned many from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan, unto God and his power; that people might not continue in empty forms and shadows, but come to the life and substance of true religion; and to know Christ their true Teacher and Leader: and great was his service, labour and travel in those counties, whereby many were reached unto, convinced of, and established in the blessed truth; and some raised up to bear a public testimony thereunto. But he suffered great opposition, hardships, long and sore imprisonments, and severe whipping, for his testimony to the truth, in those his tender years, although few now remain who were living witnesses thereof; yet by a journal of his own writing, which we desire may be printed, the same will more largely appear; and the perusal of which, we hope, may be edifying

and serviceable to the present and succeeding generations. We would not be too particular in relating his suffering, imprisonments, services and travels, throughout most parts of this nation, but proceed to say something of our own experience, and that knowledge we had of him, and of his eminent services and great concern for the peace and prosperity of the church of Christ every where, during his long abode with us in this city.

We may say, he was one whom the Lord had fitly qualified and prepared by his divine power and Holy Spirit, for that work whereunto he was called; and whereby he was made one of the most able ministers of the gospel in our day. He was a large experimenter of the work of God, and deep mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, and was frequently opened in meetings to declare of, and unfold the same, in the clear demonstration of the Spirit and power, dividing the word aright, opening and convincing the understandings of many, who were unacquainted with the way and work of truth; and comforting, confirming, and establishing the people and children of the Lord, in their journey Zionward.

He was not only a zealous contender for, and asserter of the true faith and doctrine of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, in a sound and intelligible testimony, but also was valiant and skilful in the defence thereof, against adversaries and opposers of the same; and one, who through a long course of many days, was careful to adorn the doctrine of our holy profession by a circumspect life and godly conversation, wherein the fruits of the spirit, viz: love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance, did eminently shine forth through him, to the praise and glory of God.

Being thus qualified, and of a meek and peaceable disposition, he was had in good esteem amongst most sorts of people that were acquainted with him; which tended much to the opening his way in his public service for truth: and frequent solicitations unto several kings and Parliaments, bishops and great men, of our land, for the relief and release of his suffering friends and brethren, under sore persecutions and hard imprisonments, and for liberty of conscience, and also for relief in the case of oaths. In these labours of love and eminent services among other brethren, this our dear friend was principally exercised, and the Lord was with him, and made way for him in the hearts of the rulers of the land; so that his faithful labour was often crowned with success, to the comforting and rejoicing of the hearts of many suffering brethren.

He was a good example to the flock, in his

diligent frequenting of first and week-day meetings for public worship, and other meetings for the service of truth, so long as his ability of body remained; willing to take all opportunities for publishing and promoting the truth; zealous to support good order and discipline in the church of Christ. And as he was not suddenly for taking hold of any, so he was as exemplary in not being forward to cast any off, in whom there appeared any thing that was good, being always desirous to encourage the good in all, condescending to the weak, but admonishing the faulty in the spirit of meekness and wisdom, that they might be preserved in love to truth, and come into the unity of the one Spirit, which is the bond of peace.

We may truly say, he was a tender father in the church, and as such was of great compassion, sympathizing with friends under affliction, whether in body or mind; a diligent visitor of the sick, and labouring to comfort the mourning soul; careful to prevent, and diligent in composing differences.

Dear friends, much more we might say on the behalf of this our dear deceased friend, an elder worthy of double honour; but it is not with us to give large encomiums of the dead; we have rather chosen to give but short hints of some of the Christian virtues and qualifications he was endued with, believing there is a witness in the hearts of many yet remaining, that doth testify for him and his faithful labours and service in his day; desiring the Lord may raise up many, in the room of this and other worthy elders, some of which are lately removed from us, and we believe, taken into mansions of glory, in the kingdom of God.

It pleased the Lord to visit this our dear friend, with some severe pains and weakness of body, so that he was disabled for some weeks from getting to meetings, but he often expressed his desires for the welfare of the church of Christ, and that friends might live in love and unity.

He continued in a patient, resigned frame of mind to the will of God, waiting for his great change, rather desiring to be dissolved and be with Christ, saying, the sting of death was taken away. He expressed a little before his departure, that he had a renewed sight or remembrance of his labours and travels that he had gone through from his first conviction; he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had attended and carried him through them all.

He departed this life in great peace and quiet, the 8th day of the first month, 1722-3, about the eighty-seventh year of his age;

and we firmly believe he died in the Lord, and is at rest from his labours, and his works follow him.

He was a minister of the gospel about sixty eight years, and was buried the 13th of first month, in friends' burying ground, near Bunhill-fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren, being attended by a very large number of friends and others.

Signed in, and on the behalf of the monthly meeting, at the Devonshire house, the 15th day of the third month, 1723, by

William Mackett,
Theodore Eccleston,
John Knight,
Lascells Metcalf,
Arnold Frowd,
William Price,
John Belch,
Benjamin Sanchey,
Robert Plumsted,
John Baker,
Jonathan Scarth,
Thomas Eedes,
John Lunn,
Thomas Broadbank,
Peter Exton,
Richard Price,
Richard Lea,
Thomas Crawley,
James Lambert,
Josiah Knight,

William Hodgson,
John Lee,
Joseph Rossell,
John West,
Samuel Mackerness,
Caleb Hughes,
Miles Walker,
Jonathan Stevens,
Samuel Bowley,
Samuel Scott,
John Hayton,
George Fossick,
Joseph North,
William Dodd,
Elizabeth Fossick,
Richard How,
Herman Hingsberg,
Thomas Mayleigh,
William Teaguij,
Benjamin Bealing.

The following essay, occasioned by the apostacy of George Keith, was penned by George Whitehead, and submitted to, and approved by the Morning meeting of London, and subsequently transmitted to, and approved by the yearly meeting of Philadelphia, which gave it an extensive circulation, viz :

The Christian doctrine and Society of the people called Quakers, cleared from the reproach of the late division of a few in some part of America; as not being justly chargeable upon the body of the said people, there or elsewhere. Printed in the year 1693.

Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them diligently which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; Rom. xvi. 17.

Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you; Ephes. iv. 31, 32.

Whereas divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith,

(as is pretended by one party,) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries, to reproach both the Christian ministry and whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no way concerned in the said division or matters charged; but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant, and profane, to slight and contemn the Truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We are, therefore, tenderly concerned for Truth's sake in behalf of the said people, (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God, and faithful to their Christian principle and profession,) to use our just endeavours to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended or supposed to be in question in the said division; in relation whereunto we do, in the fear of God, and in simplicity and plainness of his Truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare what our Christian belief and profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God; his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment, &c.

We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our Light and Life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.^a

That God created all things; He made the worlds by his Son Jesus Christ, He being that powerful and Living Word of God by whom all things were made;^b and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one, in divine being inseparable; one true, living and eternal God, blessed for ever.^c

Yet that this Word or Son of God, in the fulness of time took flesh, became perfect man—according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David;^d but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary.^e And also further declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead.^f

That in the Word or Son of God, was life; and the same life was the light of men; and that He was that true Light which en-

^a Heb. xii. 2. ¹ Pet. i. 21. John xiv. 6. ¹ Tim. ii. 5.
^b Ephes. iii. 9. John i. 1, 2, 3. Heb. i. 2. ^c 1 John v. 7.
^d Rom. i. 3, 4. ^e Mat. i. 23. ^f Rom. i. 3, 4.

lightens every man coming into the world.^a And therefore that men are to believe in the Light,^b that they may become children of the Light.^b Hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as He is the light and life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honour to, and belief in Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness,^c as He is the Fountain of life and light, and Giver thereof unto us; Christ, as in himself and as in us, being not divided. And that as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again, and was received up into glory in the heavens:^d he having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man.^e And He is the propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.^f We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

That Jesus Christ who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, is yet our King, High Priest, and Prophet;^g in his church a minister of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man.^h He is Intercessor and Advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us;ⁱ being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings, and sorrows; and also by his Spirit in our hearts he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying, Abba, Father.^j

For any whom God hath gifted^k and called sincerely to preach faith in the same Christ, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Christs, but one and the same Lord Jesus Christ;^l having respect to those degrees of our spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus in us,^m and to his own unspeakable fulness and glory,ⁿ as in himself, in his own entire being; wherein Christ himself, and the least measure of his light or life, as in us, or in mankind, are not divided or separable, any more than the sun is from its light. And as He ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things,^o his fulness cannot be comprehended or contained in any finite creature,^p but is in measure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the same; as of his fulness we have received grace for grace. Christ our Mediator received the Spirit, not by measure,^q but in fulness; but to every one

of us is given grace, according to the measure of his gift.^a

That the gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,^b being one^c in power, wisdom and goodness, and indivisible, or not to be divided in the great work of man's salvation.

We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as he is true God and perfect man,^d and that he is the Author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifest in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed Spirit or divine unction revealed in us,^e whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness,^f life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in him, and in the inward sense of this divine power of Christ, and faith in the same; and this inward experience is absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian in spirit and life.

That divine honour and worship are due to the Son of God;^g and that he is in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, as the primitive Christians did,^h because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son;ⁱ and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers or praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

That Christ's body which was crucified, was not the Godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ who was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory^j is not questioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption;^k it did not corrupt; but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious^l and heavenly condition than it was when subject to divers sufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body as it is declared to be, is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend, or pry into; and more meet for angels to see. The Scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to enquire or dispute it; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above^m what is written, as to the manner or condition of Christ's glorious body as in heaven, any more than to enquire how Christ appeared in divers

^a John i. 4, 9. ^b John xii. 36. Isaiah ii. 5. ^c 1 Tim. vi. 16. ^d 1 Pet. iii. 18. ^e 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28, and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26, and xxiv. 26. ^f Rom. v. 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Ephes. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. ^g 1 John ii. 2. ^h 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb. ii. 9. ⁱ Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 38. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1, 6. Deut. xviii. 15, 18. Acts iii. 22, and vii. 37. ^j Heb. viii. 1, 2. ^k Heb. vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. ^l Rom. viii. 26, 27, 34. Gal. iv. 6. ^m Ephes. iii. 7. ⁿ 1 Peter iv. 10. ^o 1 Cor. vii. 6, xv. 3, 8. ^p John xv. 26, and xvi. 13, 14, 15. ^q John i. 16. ^a Ephes. iv. 10. ^b Col. i. 19, and ii. 9. ^c John iii. 34.

^a Ephes. iv. 7. ^b Mat. xxviii. 19. ^c John i. 1, 2, 3, 4. ^d John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5. ^e 1 John v. 20. ^f 1 Tim. ii. 5. ^g 1 John ii. 20, 27, and i. 1. ^h 1 Peter ii. 3. John vi. 33, 35, 51, 57, 58. ⁱ John v. 23. Heb. i. 6. ^j 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. ^k John x. 30. ^l 1 John v. 7. ^m John xxiv. 26. ⁿ Psalm xvi. 10. Acts ii. 31, and xiii. 35, 37. ^o Phil. iii. 21. ^p 1 Cor. iv. 4, 6.

manners or forms,^a or how he came in among his disciples, the doors being shut;^b or how he vanished out of their sight, after he was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious condition, far transcending what it was in on earth; otherwise how should our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body;^c for when he was on earth, and attended with sufferings, he was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted;^d which may not be so said of him as now in a state of glory, as he prayed for;^e otherwise where would be the change both in him and us?

True and living faith in Christ Jesus the Son of the living God,^f has respect to his entire being and fulness; to him entirely, as in himself, and as all power in heaven and earth is given unto him;^g and also an eye and respect to the same Son of God,^h as inwardly making himself known in the soul in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth; and as he is both the Word of faith and a quickening Spirit in us,ⁱ whereby he is the immediate cause, author, object, and strength of our living faith in his name and power, and of the work of our salvation from sin and bondage of corruption. And the Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light or life in us or in mankind, no more than the sun from its own light; nor is the sufficiency of his light within, by us set up in opposition to him the man Christ, or his fulness considered as in himself, or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light received from Christ, as such, be properly called the fulness of Christ, or Christ as in fulness, nor exclude him, so considered, from being our complete Saviour: for Christ himself to be our light, our life and Saviour,^j is so consistent, that without his light we could not know life, nor him to save us from sin or deliver us from darkness, condemnation or wrath to come.

And where the least degree or measure of this light and life of Christ within, is sincerely waited for, followed and obeyed, there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt; as the path of the just shines more and more, until the perfect day;^k and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hath been, and is truly experienced. And this light, life, or Spirit of Christ within,

for they are one divine principle, is sufficient to lead into all truth, having in it the divers ministrations both of judgment and mercy, both of law and gospel; even that gospel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven. It does not only, as in its first ministration, manifest sin, and reprove and condemn for sin; but also excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance, and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon and redemption in Christ Jesus, which he has obtained for mankind, on those gospel terms of faith in his name, true repentance, and conversion to Christ, thereby required.

So that the light and life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the second or new covenant, as Christ the light is confessed to be, even as he is the Seed or Word of faith in all men; this does not leave men or women who believe in the light, under the first covenant, nor as sons of the bondwoman, as the literal Jews were when gone from the Spirit of God and his Christ in them; but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, into the new and living way, and to the adoption of sons, to be children and sons of the freewoman, of Jerusalem from above.

It is true that we ought not to lay aside, nor should any undervalue, but highly esteem true preaching and the Holy Scriptures, and the sincere belief and faith of Christ, as he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, together with Christ's inward and spiritual appearance and work of grace in the soul, livingly to open the mystery of his death, and perfectly to effect our reconciliation, sanctification, and justification; and where ever Christ qualifies and calls any to preach and demonstrate the mystery of his coming, death and resurrection, &c., even among the Gentiles, Christ ought accordingly to be both preached, and believed and received.

Yet supposing there have been or are such pious and conscientious Gentiles, in whom Christ was and is as the seed or principle of the second or new covenant, the Light, the Word of faith, as is granted, and that such live uprightly and faithfully to that Light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who therefore, in that state, cannot perish, but shall be saved, as is also confessed; and supposing these have not the outward advantage of preaching, Scripture, or thence the knowledge of Christ's outward coming, and being outwardly crucified and risen from the dead, can such, thus considered, be justly excluded Christianity or the covenant of grace, as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof, or truly deemed no Christians, or void of any Christian faith in the life and power of the

^a Mark xvi. 12. John xx. 15. ^b John xx. 19. Luke xiv. 36, 37, and xxiv. 31. ^c Phil. iii. 21. ^d Heb. ii. 17, and iv. 15. ^e John xvii. 5. ^f John xiv. 1. ^g Mat. xxviii. 18, xi. 27. John xvii. 2. Heb. i. 4, ii. 8. ^h John xiv. 23, xvii. 21, 22, 23, 24, 26. ⁱ 1 Cor. xv. 45. Rom. x. 7, 8. ^j John i. 4, 9, iii. 19, 20, xii. 35, 36, 46, viii. 12. ^k Prov. iv. 18. Ps. xxxvi. 9.

Son of God within, or be only sons of the first covenant and bondwoman, like the literal outside Jews? Or must all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Christ within them, unless they have the knowledge of Christ as without them? No sure! for that would imply insufficiency in Christ and his light as within them, and frustrate God's good end and promise of Christ, and his free and universal love and grace to mankind in sending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they must have some true faith and interest in Christ and his mediation, because of God's free love in Christ to all mankind, and Christ's dying for all men,^a and being given for a light of the Gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth.^b And because of their living up sincerely and faithfully to his light in them, their being pious, conscientious, accepted, and saved, as is granted, we cannot reasonably think a sincere, pious or godly man, wholly void of Christianity, of what nation soever he may be; because none can come to God or godliness but by Christ,^c by his light and grace in them: yet grant if there be such pious and sincere men or women as have not the Scripture, or knowledge of Christ as outwardly crucified, &c., they are not perfect Christians in all perfections, as in all knowledge, and understanding all points of doctrine, and outward profession of Christ; so that they are better than they profess or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward, and Christians inward, than in outward show or profession.

There are Christians sincere and perfect in kind or nature, in life and substance, though not in knowledge and understanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true Christianity, the fruits of the Spirit of Christ in them, who can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points or articles of faith, yea many that cannot read letters, yet may be true Christians in spirit and life: and some could die for Christ that could not dispute for him. And even infants that die in innocence, are not excluded the grace of God, or salvation in and by Christ Jesus; the image and nature of the Son of God being in some measure in them, and they under God's care and special providence. See Matthew xviii. 2. 10.

And though we had the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and a belief of Christ crucified and risen, &c., we never truly knew the mystery thereof until we were turned to the light of his grace and Spirit within us: we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death and saved by his life, or what it

was to know the fellowship of his sufferings, the power of his resurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death—we knew not, until he opened our eyes and turned our minds from darkness unto his own divine light and life within us.

Notwithstanding, we do so sincerely and greatly esteem and value the Holy Scriptures, preaching and teaching of faithful, divinely inspired, gifted, and qualified persons and ministers of Jesus Christ, as being great outward helps, and instrumental in his hand, and by his Spirit for conversion; where God is pleased to afford those outward helps and means; as that we neither do nor may oppose the sufficiency of the light or Spirit of Christ within to such outward helps or means, so as to reject, disesteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the same light and Spirit, and tend to turn men's minds thereunto, and all centre therein.

Nor can the Holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be justly set in opposition to the light or Spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof, being sent to turn people to the same light and Spirit in them.^a

It is certain that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, in its own being and excellency, namely, that God should be and was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

And it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity also, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually in men's hearts, to save and deliver them from sin, satan, and bondage of corruption; Christ being thus revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith: Christ within the hope of glory, our light and life, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this mystery of godliness, both as in its own being and glory, and also as in men, in many hid and in some revealed, hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed, where God is pleased to give commission and prepare people's hearts for the same, and not in man's will.

Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead, as divers questions are put in such terms;—what the holy Scriptures plainly de-

^a 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. ^b Isaiah xlix. 6. Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii. 47. ^c John xiv. 6.

^a Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

clare and testify in these matters, we have great reason to credit and not to question, and have been always ready to embrace with respect to Christ and his apostles' own testimony and prophecies.

1. *For the Doctrine of the Resurrection.*

If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable; 1 Cor. xv. 19. We sincerely believe, not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen, sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at last appears we may appear with him in glory; Col. iii. 4. 1 John iii. 2. But that all the wicked, who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being; so as there shall be as many souls in the world to come as in this; and every seed, yea every soul, shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it; 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; that being first which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. And though it is said this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality; the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption; 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the resurrection, shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven.^a

And as the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial; so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are; and we hope none can justly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come; but rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God.

2. *For the Doctrine of Eternal Judgment.*

God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ; and he is Judge both of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind; John v. 22, 27, Acts x. 42, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 1 Pet. iv. 5.

That there shall be hereafter a great harvest, which is the end of the world; a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the holy Scripture is clear.^b When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with him; then shall he sit

upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, &c. Mat. xxv. 31, 32, to the end, compared with chap. xxii. 31, Mark viii. 38, Luke ix. 26, and 1 Cor. xv. 52, 2 Thes. i. 7, 8, to the end, and 1 Thes. iv. 16, Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

That this blessed heavenly Man, this Son of Man, who hath so deeply suffered, and endured so many great indignities and persecutions from his adversaries, both to himself and his members and brethren, will at last, even in the last and great day, signally and manifestly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all his glorious heavenly host and retinue, before all nations, before all his enemies, and those that have denied him. This will be to their great terror and amazement; that this most glorious heavenly man and his brethren, that have been so much contemned and set at nought, should be thus exalted over their enemies and persecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that suffer with him, should appear with him in glory and dignity when he thus appears at last. Christ was judge of the world and the prince thereof, when on earth; John ix. 39, xii. 31; he is still Judge of the world, the wickedness and prince thereof, by his light, Spirit, and gospel in men's hearts and consciences; John xvi. 8, 11, Mat. xii. 18, 20, Isaiah xlii. 1, Rom. ii. 16, 1 Pet. iv. 6; and he will be the Judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained. Christ foretold, it shall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his messengers or ministers, &c.; Mat. x. 15, xi. 24, Mark vi. 11, Luke x. 12, 14. It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions, and at last to bring them forth and raise them up into glory with Christ; so he knoweth also how to reserve the unjust and finally impenitent unto the day of judgment, to be punished; 2 Pet. ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of destruction; Job xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reserve such impenitent, presumptuous, and rebellious criminals, as bound under chains of darkness, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day; Jude 6, Mat. xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or dispute the manner how they shall be so reserved; but leave it to God; he knows how.

Touching the opinion of the revolution or transmigration of human souls, or their passing out of one body into another, &c., as it is

^a Mat. xxii. 30. Mark xii. 25. Luke xx. 36. ^b Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41, x. 15, xi. 24. Jude 6.

deemed originally to have sprung from the heathen, and was received among Jews and some others by tradition, and said to be the opinion of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the Egyptians, and partly of Julian the apostate when he dreamed that the soul of Alexander the Great was crept into his carcass, or rather that he was Alexander himself in another body; and thereupon rejecting the suit of the Persians for peace, presumptuously proceeded in the war and to bloodshed against them, until, at unawares, he got his death's wound, according as is more fully related in history; particularly Socrates's *Scholasticus*, lib. 1, chap. 17, and lib. iii. chap. 18. *Eccles. Chron.* fol. 577. See also Dr. Hammond's *Annotations on John* ix. 1, 2, 3. We are not concerned in any such notion, but, as a people, are wholly clear of it.

We deem it neither necessary to faith, nor safe to receive or defend, as either held by those heathen Egyptians or Jews aforesaid; nor as it is insinuated in a late pamphlet of two hundred queries, concerning the doctrine of the revolution of human souls, supposing twelve revolutions, or twelve distinct intervals of life to every man, as being twelve several times born into the world; for each one to live or consummate the space of one thousand years on earth. Though this opinion of such revolution appears not to be a point in present controversy in the book aforesaid, or in *Pennsylvania*, nor maintained as any divine opening, revelation, or necessary article of faith, but rather evaded from being publicly controverted; yet inasmuch as there appears some ground of suspicion in the case, and as it seems to be favoured implicitly by some; therefore, that we as a people may not be suspected about it, we sincerely declare our clearness from the said opinion, as really esteeming it not safe to propagate, or maintain, or trouble people's heads or minds with it; but that all should improve their present time and mercies. And we are the less concerned about the aforesaid queries and doctrine, because we find not any known person or persons of credible authority, that will adventure to assert that opinion, either as divinely revealed or opened, or as necessary to be believed or received as an article of faith, or that will undertake to demonstrate how many times or intervals of life they themselves have lived on earth, and what transactions or remarkable passages, or things good or bad, they have done or passed through in those their supposed past intervals of life.

CONCLUSION.

To conclude: as we are persuaded want of walking in the true light, and want of Chris-

tian charity is the great cause of divisions, in professed Christian societies of all sorts, and of this difference among a few persons in America, professing the same light and truth with us: we are ashamed of and surprised at the bitter language, and severe consequences and treatment, in some of the printed books from one party, and the exposing of the weaknesses and unwarrantable expressions of some of the other, to the open enemies of both, and of religion itself; all which, as also to make any public rent in a religious society on personal offences or private occasions, are greatly unbecoming our Christian profession, charity, or Society.

And we pray God rebuke and stop this troublesome spirit of enmity and division wherever it is; for it makes great disturbance and trouble in the creation, and where it enters in church or state; yet its ill work is no new thing. It was the same spirit that infested and troubled the primitive Christian churches, causing divisions and offences contrary to the gospel of peace, at first received, and whereby parties and schisms were made; and one said I am of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas; which carnality the apostle reprov'd, as knowing and testifying that Christ, whom they all professed, is not divided. And if Christian tenderness and charity might influence all parties, we see no real cause for these few persons aforesaid to divide or separate outwardly, especially about doctrine, seeing both profess one light, one Spirit, one God, and one Lord Jesus Christ, and faith in him, and sincerely to believe the holy Scriptures. And even the person charging the other in print, professes to "own the body of the people called Quakers, and seems to approve of our ancient, faithful, and generally approved Friends, writers or publishers of our doctrines and principles, and preachers among us generally owned and approved by us, as men of sound judgment and understanding, and as owning the fundamental articles of the Christian and Protestant faith." Thus far the person charging, in his "Serious Appeal," page 6. As also the same person further openly signified at the other friends' meeting, that "he and his friends had unity with the most there as to the main. As also with all faithful friends every where, excepting only some in their meeting that were unsound," &c.—"Reason and causes," page 26. And therefore if most on both sides have unity as to the main, we may charitably suppose they do not differ in the main or substance of Christian faith or doctrine before cited, and sincerely owned and confessed by us; if tenderly and duly considered by both sides, as men seeking peace, love, and concord. Where-

fore the difference was very indiscreetly managed, aggravated, and exposed to separation, printing, and reproach, seeing it was not in the main.

We wholly dislike such rending and tearing, such dividing and aggravating proceedings, and bitter treatment, and have no unity therewith; but desire the Lord in mercy to repair the breaches, and heal the backslidings among them, and amongst all that are esteemed Christian professions and societies, and incline all to the main, to the true light, to the substance, and life of Christianity, to true love, fervent charity, and tender-heartedness, and forgiveness towards one another, and to follow peace with all men, and holiness; without which no man shall see the Lord.

A postscript, relating to the doctrine of the Resurrection and Eternal Judgment.

At the last trump of God, and voice of the archangel, the dead shall be raised incorruptible; the dead in Christ shall rise first; 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Thes. iv. 16, compared with Mat. xxiv. 31.

Many are often alarmed in conscience here by the word and voice of God, who stop their ears and slight those warnings; but the great and final alarm of the last trumpet, they cannot stop their ears against nor escape: it will unavoidably seize upon, and further awaken them finally to judgment. They that will not be alarmed in their consciences unto repentance, nor out of their sins here, must certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

Whosoever do now wilfully shut their eyes, hate, condemn, or shun the light of Christ, or his appearance within, shall at last be made to see, and not be able to shun or hide themselves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and in flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; 1 Thes. vii. 8, Mat. xxiv. 27, Luke xvii. 24, Dan. x. 6, Job xxxvii. 3.

And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences, they shall all be at last opened, and every one judged of those things recorded therein, according to their works; Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Signed in behalf of our Christian profession and people aforesaid;

George Whitehead,	Charles Marshall,
Ambrose Rigge,	John Bowater,
William Fallowfield,	John Vaughton,
James Parke,	William Bingley.

The following epistle appears to have been written by him when very far advanced in life, viz:

A Gospel salutation in true Christian love, recommended to Friends, who believe in the name of the Son of God, the true Light; and to all who truly desire to be grounded and settled in the faith of Christ.

I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. John viii. 12.

While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light. John xii. 36.

Beloved Friends,

Now, in my ancient years, after a long travel and many years labour in the work of the ministry of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, a renewed salutation of true and tender love he hath laid upon me, and moved upon my spirit to recommend unto you, by way of an epistle, I being for some time disabled in the outward man from travelling abroad as formerly; yet am inwardly often strengthened and renewed in spirit, through the love and tender mercies and riches of the grace of the Lord our God, which I have in his dear Son Christ Jesus, to whom be praise, honour and glory, for evermore.

My dear and beloved friends, I am still as deeply concerned in spirit for the whole family, heritage and church of God, as ever; and for all whose hearts are truly inclined by his divine grace and good spirit to seek him, and to be acquainted with him, that they may have eternal life, by the knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, for this is life eternal, the intent, substance and glory of all true Christian religion: and that this knowledge may increase, and the glory thereof spread in the earth, is still my soul's desire and breathing to the Lord our God.

And dearly beloved, that in this eternal life, divine and spiritual knowledge of the only true God and his Son Jesus Christ, you all may grow, and your souls prosper therein to God's eternal glory, and your everlasting peace, is my soul's sincere desire and supplication to Him, who is the Father and fountain of all our mercies and blessings afforded unto us, in and through his only begotten Son Jesus Christ.

O! consider, and diligently mind and remember the great wisdom and love of our most gracious God, as the cause of his giving his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life; who said unto his disciples, "Let not your hearts be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's

house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you; and if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also."

Surely we believing in God, who gave his dear Son for our redemption and salvation, we ought also to believe in his Son as our great Mediator and Advocate with the Father; considering also, that Christ Jesus, his being given us as our Mediator between God and men, and his giving himself a ransom for all men, for a testimony in due time, and his dying for all men, his tasting death for every man, &c., did all proceed from the great love of God, and not to pay a strict or rigid satisfaction for vindictive justice, or revenge on God's part; for that would leave no place for forgiveness of sins past, before repentance and faith in Christ and his gospel; seeing the good will and blessed design of God, setting forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God, whose blood cries for mercy. Surely that righteousness and forbearance of God declared by the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the remission or forgiveness of sins that are past, upon true repentance, cannot justly be deemed revenge or vindictive justice, as some have asserted against us; but a free act of the love and wisdom of God to give his Son, and in him to reconcile the world to himself, and not to impute their sins that are past to them, when thoroughly reconciled and united in heart and soul unto him, by his grace and good spirit.

Oh! "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world:" In what respect does Jesus Christ, as the Lamb of God, take away the sin of the world? I answer, in two respects; first, as an universal and most excellent offering and acceptable sacrifice for sin, in order to obtain redemption and forgiveness by his precious blood, and even of a most sweet smelling savour to God, far excelling the legal and typical oblations of animals, as the offerings and blood of bulls, goats, heifers, sheep, rams, lambs, &c., all which Jesus Christ by his own one offering put an end unto.

Second; Jesus Christ, as the Lamb of God, takes away the sin of the world, by purging the conscience and purifying the hearts of all them who truly receive him and believe in him, even in his holy name and divine power.

O! therefore, behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away and putteth an end to sin,

finisheth transgression, and brings in everlasting righteousness.

Let us all look unto the promised Messiah, even unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, that we all may believe in heart unto righteousness, and the salvation of our souls, so as to be partakers of Christ and his righteousness, that none may draw back to perdition, nor into the world's pollutions, who have escaped the same through the knowledge of God and his dear Son Jesus Christ, who is able and truly willing to save to the uttermost all them who come unto God by him.

He who offered up himself a Lamb without spot to God for all mankind, and thereby became a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, never designed to leave men in sin and transgression all their days, but to afford all men grace to lead them to true repentance, that they might receive that remission, forgiveness, atonement and reconciliation obtained for them.

That God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their sins unto them, but allowing and granting them remission upon true repentance, was, and is a testimony, and plain indication of the great love, grace and favour of God to the world, in and through his dear Son. How wonderfully has God, in his great wisdom, love, kindness, meekness, long suffering and compassion, condescended to our low capacities and conditions of the human race, for our redemption and salvation, by his dear Son Jesus Christ, truly considered, both as he came and suffered in the flesh, and as he is revealed in the spirit. O let the weighty consideration of all these things deeply affect all our hearts and souls sincerely to love, serve, fear, worship and praise the Lord our most gracious God, through Jesus Christ for ever!

It is to be seriously observed and remembered, that when Jesus Christ was about to take leave of his disciples, he recommended them unto the Spirit of truth, the Comforter, which should testify of him and abide with them for ever; and that he would manifest himself to him that loved Him, and that in a little while, they, i. e., his disciples, should see him, that is Christ Jesus; so though he went away in the body, he would come again to them in spirit.

Now, dear friends, it being the Holy Spirit which testifies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shows unto us what he takes of Christ, he i. e., the Holy Spirit, shall take of mine, said Christ, and show it unto you.

The Holy Ghost takes, and shows unto us, the most excellent properties of our great and glorious Mediator, his great universal love, meekness, humility and compassion, that we

may by degrees partake thereof, as we truly obey and follow him in the manifestation of the same Holy Spirit, whereby the mystery of Christ is revealed, in and unto the truly spiritually minded believers in his light, and thereby they become the children of the light.

As our Lord Jesus Christ hath, by his sufferings, one offering, sacrifice and death, put an end to all the legal offerings, types, shadows and figures, outward ordinances, rites and ceremonies, and divers washings, or baptisms, under the Law of Moses and Levitical priesthood, he continues a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck, King of righteousness and King of peace, our High Priest over the house and family of God; he having consecrated, prepared and opened the new and living way of the new covenant, through the veil of his flesh, for our access into the most holy sanctuary.

Wherefore let us consider what great love God in his divine wisdom has manifested through his dear Son, for us and to us; yea, toward the children of men, that we might have and know access into his everlasting covenant of grace, mercy and peace, in and through his dear Son Jesus Christ. Let us prize his great love and goodness for ever, in bringing us into a more glorious dispensation than all the former dispensations of the law and shadows, under which the light was so far veiled, that the people of Israel, when the veil was over their heart, could not look to the end of those shadows and veils, which were abolished by Christ, but now vanished and fled away, by the Sun of righteousness more gloriously manifest and brightly shining, in the new covenant and spiritual dispensation of Christ, than in all the former dispensations. So that Moses' face is unveiled in this day, although God was pleased to afford his word, his light and spirit to visit the children of men, in all generations since the beginning. And even in the time of the law and the prophets, the voice, the Word and Spirit of God, was testified unto by Moses, the holy prophets and servants of God, and the people warned and exhorted to obey the same, for salvation and peace; but in the day of Christ and of the gospel, more clearly manifest and brightly shining than under the legal types and shadows, which Jesus Christ, the substance, put an end to and abolished. Abraham saw Christ's day and rejoiced; and the spirit of Christ in the holy prophets testified aforehand, both of his sufferings and of the glory of his day, that should follow.

Now, dear friends, the gospel day, the day of Christ and of his power being dawned, as in the primitive spiritual Christian days; after a long night of apostasy and ignorance, the

day-spring, the (sun-rising) from on high having visited us by the spiritual coming again of our Lord Jesus Christ, and affording us of his glorious light and Holy Spirit, let us all sincerely obey and walk in the same, that we all may have and enjoy life and peace in him, who has opened a living way unto us into the new and everlasting covenant of grace and peace; and let us all continue therein.

The dispensation of Christ is spiritual and glorious, which we are called unto; it is a ministry of the spirit of Christ, of his light and spirit, and it must go over all the world and continue unto the end.

When the Lord had opened the eyes of our minds and understandings, so as our minds were turned from darkness to the light of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from the power of satan to God, then we knew true repentance, and that our true beginning, in order to receive the true and spiritual knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ and true Christianity, was in the spirit and not in the letter, nor in fleshly observations, elements or rudiments of the world.

And it was by the same Holy Spirit, that the excellency of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of his sufferings, came to be revealed and experienced by degrees in us, as we followed the same spirit of holiness.

O what excellency is in the true knowledge of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ! and unto what poverty of spirit and loss of all that is of self must men be reduced, to obtain this knowledge and to win Christ, and be found in him, according to the confession of the holy apostle! Phil. 3.

And what fellowship of Christ's sufferings must persons be led into, if they be made conformable unto his death, and come to have or enjoy the righteousness which is of God by faith, even by the faith of Christ! What then were Christ's sufferings? "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows: He was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, and the chastisement of our peace was upon him; he was oppressed and afflicted," &c.

Surely they who come truly into the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, it must be spiritually, by being sensibly burthened, grieved and sorrowful, wounded and bruised, chastised and afflicted, for their own transgressions and iniquities, under the reproofs and chastisements of the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto true repentance, remission and forgiveness of their iniquities through Christ that was wounded, bruised, yea, and crucified for them, though he never sinned: and in

order to be made conformable unto his death, we all must be crucified with him. Men must come under the death of the cross, and by the power of Christ be baptised into his death, having crucified the flesh with the corrupt affections and lusts thereof, which they who are Christ's true followers have done, being risen with him by the faith of the operation of God.

Oh! such a suffering, dying, rising and living with Christ, unto God, must needs be known and inwardly experienced in true believers, by the work of his grace and Holy Spirit, which therefore we all ought diligently to follow and walk therein, that as we all have begun well, at the true beginning in the spirit, we may hold on in faithfulness unto a blessed end and crown of righteousness.

Dear friends, how precious is it to be partakers of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, as our Lord, through the fellowship, fruits and benefit of his sufferings, mediation and intercession! Let us for ever truly prize the great love of God, so eminently manifest in his dear Son Jesus Christ, by his Holy Spirit!

As the true and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ is only after the spirit and not after the flesh, and the glorious mystery of Christ in men revealed by the spirit, so we ought all to be spiritually minded, minding the divine light and holy Spirit of grace in our hearts, and to know one another after the spirit, in a spiritual sense and communion, that the fellowship of this mystery of Christ may be truly known and livingly increase among us, to the glory of God and honour of his beloved Son, and our universal comfort and true joy in Him, who is the true God and eternal life.

I well remember, how in early days, after we were truly convinced, and received the blessed truth in the love and simplicity thereof, and thereby were led into plainness of speech and habit, &c., we did in measure also outwardly partake of the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, by being reproached, opposed, contradicted and calumniated for his name and truth's sake, by the wicked and loose professors and profane; we resigned unto obedience and bearing the cross for his sake, who endured a more severe cross for our sakes before us.

It was in the love of the living truth and simplicity which is in Christ Jesus, through obedience to him in his light and grace, that we became espoused unto him: this progress is not to be forgotten by any who would be betrothed in righteousness, true and constant love, unto Christ Jesus, as our spiritual head and husband, which he truly is unto his church, or mystical body.

O! my dear and beloved friends, be retired inwardly, in your minds and spirits, unto the light, the grace, the good Word and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ in you, that you may experience the holy Seed, the Word of eternal life and grace, to grow and prevail more and more, unto an immortal birth and holy generation, as you become born thereof.

And, dear friends, I cannot but remember the love of our espousals, and the kindness of our youth at the beginning, and in early days, and remind you thereof, when we as chaste virgins, were therein espoused unto Jesus Christ, and when but a few in number; and how sincerely we loved one another, that we were one another's joy in the Lord; who said unto Jerusalem of old, "I remember the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown;" which was a low suffering state of deep trials. Oh! the first love of our espousals should never be impaired, nor left, or forgotten, but for ever retained, or otherwise we cannot live to God nor prosper in a Christian life in Christ Jesus, or keep chaste to him as his true spouse and church of the first born written in heaven.

Now, dear friends, to come into and live in a true Christian love and life, must be through a real self-denial, and taking up the daily cross, and following Christ Jesus and his example and steps.

This self-denial must be an abasement and denial of all proud conceited self, that is exalted above others, in secret pride abounding in one's own sense, slighting and contemning others; and what other evils and corruptions perverse self is addicted unto, must all be denied and utterly rejected by all who come to embrace a humble Christian life and condition.

This real denial of self will not allow any to exercise lordship over God's heritage, nor any rigid overruling thereof, though they should pretend eldership; but to be humble examples to the flock of Christ, and as fellow helpers in the Lord of the younger, the weak, the feeble and tender, so as not to quench any good intentions or desires in any such; and in all humbleness of mind, meekness and long suffering, forbearing, or supporting one another in love, therein endeavouring for, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

And as we are called by one spirit into one true light, life and love, let us all endeavour diligently in humility to walk therein, that we may truly appear to be one peculiar people of God and Christ, one church of the first-born, one spiritual society, and of one city

set upon a hill, fellow-citizens with the saints, set upon the holy hill of Zion, shining in the brightness thereof, in all holy conversation, to the glory of our God.

For such is the blessed and glorious state of the true church, the spiritual Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, which the saints, the primitive church of Christ and true Christians of old were come unto, and also to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant; whose eyes the Lord had opened, that they were turned from darkness unto his light, and thereby became light in the Lord; and they were no more foreigners, nor strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, who continued faithful, and true believers in the light.

O! how great are the privileges and spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, which his faithful subjects and fellow-citizens with the saints partake of, even in this life! And how much more in that to come, in his kingdom of glory and triumph!

Zion and Jerusalem, when Israel's solemnities of worship were kept in the temple there, as God had appointed under the law, were in great splendor and applause; typifying the true spiritual church, or city of the saints solemnities under the dispensation of Christ and his glorious gospel, in whom the most excellent and glorious promises, to spiritual Zion and heavenly Jerusalem, which are yea and amen, are fulfilled unto his gospel church: "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob: glorious things are spoken of thee, thou city of God." Again, "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, and a tabernacle that shall not be taken down," &c. This was not fulfilled upon earthly Jerusalem, for that was taken down and laid waste with the temple and sumptuous buildings thereof, because of the great provocations, iniquities and cruel persecutions of the Jews, against the servants of the Lord, and even against the Son of God himself.

Now, beloved friends and brethren, who are called out of darkness into the true light, and to be fellow-citizens with the saints in light, of whom it may be said, "ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem," &c., walk in the light of the holy city of God, whereof the Lord God and the Lamb is the light, and wherein the nations of them that are saved must walk; that salvation may encompass you, and be as walls and bulwarks unto you, that the enemy may not invade or scatter you; that the righteousness of Zion and Jerusalem may go forth as brightness,

and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth.

Wherefore, arise, O Zion! and shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee; put on thy strength, O Zion! put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem! the holy city, &c.

Pray, you friends, consider what the beautiful garments are, which the inhabitants of the city of God must put on, and be clothed withal in our Zion and Jerusalem, the true spiritual church? Must they not be such as the holy apostle exhorts to put on and describes? Namely, "Now therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, (if any man hath a complaint or quarrel against another) even as Christ forgave, so do ye." But first the filthy garments must be put off, the old man with his corrupt lusts and evil deeds, with all the filthy rags of self-righteousness; these must be mortified and put off, and the creature also divested of all its own filthy rags of self-righteousness, before it be invested with the beautiful garments of Zion, or heavenly Jerusalem, the true spouse of Christ Jesus, or married to the Lamb. Therefore it greatly concerns all to follow him in the work of regeneration, the work of sanctification by his Holy Spirit and power, and therein believe, and sincerely obey him, for the perfecting of holiness in the fear of God, that Christ may be formed in you; and in his life manifest in you, all may shine forth as the called, chosen and faithful people of God, to your everlasting peace in his dear Son, and to the honour, the glory and renown of his great and excellent name for ever.

I would further remind you of this weighty exhortation of the holy apostle to the church of Christ at Colosse, viz: "Above all these things put on charity, (i. e., true love) which is the bond of perfectness: and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, unto which ye are called in one body, and be ye thankful."

The Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and endue you with his holy Spirit of grace, wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of the mystery of Christ, that he may dwell in your hearts by faith, and by his power you may be rooted and grounded in his love, grace and peace more and more, to the glory of his name, and your everlasting consolation and joy in his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

And now, dear friends, let us consider the only begotten Son of God, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, and what confession and honour is given unto him in holy Scripture, both re-

specting his eternal Deity and perfect manhood, and coming therein manifestly in due time, which I mention in order to clear us, the people termed Quakers, from the unjust imputations of our adversaries, one while with denying the divinity, another while with denying the humanity of Christ, or both, as some have done; and to prevent all occasion of doubts or disputes about the same matter, I refer you and all concerned to the Scriptures following, viz:

Isa. vii. 14. The Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

A prophecy of Jesus Christ, respecting his birth of the virgin, as a man child, and his being Immanuel, God with us, or in us.

Isa. ix. 6. For unto us a child is born, a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.

An excellent prophecy and testimony of Jesus Christ, respecting his birth as a man child, and his divine wisdom and Deity, as Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, &c.

Mic. v. 2. and Mat. i. 23. and ii. 1. But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that shall be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

Showing that Christ existed, as to his Divinity, before he was born in Bethlehem in Judah.

John i. ch. to ver. 14. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God; all things were made by him, &c. Read to ver. 14. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, as the glory of the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.

Rom. i. 3, 4. Concerning his Son Jesus Christ, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead: And Rom. ix. 5. Whose are the Fathers, (speaking of Israelites) and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.

Hence, that Jesus Christ his being truly man and the Son of God, and God over all, thus declared; first, respecting his manhood, it is said of him, Luke 2nd ch. And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and was

filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was with him: And when twelve years old, and found in the temple among the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions, all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers, Luke ii. 40, 42, 46, 47. and ver. 52. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men. O wonderful child! And most excellent heavenly man! He has left us a blessed example, in order to follow him, and to grow in his grace and wisdom, by the help of his holy Spirit and power.

Consider also, that by the wonderous works and miracles, that Christ wrought on earth by the power of God, he had great adoration and honour in many hearts; and so do his great and spiritual cures, which by his divine light and power, he has wrought and worketh on many souls in this day: glory and honour to his name for ever: See Ps. x. 3. and cxlvi. 7. Isa. xlii. 6, 7. John xi. 25, 26. Ephes. ii. 1, &c.

There is no cause to question Christ the Son of God, whom he hath highly exalted, having a name given him above every name, whereunto every knee shall bow, &c. Phil. ii. 9. Surely, the mighty God or God over all, &c., is a name, yea, a power divine, above every other name.

Ephes. iii. 9. Colos. i. 16. And to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ: Colos. i. 16. For by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, &c.

As God created all things in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, &c., by Jesus Christ; this bespeaks his being the eternal Wisdom, Power and Word of God, John i. 3. Rev. xix. 13.

See likewise Heb. i. 1, 2. God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.

Then the Son of God was before the worlds were made; to which agrees, Heb. xi. 3. Through faith we understand, that the worlds were framed by the Word of God.

See also, John v. 21, 22, 23. As the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will; for the Father judgeth no man; but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father: he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.

How can any so honour the Son, who count him only a mere man?

John xvii. 5. And now, O Father! Glorify thou me, with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee, before the world was.

These were Christ's own words and testimony, in his prayer to the Father.

See 1 John v. 20. How [the true God and Eternal Life] is ascribed to the Son as well as to the Father, who are one; John x. 30.

It is also observable, The children of Israel, who were all baptised unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink of the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, (or went with them) and that Rock was Christ; 1 Cor. x. 2, 3, 4.

And this was long before Christ came in the flesh; Christ was and is the Rock of ages, and Foundation of many generations, both before and after his coming in the flesh.

Now dear and well beloved friends, for as much as, ever since a people, we have believed Christ as the true Light and his coming in the flesh; these Scripture testimonies of him, as to his divinity and manhood, are recited rather in defence of our Christian faith and holy profession, against our adversaries unjustly rendering us no Christians, than to suppose any deficiency on your parts relating thereunto.

The Lord be with you all, and possess your hearts with his dear love and divine wisdom in Christ Jesus.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

JOHN ROBERTS.

BY HIS SON DANIEL ROBERTS.

The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord; and he delighteth in his way. He is his strength in the time of trouble.—PSALM xxxvii. 23, 39.

I HAVE had it on my mind, for some years past, to commit to writing some memorable passages, the chief of which were transacted in my time, together with some short account of our family.

My grandfather's name was John Roberts, alias Hayward. He lived at a village called Siddington, within a mile of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. I have heard he lived reputably on a little estate of his own, which he occupied. He married Mary Solliss, sister to Andrew Solliss, Esq., who was in the commission of the peace, and sustained great spoil in the time of the civil war between king Charles I. and the Parliament. I have heard that a colonel and his men and horses quartered themselves upon him a considerable time together, turning their horses to the corn and hay mows.

My father and his next neighbour went into the army under Oliver Cromwell, and continued till they heard Cirencester was taken by the king's party; when they thought proper to return home, to see how it fared with their parents and relations.

As they were passing by Cirencester, they were discovered and pursued by two soldiers of the king's party, then in possession of the town. Seeing themselves pursued, they quitted their horses, and took to their heels; but by reason of their ac-

coutrements could make little speed. They came up with my father first; and though he begged for quarter none would they give him; but laid on him with their swords, cutting and slashing his hands and arms, which he held up to save his head, as the marks upon them did long after testify. At length it pleased the Almighty to put it into his mind to fall down on his face; which he did. Hereupon the soldiers being on horseback, cried to each other, alight and cut his throat! But neither of them did; yet continued to strike and prick him about the jaws, till they thought him dead. Then they left him and pursued his neighbour, whom they presently overtook and killed. Soon after they had left my father, it was said in his heart, "rise, and flee for thy life;" which call he obeyed; and starting upon his feet, his enemies espied him in motion, and pursued him again. He ran down a steep hill, and through a river, which ran at the bottom of it; though with exceeding difficulty, his boots filling with water, and his wounds bleeding very much. They followed him to the top of the hill; but seeing he had got over, they pursued him no further. He was at a loss which way to take in this wounded and disconsolate condition, being surrounded with enemies on every hand. At length he determined to go to his uncle Sol-

liss's; from whence he sent a servant to a widow at Cirencester, at whose house the chief officers lay, with whom he was acquainted, desiring her to come to him; which she readily did, and offered him all the service in her power. He desired her, as the principal officers lay at her house, to use her interest with them to give command that none of the soldiers might offer him any abuse; which she effected, and in good will to her they likewise sent their ablest surgeon to him. He was a man of great skill, but of a sour disposition; for he told my father, "if he had met him in the field, he would have killed him himself; but now, said he, I will cure you;" which he did. When my father found himself able, he went to his father's house, and found him very ill in bed. They greeted each other with many tears, and a great intermixture of joy and sorrow. After some time my father perceived him to tremble to such a degree, that the bed shook under him. Upon which my father asked him how it was with him? He replied, "I am well; I feel no pain,—it is the mighty power of God that shakes me." After lying still some time, he broke out in a sweet melody of spirit, saying, "In the Lord only have I righteousness and strength! In God have I salvation!" I do not remember to have heard he said any thing more before his departure.

The civil war continuing, my father found he could not be safe at home, and therefore he went again, and continued till near the conclusion of that dreadful eruption; when he returned again to his sorrowful family at Siddington. After some time he took to wife Lydia Tindall, daughter of Thomas Tindall of Slincomb, near Dursley, a religious family, and one of those under the denomination of Puritans. Matthew Hale, afterwards lord chief justice of England, was her kinsman, and drew her marriage settlement. It pleased God to give them six children, viz: John, Joseph, Lydia, Thomas, Nathaniel and Daniel. Joseph and Lydia died young: Thomas was killed at the age of fourteen, by a kick from a mare; the rest lived to man's estate.

In the year 1665, it pleased the Lord to send two women Friends out of the north to Cirencester, who inquiring after such as feared God, were directed to my father, as the likeliest person to entertain them. They came to his house and desired a meeting: he granted it and invited several of his acquaintance to sit with them. After some time of silence, the Friends spake a few words, which had a good effect. After the meeting, my father endeavoured to engage them in discourse; but they said little, only recommended him to Richard Farnsworth, then a prisoner for the testimony of Truth in Banbury jail, to whom they were going. Upon this recommendation my father went shortly after to the prison, in order to converse with Richard; where he met with the two women who had been at his house. The turnkey was denying them entrance, and telling them he had an order not to let any of those giddy-headed people in; and therefore if they did go in, he would keep them there; but upon my father's desire they were admitted in along with him, and conducted through several rooms to a dungeon, where Richard Farnsworth was preaching through a grate to the people in the street; but soon after they came in, he desisted, and after a little time

of silence, turning to them, he spake to this purpose; that Zaccheus, being a man of low stature, and having a mind to see Christ, ran before and climbed up into a sycamore tree; and our Saviour knowing his good desires, called to him, "Zaccheus, come down, this day is salvation come to thy house." Thus, Zaccheus was like some in our day, who are climbing up into the tree of knowledge, thinking to find Christ there. But the word now is, "Zaccheus come down, come down; for that which is to be known of God, is manifested within." This, with more to the same purpose, was spoken in such authority, that when my father came home, he told my mother he had seen Richard Farnsworth, who had spoken to his condition as if he had known him from his youth. From this time he patiently bore the cross. Afterwards, when it pleased God to communicate to him a portion of the knowledge of his blessed Truth, a necessity was laid upon him one first-day morning to go to the public worship-house in Cirencester, in the time of worship, not knowing what might be required of him there. He went, and standing with his hat on, the priest was silent for some time; but being asked why he did not go on, he answered, he could not while that man stood with his hat on. Upon this some took him by the arm and led him into the street, staying at the door to keep him out; but after waiting a little in stillness, he found himself clear and passed away. As he passed the market-place, the tie of his shoe slackened; and while he stooped down to fasten it, a man came behind him and struck him on the back a hard blow with a stone, saying, there, take that for Jesus Christ's sake. He answered, so I do, not looking back to see who it was, but quietly going on his way. A few days after a man came and asked him forgiveness; telling him he was the unhappy man that gave him the blow on his back, and he could have no rest since he had done it.

Not long after, three Friends came that way, who found the like concern, viz: Robert Silvester, Philip Grey and Thomas Onyon. These standing in the steeple-house with their hats on, though they said nothing, the priest was silent; and being asked if he was not well, he answered, he could not go forward whilst those dumb dogs stood there; wherefore the people dragged them out, and the priest afterwards informing a justice that they had interrupted him in divine service, they were bound over to the quarter sessions. My father, at their desire, accompanied them to the sessions; and when they were called and the priest had accused them, the bench, in a rage, without asking them any questions, ordered their mittimus to be made. This unjust and illegal proceeding kindled my father's zeal, insomuch that he stepping forward, called to the justices, saying: Are not those who sit on the bench sworn to do justice? Is there not a man among you that will do the thing that is right? Whereupon John Stephens, of Lipeat, then chairman, cried out, who are you, sirrah? What is your name? My father telling him his name, he said, I am glad I have you here; I have heard of you—you deserve a stone doublet: there is many an honest man than you hanged. It may be so, answered my father; but what dost thou think becomes of those who hang honest men? The justice replied, I will send you to prison; and if any insurrection or tumult be in the land, I will

come and cut your throat first with my own sword, for I fear to sleep in my bed, lest such fanatics should come and cut my throat; and snatching up a ball of wax, he violently threw it at my father, who avoided the blow by stepping aside. Their mittimus were then made, and they were all sent to prison.

The same evening my uncle Solliss, who was one of the justices on the bench, came to the prison, and calling for my father, asked him if he was willing to have his liberty to go home to his wife and family. Upon what terms, uncle? said my father.

Justice. Upon such terms, that the jailer open the door and let you out.

John Roberts. What! without entering into any recognizance?

Justice. Yes.

John Roberts. Then I accept of my liberty. But I admire, uncle, how thou and several others could sit upon the bench as with your thumbs in your mouths, when you should speak a word in behalf of the innocent.

Justice. You must learn to live under a law, cousin. And if you will accept of your liberty till next sessions, you may have it; if not, stay where you are.

So they parted; and on the morrow my father went home, having also the jailer's leave.

In the night a concern came upon him with such weight, that it made him tremble till the bed shook under him. My mother asking the reason of it, he answered, "the Lord requires hard things of me: if it would please him, I had rather lay down my life than obey him in what he requires at my hands." To which my mother replied; "if thou art fully persuaded the Lord requires it of thee, I would not have thee disobey him; for he will require nothing of us but what he will enable us to go through; therefore we have good cause to trust in him." On which he said, I must go to this John Stephens, who is my great enemy, and sent me to prison, where he said he would secure me; and as my uncle Solliss in kindness has given me leave to come home, I can expect no favour from him, if I now go and run myself into the mouth of my adversary; but I must go, whatever I suffer. He arose and prepared for his journey, but durst eat or drink nothing. When he mounted his horse, the command of the Lord was unto him, "Remember Lot's wife: look not back." So on he rode very cheerfully eight or nine miles, till he came within sight of the justice's house, and then he let in the reasoner, who reasoned him out of all his courage, presenting to his mind, that his uncle Solliss and his neighbours would say he had no regard for his wife and family, thus to push himself into the hands of his greatest enemy. This brought such a cloud over his mind, that he alighted off his horse and sat down upon the ground, to spread his cause before the Lord. After he had waited some time in silence, the Lord appeared and dissipated the cloud, and his word was to him, "Go, and I will go with thee, and will give thee a threshing instrument, and thou shalt thresh the mountains." Now he was exceedingly overcome with the love of God; and I have often heard him say, he was filled like a vessel that wanted vent, and said in his heart, "thy presence is enough," proceeding to the house with great satisfaction. It

being pretty early in the morning, and seeing the stable door open, he went to the groom, and desired him to put up his horse. While this was doing, the justice's son and his clerk came up, the latter roughly said, "I thought you had been in Gloucester castle."

John Roberts. So I was.

Clerk. And how came you out?

John Roberts. When thou hast authority to demand it, I can give thee an answer; but my business is with thy master, if I may speak with him.

Clerk. You may, if you will promise to be civil.

John Roberts. If thou seest me uncivil, I desire thee to tell me of it.

They went in; and my father following them, they bid him take a turn in the hall, and they would acquaint the justice of his being there. He was soon called in; and my father no sooner saw him, but he believed the Lord had been at work upon him; for, as he had behaved to him with the fierceness of a lion before, he now appeared like a lamb, meeting him with a pleasant countenance, and taking him by the hand, said, "Friend Haywood, how do you do?" my father answered, pretty well; and then proceeded thus; I am come in the fear and dread of heaven, to warn thee to repent of thy wickedness with speed, lest the Lord cut the thread of thy life, and send thee to the pit that is bottomless. I am come to warn thee, in great love, whether thou wilt hear or forbear, and to preach the everlasting gospel unto thee. The justice replied, "you are a welcome messenger to me, that is what I have long desired to hear." The everlasting gospel (returned my father) is the same that God sent his servant John to declare, when he saw an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, "fear God and give glory to his name, and worship him who made heaven and earth, the sea, and the fountains of water." The justice then caused my father to sit down by him on a couch; and said, I believe your message is of God, and I receive it as such. I am sorry I have done you wrong; and I will never wrong you more. I would pray you to forgive me, and to pray to God to forgive me. After much more discourse, he offered my father the best entertainment his house afforded; but my father excused himself from eating or drinking with him at that time, expressing his kind acceptance of his love; and so in much love they parted.

The same day William Dewsberry had appointed a meeting at Tedbury; whither my mother went. But she was so concerned on account of my father's exercise, that she could receive little benefit from the meeting. After the meeting was ended, William Dewsberry walked to and fro in a long passage, groaning in spirit; and by and by came up to my mother, and though she was a stranger to him, he laid his hand upon her head, and said, "Woman, thy sorrow is great; I sorrow with thee." Then walking a little to and fro, as before, he came to her again, and said, "now the time is come, that those who marry, must be as though they married not, and those who have husbands, as though they had none; for the Lord calls for all to be offered up." By this she saw the Lord had given him a sense of her great burden; for she had not discovered her exercise to any; and it gave her such ease in her mind, that she

went home rejoicing in the Lord. She no sooner got home, but she found my father returned from Lipeat, where his message was received in such love, as was far from their expectation; the sense of which brake them into tears, in consideration of the great goodness of God, in so eminently making way for, and helping them that day.

At the next sessions my father and the three Friends appeared in court; where, as soon as justice Stephens espied them, he called to my father, and said, "John, I accept of your appearance, and discharge you, and the court discharges. You may go about your business." But my father thinking his work not done, did not hasten out of court. Upon which the clerk demanded his fees. What! dost mean money? says my father. "Yes, what do you think I mean?" says the clerk. My father replied, I do not know that I owe any man here any thing but love, and must I now purchase my liberty with money? I do not accept it on such terms.

Clerk. (to the chairman.) An't please your worship, John will not pay the fees of the court.

John Roberts. I do not accept my liberty on such terms.

Then he was ordered to prison with the three Friends. But in the evening the clerk discharged them, and ever after carried himself very kindly to my father.

He was afterwards cast into prison at Cirencester, by George Bull, vicar of Upper Siddington, for tithes; where was confined at the same time, upon the same account, Elizabeth Hewlings, a widow of Amney, near Cirencester. She was a good Christian and so good a midwife, that her confinement was a loss to that side of the country, insomuch, that lady Dunch, of Down-Amney, thought it would be an act of charity to the neighbourhood to purchase her liberty, by paying the priest's demand; which she did. She likewise came to Cirencester in a coach; and sent her footman, Alexander Cornwall, to the prison to bring Elizabeth to her. And while Elizabeth was making ready to go with the man, my father and he fell into a little discourse. He asked my father his name, and where his home was; which when my father had told him; "What, said he, are you that John Haywood of Siddington, who keeps great conventicles at your house?" My father answered, "the church of Christ often meets at my house. I suppose I am the man thou meanest." "I have often, replied Cornwall, heard my lady speak of you, and I am sure she would gladly be acquainted with you." When he returned to his lady, he told her he had met with such a man in the prison, as he believed she would not suffer to lie in prison for conscience-sake; informing her withal who he was. She immediately bid him to go back and fetch him to her. Accordingly he came to the jail, and told my father his lady wanted to speak to him. My father answered, "if any body would speak with me, they must come where I am; for I am a prisoner." "Oh, said Cornwall, I will get leave of the jailer for you to go;" which he did. And when they came before the lady, she put on a majestic air, to see how the Quaker would greet her. He went up towards her, and bluntly said, "Woman, wouldst thou speak with me?"

Lady. What is your name.

John Roberts. My name is John Roberts, but I am commonly known by the name of John Haywood in the place where I live.

Lady. Where do you live?

John Roberts. At a village called Siddington, about a mile distant from this town.

Lady. Are you the man that keeps conventicles at your house?

John Roberts. The church of Christ do often meet at my house. I presume I am the man that thou meanest.

Lady. What do you lie in prison for?

John Roberts. Because, for conscience-sake, I cannot pay an hireling priest what he demands of me; therefore he, like the false prophets of old, prepares war against me, because I cannot put into his mouth.

Lady. By what I have heard of you, I took you to be a wise man, and if you could not pay him yourself, you might let somebody else pay him for you.

John Roberts. That would be underhand dealing, and I had rather pay him myself, than be such a hypocrite.

Lady. Then suppose some neighbour or friend should pay him for you, unknown to you, you would choose not to lie in prison when you might have your liberty.

John Roberts. I am very well content where I am, till it shall please God to make way for my freedom.

Lady. I have a mind to set you at liberty, that I may have some of your company, which I cannot well have while you are in the prison.

Then, speaking to her man, she bid him go to the priest's attorney, and tell him she would satisfy him, and then pay the jailer his fees and get a horse for my father to go to Down-Amney with her.

John Roberts. If thou art a charitable woman, as I take thee to be, there are abroad in the world many real objects of charity on whom to bestow thy bounty; but to feed such devourers as these, I do not think to be charity. They are like Pharaoh's lean kine; they eat up the fat and the goodly, and look not a whit the better.

Lady. Well; I would have you get ready to go with us.

John Roberts. I do not know thou art like to have me when thou hast bought and paid for me; for if I may have my liberty, I shall think it my place to be at home with my wife and family. But if thou desirest it, I intended to come and see thee at Down-Amney some other time.

Lady. That will suit me better. But set your time, and I will lay aside all other business to have your company.

John Roberts. If it please God to give me life, health and liberty, I intend to come on seventh-day next, the day thou callest Saturday.

Lady. Is that as far as you used to promise?

John Roberts. Yes.

According to his appointment, my father went; and found her very inquisitive about the things of God, and very attentive to the truths he delivered. She engaged him likewise a second time, and treated him with abundance of regard. A third time she bid her man Cornwall to go to him and desire him to appoint a day when he would pay her another visit; and then ordered him to go to

the priest Careless, of Cirencester, and desire him to come and take a dinner with her at the same time; and not let either of them know the other was to be there. On the day appointed my father went; and when he had got within sight of her house, he heard a horse behind him, and looking back, he saw the priest following him, which made him conclude the lady had projected to bring them together. When the priest came up to him, "Well overtaken, John, said he, how far are you going this way?" My father answered, "I believe we are both going to the same place." "What! said Careless, are you going to the great house?" "Yes," said my father. "Come on then, John," said he. So then they went in together. And the lady being ill in bed, a servant went up and informed her they were come. "What! said she, did they come together?" "Yes," answered the servant. "I admire at that, said she. But do you beckon John out, and bring him to me first up the back stairs." When my father came up, she told him she had been very ill in a fit of the stone, and said, "I have heard you have done good in many distempers."

John Roberts. I confess I have; but to this of the stone I am a stranger. Indeed I once knew a man, who lived at ease and fared delicately, as thou mayest do, and whilst he continued in that practice he was much afflicted with that distemper. But it pleased the Lord to visit him with the knowledge of his blessed truth, which brought him to a more regular and temperate life, and this preserved him more free from it.

Lady. Oh! I know what you aim at. You want to have me a Quaker. And I confess, if I could be such an one as you are, I would be a Quaker to-morrow. But I understand Mr. Careless is below; and though you are men of different persuasions, I account you both wise and godly men, and some moderate discourse of the things of God between you, I believe would do me good.

John Roberts. If he ask me any questions, as the Lord shall enable me, I shall endeavour to give him an answer.

She then had the parson up; and after a compliment or two, she said, "I made bold to send for you to take an ordinary dinner with me, though I am disappointed of your company by my illness. But John Haywood and you, being persons of different persuasions, though I believe both good Christians, if you would soberly ask and answer each other a few questions, it would divert me; so that I should be less sensible of the pains I lie under."

Priest. An't please your ladyship, I see nothing in that.

Lady. Pray Mr. Carless, ask John some questions.

Priest. It will not edify your ladyship; for I have discoursed John and several others of his persuasion divers times, and I have read their books, and all to no purpose; for they sprang from the Papists, and hold the same doctrine the Papists do. Let John deny it if he can.

John Roberts. I find thou art setting us out in very black characters, with design to affright me; but therein thou wilt be mistaken. I advise thee to say no worse of us than thou canst make out, and then make us as black as thou canst. And if thou canst prove me a Papist in one thing, with

the help of God I will prove thee like them in ten. And this woman who lies here in bed shall be judge.

Priest. The Quakers hold that damnable doctrine and dangerous tenet, of perfection in this life; and so do the Papists. If you go about to deny it, John, I can prove you hold it.

John Roberts. I doubt thou art now going about to belie the Papists behind their backs, as thou hast heretofore done by us. For, by what I have learnt of their principles, they do not believe a state of freedom from sin and acceptance with God possible on this side the grave; and therefore they have imagined to themselves a place of purgation after death. But whether they believe such a state attainable or no, I do.

Priest. An't please your ladyship, John has confessed enough out of his own mouth; for that is a damnable doctrine and dangerous tenet.

John Roberts. I would ask thee one question; dost thou own a purgatory?

Priest. No.

John Roberts. Then the Papists, in this case, are wiser than thee. They own the saying of Christ, who told the unbelieving Jews, "If ye die in your sins, whither I go ye cannot come." But by thy discourse, thou and thy followers must needs go headlong to destruction; since thou neither ownest a place of purgation after death, nor such a preparation for heaven to be possible in this life, as is absolutely necessary. The Scripture thou knowest tells us, "Where death leaves us, judgment will find us. If a tree falls towards the north or south, there it shall lie." And since no unclean thing can enter the kingdom of heaven, pray tell this poor woman, whom thou hast been preaching to for thy belly, whether ever, or never, she must expect to be freed from her sins, and made fit for the kingdom of heaven; or whether the blind must lead the blind till both fall into the ditch.

Priest. No, John, you mistake me: I believe that God Almighty is able of his great mercy to forgive persons their sins, and fit them for heaven a little before they depart this life.

John Roberts. I believe the same. But, if thou wilt limit the holy One of Israel, how long wilt thou give the Lord leave to fit a person for his glorious kingdom.

Priest. It may be an hour or two.

John Roberts. My faith is a day or two, as well as an hour or two.

Priest. I believe so too.

John Roberts. Or a week or two. And my father carried it to a month or two; and so gradually till he brought it to seven years, the priest confessing he believed the same. On which my father thus proceeded: "How couldst thou accuse me of popery, in holding this doctrine, which thou thyself hast confessed too? If I am like a Papist, thou art, by thy own confession, as like a Papist as I am. And if it be a damnable doctrine and dangerous tenet in the Quakers, is it not the same in thyself? Thou toldest me I mistook thee; but hast not thou mistaken thyself in condemning thine own acknowledged opinion when uttered by me? But notwithstanding thou hast failed in making me out to be a Papist in this particular, canst thou do it in any thing else?" Upon this the priest being mute, my father thus proceeded:

"Well! though thou hast failed in proving me like them, it need not hinder me from showing thee to be so in many things. For instance, you build houses and consecrate them, calling them churches, as do the Papists. You hang bells in them, and consecrate them, calling them by the names of saints; so do they. The pope and the priests of the Roman church wear surplices, gowns, cassocks, &c., calling them their ornaments; here thou hast the like; and dost thou not style them thy ornaments? You consecrate the ground where you inter your dead, calling it holy ground; so do they. In short, thou art like a Papist in so many things, he need be a wise man to distinguish betwixt them and thee."

At this the priest appeared uneasy; and said to the lady, "Madam, I must beg your excuse; for there is to be a lecture this afternoon, and I must be there." She pressed him to stay to dinner, but he earnestly desired to be excused. So a slice or two being cut off the spit, he eat and took his leave.

The lady then said to my father, had she not seen it, she could not have believed Mr. Careless could have been so foiled in discourse by any man; "For, said she, I accounted him as sound and orthodox a divine as any was; but now I must tell you, I am so far of your opinion, that if you will let me know when you have a meeting at your house, and somebody to preach, not a silent meeting, I will come and hear them myself. My father answered, he expected she would be as good as her word. Not long after came two friends to my father's house, and though the weather was very severe, he found he could not be easy without acquainting her with it. So he went to her house, but she seemed a little surprised; saying, "What is your will now, John?" He informed her of the two friends, and their intention of having a meeting at his house. "How can you expect, said she, I should go out such weather as this? You know I seldom stir out of my chamber, and to go so far may endanger my health." My father returned, "I would not have thee make excuses, as some of old did, and were not found worthy. Thou knowest time is none of ours, and we know not whether we may have the like opportunity again. The snow need not much incommode thee; thou mayest be quickly in thy coach, and putting up the glasses, mayest be pretty warm; and when thou comest to my house, I know my wife will do her best for thee." So she ordered her coach and six to be got ready, for the distance was seven miles, saying, "John is like death, he will not be denied." My father came along with her; and during the time of silence in the meeting, she appeared something restless; but was very attentive whilst either of the friends were speaking. She was very well pleased after the meeting, and sat at table with the friends. While the rest sat silent, she would be frequently whispering to my mother, till one of them spake a few words before meat. She was ashamed, and told my mother, when she was among the great, she was accounted a wise woman; "But now, said she, I am among you Quakers, I am a very fool." Presently after dinner she returned home, and came several times to the meeting afterwards; and I am fully persuaded she was convinced of the truth; but going up to London, she was there taken ill, and died.

Her man, Alexander Cornwall, was convinced of the truth, and was afterwards a prisoner with my father in Gloucester castle; where the jailer was very cruel to them, sometimes putting them into the common jail among felons, and other times he would hire a tinker, who lay for his fees, to trouble them in the night, by playing on his hautboy. One time in particular, my father being concerned to speak to him in the dread and power of God, it struck him to such a degree, that he dropped the instrument out of his hand, and would never take it into his hand upon that occasion any more. When the jailer asked him why he discontinued it, he answered, "They are the servants of the living God, and I will never play more to disturb them, if you hang me up at the door for it." "What! said the jailer, are you bewitched too! I will turn you out of the castle." Which he did; and the friends who were there prisoners, raised him some money, clothed him, and away he went.

Some time after my father had three conferences with — Nicholson, bishop of Gloucester, introduced in the following manner. An apparitor came to cite my father to appear at the bishop's court; but he told my father he could not encourage him to come, lest they should ensnare him, and send him to prison. At the same time they cited a servant of my father's, named John Overall. My father went at the time appointed, without his servant; and when his name was called over, he answered to it. The discourse that occurred was in substance as follows:

Bishop. What is your name?

John Roberts. I have been called by my name, and answered to it.

Bishop. I desire to hear it again.

John Roberts. My name is John Roberts.

Bishop. Well, you were born Roberts; but you were not born John. Pray who gave you that name?

John Roberts. Thou hast asked me a very hard question, my name being given me before I was capable of remembering who gave it me. But I believe it was my parents, they being the only persons who had a right to give me my name. That name they always called me by, and to that name I always answered; and I believe none need call it in question now.

Bishop. No, no, but how many children have you?

John Roberts. It hath pleased God to give me six children; three of whom he pleased to take from me; the other three are still living.

Bishop. And how many of them have been bishoped?

John Roberts. None that I know of.

Bishop. What reason can you give for that?

John Roberts. A very good one, I think; most of my children were born in Oliver's days, when bishops were out of fashion. (At this the court fell a laughing.)

Bishop. But how many of them have been baptized?

John Roberts. What dost thou mean by that?

Bishop. What, do not you own baptism?

John Roberts. Yes; but perhaps we may differ in that point.

Bishop. What baptism do you own? That of the Spirit, I suppose.

John Roberts. Yes. What other baptism should I own?

Bishop. Do you own but one baptism?

John Roberts. If one be enough, what needs any more! The apostle said, One Lord, one faith, one baptism.

Bishop. What say you of the baptism of water?

John Roberts. I say there was a man sent from God, whose name was John, who had a real commission for it; and he was the only man that I read of, who was empowered for that work.

Bishop. But what if I make it appear to you, that some of Christ's disciples themselves baptized with water, after Christ's ascension?

John Roberts. I suppose that is no very difficult task; but what is that to me?

Bishop. Is it nothing to you what Christ's disciples themselves did?

John Roberts. Not in every thing; for Paul, that eminent apostle, who, I suppose thou wilt grant, had as extensive a commission as any of the rest of the apostles; nay, he says himself, he was not a whit behind the chiefest of them, and yet he honestly confesses he had no commission to baptize with water; and further says, "I thank God I baptized none but" such and such; for, says he, "I was not sent to baptize, i. e., with water, but to preach the gospel." And if he was not sent, I would soberly ask, who required it at his hands? Perhaps he might have as little thanks for his labour as thou mayest have for thine; and I would willingly know who sent thee to baptize?

Bishop. This is not our present business. You are here returned for not coming to church. What say you to that?

John Roberts. I desire to see mine accusers.

Bishop. It is the minister and the church wardens. Do you deny it?

John Roberts. Yes I do; for it is always my principle and practice to go to church.

Bishop. And do you go to church?

John Roberts. Yes, and sometimes the church comes to me.

Bishop. The church comes to you: I do not understand you, friend.

John Roberts. It may be so: it is often for want of a good understanding that the innocent are made to suffer.

Apparitor. My lord, he keeps meetings at his house, and he calls that a church,

John Roberts. No; I no more believe my house to be a church, than I believe what you call so to be one. I call the people of God the church of God, wheresoever they are met to worship him in spirit and in truth. And when I say the church comes to me, I mean the assembly of such worshippers, who frequently meet at my house. I do not call that a church which you do, which is made of wood and stone, that is but the workmanship of men's hands, whereas the true church consists of living stones, and is built up by Christ a spiritual house to God.

Bishop. We call it a church figuratively, meaning the place where the church meets.

John Roberts. I fear you call it a church hypocritically and deceitfully, with design to awe the people into a veneration for the place, which is not due to it, as though your consecrations had made that house holier than others.

Bishop. What do you call that which we call a church?

John Roberts. It may properly enough be called a mass house, it being formerly built for that purpose.

Apparitor. Mr. Haywood, it is expected you should show more respect than you do in this place in keeping on your hat.

John Roberts. Who expects it?

Apparitor. My lord the bishop.

John Roberts. I expect better things from him.

Bishop. No, no; keep on your hat: I do not expect it from you. A little after, the bishop said; "Well friend, this is not a convenient time for you and I to dispute; but I may take you to my chamber and convince you of your errors."

John Roberts. I should take it kindly of thee, or any man else, to convince me of any errors that I hold; and would hold them no longer.

Bishop. Call some others.—Then my father's man was called; who not appearing, the apparitor said, "Mr. Haywood, is John Overall here?"

John Roberts. I believe not.

Bishop. What is the reason he is not here?

John Roberts. I think there are very good reasons for his absence.

Bishop. What are they? may not I know?

John Roberts. In the first place, he is an old man, and not of ability to undertake such a journey, except it was upon a very good account. In the second place, he is my servant; and I cannot spare him out of my business in my absence.

Bishop. Why does he not go to church then?

John Roberts. He does go to church with me. At this the court fell a laughing.

Bishop. Call somebody else.

Then a Baptist preacher was called, who seeing the bishop's civility to my father, in suffering him to keep on his hat, thought to take the same liberty. At whom the bishop put on a stern countenance, and said, "Do not you know this is the king's court, and that I sit here to represent his majesty's person? And do you come here in an uncivil and irreverent manner, in contempt of his majesty and his court, with your hat on? I confess there are some men in the world who make a conscience of putting off their hats, to whom we ought to have some regard. But for you, who can put it off to every mechanic you meet, to come here, in contempt of authority, with it on, I will assure you, friend, you shall speed never the better for it." I heard my father say, these words came so honestly from the bishop, that it did him good to hear him. The Baptist then taking off his hat, said, "An't please you, my lord, I have not been well in my head."

Bishop. Why, you have got a cap on; nay you have two caps on. (He had a black one over a white one.) What is your reason for denying your children that holy ordinance of baptism?

Baptist. An't please you, my lord, I am not well satisfied about it.

Bishop. What is the ground of your dissatisfaction? Did you ever see a book I published, entitled, The order of Baptism?

Baptist. No, my lord.

Bishop. I thought so. Then telling how and where he might get it, he gave him a space of time to peruse it; and told him if that would not satisfy him, to come to him, and he would give

him full satisfaction. Some time after the bishop sent his bailiff to take my father; but he was then gone to Bristol with George Fox. The officers came several times and searched the house for him, pretending they only wanted him for a small trespass, which would soon be made up, if they could see him. My mother answered, she did not believe any neighbour he had would trouble him upon such an account; for if by chance any of his cattle trespassed upon any, he would readily make them satisfaction, without further trouble. Which they very well knew. However, she always treated them civilly, and frequently set meat and drink before them. My father staying away longer than was expected, they imagined he absconded for fear of them; and therefore offered my mother, if she would give them twenty shillings, to let him come home for a month. But she told them she knew of no wrong he had done to any man, and therefore would give them no money; for that would imply a consciousness of guilt. "But," said she, "if my enemy hunger, I can feed him; and if he thirst, I can give him drink." Upon this they flew into a rage, and said, they would have him if he were above ground; for none could pardon him but the king. My father returning home through Tedbury, was there informed that the bailiffs had been about his house almost ever since he went from home. He therefore contrived to come home after daylight; when he came into his own grounds, the moon shining bright, he espied the shadow of a man, and asked, "Who is there?" "It is I," says the man.

John Roberts. Who! Sam. Stubbs?

Sam. Stubbs. Yes, master.

John Roberts. Hast thou any thing against me? (He was a bailiff.)

Sam. Stubbs. No, master: I might; but I would not meddle: I have wronged you enough already; God forgive me. But those who now lie in wait for you are the Paytons, my lord bishop's bailiffs. I would not have you fall into their hands, for they are merciless rogues. I would have you, master, take my counsel; ever while you live please a knave, for an honest man will not hurt you.

My father came home, and desired us not to let the bailiffs in upon him that night, that he might have an opportunity of taking counsel on his pillow. In the morning he told my mother what he had seen that night in a vision. "I thought," said he, "I was walking a fine pleasant green way; but it was narrow, and had a wall on each side of it. In my way lay something like a bear, but more dreadful. The sight of him put me to a stand. A man seeing me surprised, came to me with a smiling countenance, and said, Why art thou afraid, friend? he is chained, and cannot hurt thee. I thought I made answer, The way is so narrow, I cannot pass by but he may reach me. Do not be afraid, says the man, he cannot hurt thee. I saw he spoke in great good will, and thought his face shone like the face of an angel. Upon which I took courage, and stepping forward, laid my hand upon his head." The construction he made of this to my mother was: Truth is a narrow way, and this bishop lies in my way; I must go to him, whatever I suffer. So he arose and set forward, and called upon Amariah Drew-

ett, a Friend of Cirencester, to accompany him. When they came to the bishop's house at Cleve, near Gloucester, they found a butcher's wife, of Cirencester, who was come to intercede for her husband, who was put into the bishop's court for killing meat on first-days. Two young sparks of the bishop's attendance, were asking her if she knew John Haywood? She answered, "Yes, very well." "What is he for a man?" said they. "A very good man," said she, "setting aside his religion; but I have nothing to say to that." One of them said he would give five shillings to see him; the other offered eight. Upon which my father stepped up to them; but they said not one word to him. One of them presently informed the bishop he was come. Whereupon the bishop dismissed his company, and had him up stairs. My father found him seated in his chair, with his hat under his arm, assuming a majestic air. My father stood silent a while; and seeing the bishop did not begin with him, he approached nearer, and thus accosted him: "Old man my business is with thee."

Bishop. What is your business with me?

John Roberts. I have heard thou hast sent out thy bailiffs to take me; but I rather chose to come myself, to know what wrong I have done thee. If it appear I have done thee any, I am ready to make thee satisfaction; but if, upon inquiry, I appear to be innocent, I desire thee, for thy own soul's sake, thou dost not injure me.

Bishop. You are misinformed, friend; I am not your adversary.

John Roberts. Then I desire thee to tell me who is my adversary, that I may go and agree with him while I am in the way.

Bishop. The king is your adversary. The king's laws you have broken, and to the king you shall answer; that is more.

John Roberts. Our subjection to laws is either active or passive. So that if a man cannot, for conscience-sake, do the thing the law requires, but passively suffers what the law inflicts, the law, I conceive, is as fully answered as if he had actually obeyed.

Bishop. You are wrong in that too; for suppose a man steal an ox, and then be taken, and hanged for the fact; what restitution is that to the owner?

John Roberts. None at all. But though it is no restitution to the owner, yet the law is satisfied. Though the owner be a loser, the criminal has suffered the punishment the law inflicts, as an equivalent for the crime committed. But thou mayest see the corruptness of such laws, which put the life of a man upon a level with the life of a beast.

Bishop. What! do such men as you find fault with the laws?

John Roberts. Yes; and I will tell thee plainly, it is high time wiser men were chosen, to make better laws. For if this thief was taken and sold for a proper term, according to the law of Moses, and the owner had four oxen for his ox, and four sheep for his sheep, he would be satisfied, and the man's life preserved, that he might repent, and amend his ways. But I hope thou dost not accuse me of having stolen any man's ox or ass.

Bishop. No, no; God forbid!

John Roberts. Then if thou pleasest to give me leave, I will state a case more parallel to the matter in hand.

Bishop. You may.

John Roberts. There lived in days past, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who set up an image, and made a decree, that all who would not bow to it, should be cast the same hour into a burning fiery furnace. There were then three young men, who served the same God that I do now, and these durst not bow down to it; but passively submitted their bodies to the flames. Was not that a sufficient satisfaction to the unjust decree of the king?

Bishop. Yes: God forbid else. For that was to worship the workmanship of men's hands; which is idolatry.

John Roberts. Is that thy judgment, that to worship the workmanship of men's hands is idolatry?

Bishop. Yes, certainly.

John Roberts. Then give me leave to ask thee, by whose hands the common-prayer-book was made, I am sure it was made by somebody's hands, for it could not make itself?

Bishop. Do you compare our common-prayer-book to Nebuchadnezzar's image?

John Roberts. Yes, I do: that was his image, and this is thine. And be it known unto thee, I speak in the dread of the God of heaven, I no more dare bow to thy common-prayer-book than the three children could to Nebuchadnezzar's image.

Bishop. Yours is a strange upstart religion, of a very few years standing, and you are grown so confident in it, that there is no beating you out of it.

John Roberts. Out of my religion? God forbid! I was a long time seeking acquaintance with the living God amongst the dead forms of worship, and inquiring after the right way and worship of God, before I could find it; and now, I hope neither thou nor any man living shall be able to persuade me out of it. But though thou art an ancient man and a bishop, I find thou art very ignorant of the rise and antiquity of our religion?

Bishop. (Smiling.) Do you Quakers pretend antiquity for your religion?

John Roberts. Yes; and I do not question, but, with the help of God, I can make it appear that our religion was many hundred years before thine was thought of.

Bishop. You see I have given you liberty of discourse, and have not sought to ensnare you in your words; but if you can make the Quakers' religion appear to be many hundred years older than mine, you will speed the better.

John Roberts. If I do not, I seek no favour at thy hands, and in order to do it, I hope thou wilt give me liberty to ask a few sober questions.

Bishop. You may.

John Roberts. Then first I would ask thee, where was thy religion in Oliver's days? The common-prayer-book was then become, (even among the clergy,) like an old almanac, very few regarding it in our country. There were two or three priests indeed, who stood honestly to their principles, and suffered pretty much; but the far greater number turned with the tide; and we have reason to believe, that if Oliver would have

put mass into their mouths, they would have conformed even to that for their bellies.

Bishop. What would you have us do? would you have Oliver cut our throats?

John Roberts. No, by no means. But what religion was that you were afraid to venture your throats for? Be it known unto thee, I ventured my throat for my religion in Oliver's days as I do now.

Bishop. And I must tell you, though in Oliver's days I did not dare to own it as I do now, yet I never owned any other religion.

John Roberts. Then I suppose thou madest a conscience of it; and I should abundantly rather choose to fall into such a man's hands, than into the hands of one who makes no conscience towards God, but will conform to any thing for his belly. But if thou didst not think thy religion worth venturing thy throat for in Oliver's days, I desire thee to consider, it is not worth cutting other men's throats now, for not conforming to it.

Bishop. You say right; I hope we shall have a care how we cut men's throats. (Several others were now come into the room.) But you know the common-prayer-book was before Oliver's days.

John Roberts. Yes; I have a great deal of reason to know that; for I was bred up under a common-prayer priest, and a poor old drunken man he was: sometimes he was so drunk he could not say his prayers, and at best he could but say them; though I think he was by far a better man than he that is priest there now.

Bishop. Who is your minister now?

John Roberts. My minister is Christ Jesus, the minister of the everlasting covenant; but the present priest of the parish is George Bull.

Bishop. Do you say that drunken old man was better than Mr. Bull? I tell you, I account Mr. Bull as sound, able, and orthodox a divine as any we have among us.

John Roberts. I am sorry for that; for if he is one of the best of you, I believe the Lord will not suffer you long; for he is a proud, ambitious, ungodly man; he has often sued me at law, and brought his servants to swear against me wrongfully. His servants themselves have confessed to my servants, that I might have their ears; for their master made them drunk, and then told them they were set down in the list as witnesses against me, and they must swear to it: and so they did, and brought treble damages. They likewise owned they took tithes from my servant, threshed them out, and sold them for their master. They have also several times took my cattle out of my grounds, drove them to fairs and markets, and sold them without giving me any account.

Bishop. I do assure you I will inform Mr. Bull of what you say.

John Roberts. Very well. And if thou pleasest to send for me to face him, I shall make much more appear to his face than I will say behind his back.

Bishop. But I remember you said you could make it appear that your religion was long before mine; and that is what I want to hear you make out.

John Roberts. Our religion, as thou mayest read in the Scripture, (John iv.) was set up by Christ himself, between sixteen and seventeen hundred years ago; and he had full power to es-

tablish the true religion in his church, when he told the woman of Samaria, that neither at that mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, was the place of true worship. They worship they knew not what. For, said he, God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. This is our religion, and hath ever been the religion of all those who have worshipped God acceptably through the several ages since, down to this time; and will be the religion of the true spiritual worshippers of God to the world's end; a religion performed by the assistance of the Spirit of God, because God is a Spirit; a religion established by Christ himself, before the mass-book, service-book, or directory, or any of those inventions and traditions of men, which in the night of apostacy were set up.

Bishop. Are all the Quakers of the same opinion?

John Roberts. Yes, they are. If any hold doctrines contrary to that taught by our Saviour to the woman of Samaria, they are not of us.

Bishop. Do you own the trinity?

John Roberts. I do not remember such a word in the holy Scriptures.

Bishop. Do you own three persons?

John Roberts. I believe according to the Scripture, that there are three that bear record in heaven, and that those three are One: thou mayest make as many persons of them as thou canst. But I would soberly ask thee, since the Scriptures say the heaven of heavens cannot contain Him, and that He is incomprehensible, by what person or likeness canst thou comprehend the Almighty?

Bishop. Yours is the strangest of all persuasions; for though there are many sects (which he named) and though they and we differ in some circumstances, yet in the fundamentals we agree as one. But I observe, you of all others, strike at the very root and basis of our religion.

John Roberts. Art thou sensible of that?

Bishop. Yes, I am.

John Roberts. I am glad of that; for the root is the rottenness, and truth strikes at the very foundation thereof. That little stone which Daniel saw cut out of the mountain without hands, will overturn all in God's due time, when you have done all you can to support it. But, as to those others thou mentionest, there is so little difference between you, that wise men wonder why you differ at all; only we read, the beast had many heads and many horns, which push against each other. And yet I am fully persuaded, there are many in this day true spiritual worshippers in all persuasions.

Bishop. But you will not give us the same liberty you give a common mechanic to call our tools by their own names.

John Roberts. I desire thee to explain thyself.

Bishop. Why, you will give a carpenter leave to call his gimblet a gimblet, and his gouge a gouge; but you call our church a mass-house.

John Roberts. I wish you were half so honest men as carpenters.

Bishop. Why? Do you upbraid us?

John Roberts. I would not upbraid you; but I will endeavour to show thee wherein you fall short of carpenters. Suppose I had a son intended to learn the trade of a carpenter; I indent with an

honest man of that calling, in consideration of so much money, to teach my son his trade in such a term of years; at the end of which term my son may be as good, or perhaps a better workman than his master, and he shall be at liberty from him to follow the business for himself. Now will you be so honest as this carpenter? You are men who pretend to know more of light, life, and salvation, and things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, than we do: I would ask in how long a time you would undertake to teach us as much as you know? and what shall we give you, that we may be once free from our masters? But here you keep us always learning, that we may be always paying you. Plainly it is a very cheat. What! always learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of God! Miserable sinners you found us, and miserable sinners you leave us.

Bishop. Are you against confession?

John Roberts. No: for I believe those who confess and forsake their sins shall find mercy at the hand of God; but those who persist in them shall be punished. But if ever you intend to be better, you must throw away your old book, and get a new one, or turn over a new leaf; for if you keep on in your old lesson you must always be doing what you ought not, and leaving undone what ye ought to do; and you can never do worse. I believe in my heart, you mock God.

Bishop. How dare you say?

John Roberts. I will state the case, and thou shalt judge. Suppose thou hadst a son, and thou shouldest daily let him know what thou wouldest have him to do, and he should day by day, week by week, and year after year, provoke thee to thy face, and say, father I have not done what thou commandest me to do; but have done quite the contrary; and continue to provoke thee to thy face in this manner, once, or oftener every week, wouldest thou not think him a rebellious child, and that his application to thee was mere mockery? and would it not occasion thee to disinherit him?

After some more discourse, my father told him time was far spent; and said, "If nothing will serve thee but my body in prison, here it is in thy power, and if thou commandest me to deliver myself up either to the sheriff, or to the jailer of Gloucester castle, as thy prisoner, I will go, and seek no other judge, advocate, or attorney, to plead my cause, but the great Judge of heaven and earth, who knows I have nothing but love and good-will in my heart to thee and all mankind."

Bishop. No; you shall go home about your business.

John Roberts. Then I desire thee for the future not to trouble thyself to send any more bailiffs after me; for if thou pleasest at any time to let me know by a line or two, thou wouldest speak with me, though it be to send me to that prison, if I am well and able, I will come.

The bishop then called for something to drink; but my father acknowledged his kindness, and excused himself from drinking. And the bishop being called out of the room, one Cuthbert, who took offence at my father's freedom with the bishop, said, "Haywood, you are afraid of nothing; I never met with such a man in my life. I am afraid of my life, lest such fanatics as you should cut my throat as I sleep."

John Roberts. I do not wonder that thou art afraid.

Cuthbert. Why should I be afraid any more than you?

John Roberts. Because I am under the protection of Him who numbereth the very hairs of my head, and without whose providence a sparrow shall not fall to the ground; but thou hast Cain's mark of envy on thy forehead, and like him art afraid whoever meets thee will kill thee.

Cuthbert. (In a great rage,) If all the Quakers in England are not hanged in a month's time, I will be hanged for them.

John Roberts. (Smiling,) Prithee, friend, remember and be as good as thy word.

My father and his friend, Amariah Drewett, then took their leave, and returned home with the answer of peace in their bosoms.

Sometime after this, the bishop and the chancellor in their coaches, accompanied with Thomas Masters, esq., in his coach, and about twenty clergymen on horse back, made my father's house in their way to a visitation, which was to be at Tedbury the next day. They stopped at the gate, and George Evans, the bishop's kinsman, rode into the yard to call my father; who coming to the bishop's coach-side, he put out his hand, which my father respectfully took, saying, "I could not well go out of the county without 'seeing you.'" That is very kind, said my father; wilt thou please to alight and come in, with those who are along with thee?

Bishop. I thank you John; we are going to Tedbury, and time will not admit of it now; but I will drink with you, if you please.

My father went in and ordered some drink to be brought, and then returned to the coach-side.

George Evans. John, is your house free to entertain such men as we are?

John Roberts. Yes, George; I entertain honest men, and sometimes others.

George Evans. (To the bishop), My lord, John's friends are the honest men, and we are the others.

John Roberts. That is not fair, George, for thee to put thy construction on my words; thou shouldst have given me leave to do that.

'Squire Masters came out of his coach, and stood by the bishop's coach-side; and the chancellor, in a diverting humour, said to my father, "My lord and these gentlemen have been to see your burying-ground, and we think you keep it very decent." (This piece of ground my father had given to the Friends for that purpose; it lay at the lower end of his orchard.) My father answered, yes; though we are against pride, we think it commendable to be decent.

Chancellor. But there is one thing among you, which I did not expect to see; I think it looks a little superstitious; I mean those grave-stones which are placed at the head and feet of your graves.

John Roberts. That I confess is what I cannot much plead for; but it was permitted to gratify some who had their relations there interred. We, notwithstanding, propose to have them taken up ere long, and converted to some better use. But I desire thee to take notice, we had it from among you, and I have observed in many things wherein we have taken you for our pattern, you have led

us wrong; and therefore we are now resolved, with the help of God, not to follow you one step further.

At this the bishop smiled, and said, John I think your beer is long a coming.

John Roberts. I suppose my wife is willing thou shouldst have the best, and therefore stays to broach a fresh vessel.

Bishop. Nay if it be for the best, we will stay. Presently my mother brought the drink, and when the bishop had drank, he said, I commend you John, you keep a cup of good beer in your house. I have not drank any that pleased me better since I came from home. The chancellor drank next; and the cup coming round again to my father's hand, 'Squire Masters said to him, now, old school-fellow, I hope you will drink to me?

John Roberts. Thou knowest it is not my practice to drink to any man; if it was, I would as soon drink to thee as another, as being my old acquaintance and school-fellow; but if thou art pleased to drink, thou art very welcome.

The 'Squire then taking the cup into his hand, said, now John, before my lord and all these gentlemen, tell me what ceremony or compliment do you Quakers use when you drink to one another.

John Roberts. None at all. For me to drink to another, and drink the liquor, is at best but a compliment, and that borders much on a lie.

'Squire Masters. What do you do then?

John Roberts. Why, if I have a mind to drink, I take the cup and drink; and if my friend pleases, he does the same; if not, he may let it alone.

'Squire Masters. Honest John, give me thy hand. Here is to thee with all my heart; and according to thy own compliment, if thou wilt drink, thou mayest, if not, thou mayest let it alone.

My father then offering the cup to the Priest Bull, he refused it, saying it is full of hops and heresy. To which my father replied, as for hops, I cannot say much, not being at the brewing of it; but as for heresy, I do assure thee neighbour Bull, there is none in my beer; and if thou pleasest to drink, thou art welcome; but if not, I desire thee to take notice, as good as thou wilt, and those who are as well able to judge of heresy. Here thy lord bishop hath drank of it, and commends it; he finds no heresy in the cup.

Bishop. Leaning over the coach-door, and whispering to my father, said John, I advise you to take care you do not offend against the higher powers. I have heard great complaints against you, that you are the ringleader of the Quakers in this country; and that if you are not suppressed, all will signify nothing. Therefore, pray John, take care for the future, and do not offend any more.

John Roberts. I like thy counsel very well, and intend to take it. But thou knowest God is the higher power; and you mortal men, however advanced in this world, are but the lower power; and it is only because I endeavour to be obedient to the will of the higher powers, that the lower powers are angry with me. But I hope, with the assistance of God, to take thy counsel, and be subject to the higher powers, let the lower powers do with me as it may please God to suffer them.

Bishop. I want some more discourse with you. Will you go with me to Mr. Bull's.

John Roberts. Thou knowest he hath no good-will for me. I had rather attend on thee elsewhere.

Bishop. Will you come to morrow to Tedbury?

John Roberts. Yes, if thou desires it.

Bishop. Well I do.

The bishop then took his leave, and went not to George Bull's, at which he was very much offended.

Next morning my father took his son Nathaniel with him, in case the bishop, in compliance with the violent clamors of the priests, should send him to prison, which he expected. As they were passing along a street in Tedbury, they were met by Anthony Sharp, of Ireland, whose mother lived at Tedbury. After he understood by my father where he was going, he asked if he would accept of a companion? If thou hast a mind to go to prison, says my father, thou mayest go with me. I will venture that, replied Anthony, for if I do, I shall have good company. When they came to the foot of the stairs which led up to the bishop's chamber, they were espied by George Evans, who said, come up, John, my lord thought you long. When they came up, the bishop was just setting down to dinner, with a number of clergymen; and offering to make room for my father, he excused himself, and retired with his friend till dinner was over. The bishop spoke to the woman of the house for another room, which, it being market-day, was soon filled with priests and clothiers, &c.

Bishop. (Putting on a stern countenance) said, come, John, I must turn over a new leaf with you. If you will not promise me to go to church, and to keep no more of these seditious conventicles at your house, I must make your mittimus, and send you to prison.

John Roberts. Wouldst thou have me shut my doors against my friends? It was but yesterday that thou thyself, and many others here present, were at my house; and I was so far from shutting my doors against you, that I invited you in, and you should have been welcome to the best entertainment I had.

Bishop. It is those meetings I speak of which you keep at your house, to the terror of the country.

John Roberts. This I will promise thee, before all this company, that if any plotters or ill minded persons come to my house to plot or conspire against the king or government, if I know of it, I will be the first informer against them myself, though I have not a penny for my labour. But if honest and sober people come to my house, to wait upon and worship the God of heaven, in spirit and in truth, such shall be welcome to me as long as I have a house for them to meet in; and if I should have none, the Lord will provide one for them.

Bishop. Will you promise to go to your own parish church to hear divine service?

John Roberts. I can promise no such thing. The last time I was there, I was moved and required of the Lord, whom I serve, to bear testimony against a hireling priest, who was preaching for hire and divining for money; and he was angry with me, and caused the people to turn me out. And I do not intend to trouble him again till he learn more civility, except the Lord requires it of me.

Bishop. Send for the constable: I must take another course.

John Roberts. If thou shouldst come to my house under a pretence of friendship, and in a Judas like manner, betray me hither to send me to prison, as I have hitherto commended thee for thy moderation, I should then have occasion to put thy name in print, and cause it to stink before all sober people. But it is those who set thee on mischief. I would not have thee hearken to them, but bid them take up some honest vocation, and rob their honest neighbours no longer. They are like a company of caterpillars who destroy the fruit of the earth, and live on the fruit of other men's labour.

Then priest Rich, of North-Surry, said, who are those you call caterpillars.

John Roberts. We herdsman call them caterpillars, who live on the fruit of other men's fields, and on the sweat of other men's brows. And if thou dost so, thou mayest be one of them.

Rich. May it please your lordship, if you suffer such a man as this to *thou* your lordship, and call you old man, what will become of us?

John Roberts. We honour old age, if it be found in the way of well-doing; but one would not think you should be such dunces as to forget grammar rules. You bred up at Oxford and Cambridge! For what? I that am a layman, and bred up at the plough-tail, understand the singular and plural numbers. Thee and thou is proper to a single person, if it be a prince: thou knowest it old man. What! have you forgot your prayers? Is it *You O Lord*, or *Thou O Lord*, in your prayers? Will you not accept the same language from your fellow-mortals, which you give to the Almighty? What spirit was that in proud Haman, that would have poor Mordecai to bow to him?

Bishop. This will not do. Make their mittimusses: What is your name?

Anthony Sharp. My name is Anthony Sharp.

Bishop. Where do you live?

Anthony Sharp. At Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland.

Bishop. What is your business here?

Anthony Sharp. My mother lives in this town; and as she is such, and an acient woman, I thought it my duty to come and see her.

John Roberts. He only came hither in good will to bear me company. If thou pleasest, lay the more on me, and let him go free.

Bishop. No; he may be as dangerous a person as yourself; and as you came for company, you shall go for company. Send for the constable to take them into custody.

The woman of the house understanding the constable was to be sent for, despatched a messenger to him to bid him get out of the way. But the messenger missing him, he came to the house by accident. To whom the landlady said, "What do you do here, when honest John Haywood is going to be sent to prison? Here come along with me." The constable being willing, she concealed him in another room, and the bishop's messenger bringing him word that the constable was not to be found, he said to my father:

Bishop. Here are many gentlemen who have a great way home, and I can send you to prison in the afternoon; so you may take your liberty until six of the clock.

My father perceived his intent was to get rid of his company. So he withdrew with his friend Anthony Sharp; and at six o'clock returned without him, and found only two persons with the bishop, i. e., Edward Barnet, a surgeon of Cockerton, and Parson Hall.

Bishop. So, John, you are come. It is well; I want some more discourse with you.

Parson Hall. And if it please you, my lord, let me discourse with him.

Bishop. Ay, do, Mr. Hall, John will give you an answer.

Parson Hall. It is a great pity such a man as you should have the light, sight and knowledge of the Scriptures; for the knowledge of the Scriptures hath made you mad.

John Roberts. Why should I not have the privilege of buying the Scriptures for my money as well as thee or any other man? But you priests, like the Papists, would have us laymen kept in ignorance, that we might pin our faith on your sleeves; and so the blind lead the blind, till both fall into the ditch. But if the knowledge of the Scriptures had made me mad, the knowledge of the sack pot hath almost made thee mad; and if we two mad men should dispute about religion, we should make mad work of it. But as thou art an unworthy man, I will not dispute with thee.

Parson Hall. And if it please you, my lord, he says I am drunk.

John Roberts. Wilt thou speak an untruth before thy lord bishop.

Parson Hall. He did say I was drunk, my lord.

Bishop. What did you say, John? I will believe you.

My father repeating what he said before, the bishop held up his hands, and smiling, said, "Did you say so, John?" By which Hall perceiving the bishop did not incline to favour him, went away in a huff. The bishop then directing his discourse to my father, said, "John, I thought you dealt hardly with me to-day, in telling me before so many gentlemen, that I came to your house in a Judas like manner, and betrayed you hither to send you to prison; for if I had not done what I did, people would have reported me an encourager of the Quakers.

John Roberts. If they had, it would have been no discredit to thee.

Bishop. Come now, John, I will burn your mitimus before your face. And now, Mr. Barnet, I have a mind to ask John some questions. John, I have heard Mr. Bull say strange things of you; that you can tell where to find any thing that is lost as well as any cunning man; but I desire to hear from your own mouth. It was about some cows that a neighbour had lost, and could not where find them, till they applied to you.

John Roberts. If thou pleasest to hear me, I will tell thee the truth of that story.

Bishop. Pray do; I shall believe you, John.

John Roberts. I had a poor neighbour, who had a wife and six children, and whom the chief men about us permitted to keep six or seven cows upon the waste, which were the principal support of his family, and preserved them from becoming chargeable to the parish. One very stormy night the cattle were left in the yard as usual, but could not be found in the morning. The man and his sons had sought them to no purpose; and after

they had been lost four days, his wife came to me, and in a great deal of grief, cried, "O Lord! master Haywood, we are undone! my husband and I must go a begging in our old age! we have lost all our cows! my husband and the boys have been round the country, and can hear nothing of them, I will down on my bare knees if you will stand our friend!" I desired she would not be in such agony, and told her she should not down on her knees to me; but I would gladly help them in what I could. "I know," said she, "you are a good man, and God will hear your prayers." "I desire thee," said I, "to be still and quiet in thy mind; perhaps thy husband or son may hear of them to-day; if not, let thy husband get a horse and come to me to-morrow morning as soon as he will, and I think, if it please God, to go with him to seek them." The woman seemed transported with joy, crying, "Then we shall have our cows again!" Her faith being so strong, brought the greater exercise upon me, with strong cries unto the Lord, that he would be pleased to make me instrumental in his hand, for the help of the poor family. In the morning early, comes the old man; "In the name of God," says he, "which way shall we go and seek them?" I being deeply concerned in my mind, did not answer him till he had thrice repeated it; and then I answered, "In the name of God we will go to seek them," and said before I was aware, "we will go to Malmsbury, and at the horse-fair we shall find them." When I had spoken the words I was much troubled lest they should not prove true. It was very early, and the first man we saw, I asked him if he had seen any stray milch cows thereabouts? "What manner of cattle are they?" said he. And the old man describing their marks and number, he told us there were some stood chewing their cuds in their horse-fair; but thinking they belonged to some of the neighbourhood, he did not take particular notice of them. When we came to the place, the old man found them to be his; but suffered his transports of joy to rise so high, that I was ashamed of his behaviour; for he fell a hallowing, and threw up his mounier cap in the air several times, till he raised the neighbours out of their beds to see what was the matter. "O," said he, "I had lost my cows four or five days ago, and thought I should never see them again; and this honest neighbour of mine, told me this morning by his own fire-side, nine miles off, that here I should find them, and here I have them!" Then up goes his cap again. I begged of the poor man to be quiet, and take his cows home, and be thankful, as indeed I was, being reverently bowed in my spirit before the Lord, in that he was pleased to put the words of truth into my mouth. And the man drove his cattle home, to the great joy of his family.

Bishop. I remember another Mr. Bull told me, about a parcel of sheep a neighbour had lost, and you told him where to find them.

John Roberts. The truth of the story is this: a neighbour of mine, one John Curtis, at that time a domestic of George Bull's, kept some sheep of his own; and it so fell out that he had lost them for some days; but happening to see me, and knowing I went pretty much abroad, he desired me if I should see them any where in my travels, to let him know of it. It happened the next day,

I was riding towards my own field, my dogs being with me, put up a hare, and seeing they were likely to kill her, I rode up to take them off, that she might escape, and by mere accident, I espied John Curtis's sheep in one corner of the field, in a thick briery part of the hedge, wherein they stood as secure as if they had been in a pound. I suppose they had been driven there by the hounds. When I came home I sent him word of it. And though this is no more than a common accident, I find George Bull hath endeavoured to improve it to my disadvantage.

Bishop. I remember one story more he told me about a horse.

John Roberts. If I shall not tire thy patience, I will acquaint thee how that was. One Edward Symons came from London to see his parents at Siddington. They put his horse to grass with their own, in some ground beyond a part of mine, called the Fursen Leases, through which they went with the horse; and when they wanted to take him from the grass they could not find him. After he had been lost sometime, and they had cried him at several market towns, somebody, who, it is likely, might have heard the former stories told, as thou mightest hear them, directed this Edward Symons to me, who telling me the case, I asked him which way they had the horse to grass? He answered through the Fursen Leases. I said, the horse being a stranger in the place, it is very likely he might endeavour to bend homewards, and lose himself in the Fursen Leases, for there are a great many acres under that name, which are so overgrown with furse bushes, that a horse may lie there concealed a long time. I therefore advised him to get a good deal of company, and search the places diligently, as if they were beating for a hare, which, if he did, I told him I was of the mind he would find him. The man did take my advice, and found him. And where is the cunning of all this? It is no more than their own reason might have directed them to, had they properly considered the case.

Bishop. I wanted to hear these stories from your own mouth, though I did not, nor should I have credited them in the sense Mr. Bull related them. But I believe you, John. And now, Mr. Barnet, we will ask John some serious questions. I can compare him to nothing but a good ring of bells. You know, Mr. Barnet, a ring of bells may be made of as good metal as can be put into bells; but they may be out of tune; so we may say of John; he is a man of as good metal as I ever met with, but he is quite out of tune.

John Roberts. Thou mayest well say so; for I cannot tune after thy pipe.

Bishop. Well, I remember to have read, at the preaching of the apostle, the heart of Lydia was opened. Can you tell us what it was that opened the heart of Lydia?

John Roberts. I believe I can.

Bishop. I thought so. I desire you to do it.

John Roberts. It was nothing but the key of David.

Bishop. Nay, now John, I think you are going wrong.

John Roberts. If thou pleasest to speak, I will hear thee; but if thou wouldst have me to speak, I desire thee to hear me.

Bishop. Come, Mr. Barnet, we will hear John.

John Roberts. It is written, "Thou hast the key of David, which opens, and none can shut; and if thou shuttest, none can open." And that is no other but the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was the same spiritual key that opened the heart of Moses, the first penman of the Scripture, and gave him a sight of things from the beginning. It was the same spiritual key that opened the hearts of all the holy patriarchs, prophets and apostles, in ages past, who left their experience of the things of God upon record; which, if they had not done, you bishops and priests would not have any thing to make a trade of; for it is by telling the experiences of these holy men, that you get your great bishoprics and parsonages. And the same spiritual key hath, blessed be God, opened the hearts of thousands in this age, and the same spiritual key hath, in a measure opened my heart, and given me to distinguish things that differ. And it must be the same that must open thy heart, if ever thou comest to have it truly opened.

Bishop. It is the truth, the very truth. I never heard it so defined before. John, I have done you much wrong; I desire you to forgive me; and I will never wrong you more.

John Roberts. I do heartily forgive thee, as far as it is in my power; and I truly pray the Father of mercies may forgive thee, and make thee his. As to the latter part, that thou wilt never wrong me more; I am of the same mind with thee, for it is in my heart to tell thee, I shall never see thy face any more.

Bishop. I have heard you told once the jailer of Gloucester so, and it proved true.

John Roberts. That jailer had been very cruel to me and the rest of our friends, who were then prisoners. He had kept us in prison from the session to the assize, and from the assize to the session, omitting to put our names in the calendar, that we might have had a hearing. At length I found means, at assize time, to acquaint the judge by letter, of his illegal proceedings. In consequence of which, we were ordered to be put on the calendar, had a hearing, and were acquitted. The judge severely reprimanded the jailer, saying, "Sirrah! if ever I hear that you do the like for the future, I will take care that you shall be jailer here no longer. Shall I come here to hear and determine causes, and shall you keep men in prison during your pleasure, and not put their names in the calendar?" The jailer coming out of the castle, was heard by the turnkey to say, "It was about Haywood that I was so severely reprimanded by the judge; and if ever he comes into the castle again, he shall never come out alive." Upon which the turnkey took an opportunity to find me out, and informing me of it, said, "I would not have you, by any means, come back to the castle to-night to fetch any of your things; for if you do, he will certainly detain you for his fees. I will take care of your things, as if yourself were present to do it." I acknowledged his kindness, and went home. When the jailer returned to the castle, he asked the turnkey where the Quakers were? He answered, he thought it his business to take care of the felons, and to leave the Quakers to him. Not long after, being constable, I secured a felon who broke out of the castle, and sent the turnkey notice of it. He coming over to fetch him back, begged if by any means

I could prevent it, that I would not come any more a prisoner to the castle whilst his master was jailer; "for, says he, if you do, he swears you shall never go out alive; and that hour you come in I will leave the castle; for I cannot stay there to see you abused." Does he still say so, said I? Yes, he does, said he. "Then remember me to him, said I, and tell him from me, I shall never see his face any more! Soon after it pleased God to take him away by death; and in a little time I was had prisoner there again.

This was the last conference my father had with the bishop, who died soon after.

Sometime after our friends having been kept out of their meeting at Cirencester a considerable time, had continued to meet in the street. But orders being given one day to permit them to meet in the house, they did, and whilst Theophila Townshend was in prayer, the bishop, successor to bishop Nicholson, sir John Guise, William Burcher, of Barnsley, justice of the peace, with a great company attending them, came in. The bishop laid his hand on Theophila's head, saying, "Enough, good woman, enough; desist, desist." When she had done, Richard Bowly, of Cirencester, went to prayer. And when he had done, sir John Guise asked his name.

Richard Bowly. My name is Richard Bowly.

Sir John Guise. Where do you live?

Richard Bowly. In this town.

Sir John Guise. What trade are you?

Richard Bowly. A maltster.

Sir John Guise. Set down Richard Bowly twenty pounds for preaching. Whose house is this?

John Roberts. This house hath many owners?

Sir John Guise. But who is the landlord?

John Roberts. One who is able give us a quiet possession of it.

Sir John Guise. I demand of you who is the landlord of it.

John Roberts. The king is our landlord.

Sir John Guise. How is the king your landlord?

John Roberts. It is the king's land, and we pay the king's auditors. And we are not only his peaceable subjects, but also his good tenants, who pay him rent. Therefore we have reason to hope he will give us a peaceable possession of our bargain.

Sir John Guise. Who pays the king's auditors?

Richard Bowly. I do.

Sir John Guise. Set down Richard Bowly twenty pounds for the house.

John Roberts. Who is that (speaking to the other justice) who is so forward to take names and levy fines.

Justice Burcher. Do not you know him? It is sir John Guise.

Sir John Guise. What is that to you? What is your name?

John Roberts. I am not ashamed of my name. But if thy name be John Guise, I knew thy father by a very remarkable incident; and I would have thee take warning by thy father. A word to the wise is sufficient.

Sir John Guise. Here constable, take this fellow, and lay him by the heels. He affronts me.

John Roberts. My heels, man? Fear and dread

the living God; I am not afraid of being laid by the heels. The constable not being forward to obey his orders, he took my father by the arm, and bid the constable take him by the other. So they led him into the street, and bid him to go about his business. "I am about my business," said my father: and on their going in again, my father followed them.

Sir John Guise. Haywood, I thought I had you out. What do you here again?

John Roberts. I come to see how thou behave amongst my friends, and if thou dost not behave thyself well, I shall make bold to tell thee of it.

Sir John Guise. I command you in the king's name, to go out again.

John Roberts. If thou pleasest to go out first, I will follow.

With some pains he got all the friends out of the house and ordered all the forms to be brought into the street.

Which being done, my father said, "The seats are our own, and we may as well sit as stand." So the friends sat down; but presently after they were broken up and dispersed. Not long after John Timbrel, a friend of Cirencester, wrote to justice Burcher, and told him (amongst other things) he had till then a better opinion of him than to think he would set his hand to such a work; and that he was sorry that he should be one in it. Sir John being acquainted with it by justice Burcher, sent out a warrant against John Timbrel. The constable who had it to serve was so civil to inform him of it, and tell him he would not serve it on him till his market was over. However, he left his market, came to my father, told him of the warrant, and asked advice. My father advised him not to stay for the serving of the warrant, but go directly to sir John. He engaging my father to accompany him, so away they went. When they came before sir John, John Timbrel said, "I heard thou hadst sent out a warrant to bring me before thee, but I chose rather to come without it."

Sir John. What is your name?

John Timbrel. My name is John Timbrel.

Sir John. Are you that saucy, pragmatic fellow that wrote to Mr. Burcher, to deter him from executing the king's laws?

John Timbrel. I did write a letter to William Burcher.

Sir John. Then you deserve a stone doublet.

John Timbrel. Hast thou seen the letter.

Sir John. No, but I have had an account of it.

John Roberts. Then though thou art but a young man, I desire thee to show thyself so much a wise man, as not to condemn any thing thou hast not seen. I have seen a copy of it, and think there is a great deal of good advice in it; and I wish both thee and William Burcher were so wise as to take it.

Sir John. I thought you were the writer or inditer of it, though Timbrel's name was to it.

John Roberts. No, I was not. I knew nothing of it, till after it was sent.

Sir John. I remember you affronted me the other day before a great number of people, concerning my father. Pray what do you know of my father?

John Roberts. Some time ago, several of my friends being met together with me in a peaceable manner, to worship God, at Stoke Orchard, thy fa-

ther came in with a file of musketeers at his heels, and beat and abused us very much. I then warned him in abundance of love. Yet he did not seem to regard it, but sent about twelve of us to Gloucester castle. I then told him God would plead our cause with him. And I was credibly informed that, not the very night, but the next night after, he went to bed as well in appearance as usual; but in the morning, he not ringing a certain bell, which he had by him for that purpose, at the time he used to do, his housekeeper went up several times, and thought he was asleep. But at length, suspecting something more than ordinary, she made a closer inspection; and perceiving his countenance changed, she threw open the curtains in a great surprise; on which he just flashed open his eyes, but said not a word. She asked him how he did; but he made no answer. Which made her cry out more earnestly; "Pray sir, how do you do? How is it with you? For God's sake tell me." And all he said to her was, "Oh these Quakers! Oh these Quakers! Would to God I never had a hand against the Quakers!" I did not hear that he ever spoke more.

Sir John seemed surprised at this relation, and did not contradict it in the least; which, it is very reasonable to think he would, and with resentment too, had it not been true. Yet notwithstanding this fair warning, he continued his practice of granting warrants against us. But the officers were generally so civil as to acquaint us with it in time. Sometime after this, sir John Guise and sir Robert Atkins being at Perrot's Brook, two miles from Cirencester, quarrelled as they were gaming. Sir John drew his sword, and demanded satisfaction; but those in the house stepped between and parted them. They seeming to appear pacified sat down again. But afterwards, taking a walk together in the bowling-green, the breast of sir John being filled with resentment, he said, "Sir Robert, you gave me the lie; and I will have satisfaction."

Sir Robert. If I have said any thing more than what is common for gentlemen to say to each other in their play, betwixt you and I, I ask your pardon.

Sir John. If you will go in and ask it before the people of the house, I will put it up; otherwise I will not.

Sir Robert. No, sir John, that is beneath me.

Sir John. Then draw, or you shall die like a dog. They both drew, and sir Robert gave him a gentle prick in the arm, and said, "I desire you, sir John, to take that for satisfaction. I could have had you elsewhere; but was unwilling to do you further mischief."

Sir John. I will kill or be killed.

Sir Robert. If that be your mind, look to yourself as well as you can; for I shall have you at the next pass. And so he had; for he ran him through, in at the belly and out at the back; on which he fell. Sir Robert stepped up to him, unbuttoned his clothes, tore his shirt down, and gently drew out his sword; and then after he had well sucked the wound, taking his handkerchief, he rolled up the corners of it hard, and thrust it into the orifice; then unbuttoning his clothes, he lifted him up, and desired him while he was able, that he would acquaint the people of the house that his death was owing to his own seeking. And

when they were come about him, he was so generous as to say, "If I die, sir Robert is clear; for if he had not have killed me, I would have killed him." Sir Robert procured him surgeons; and, after a while, when great pain came upon him, he lamented himself much, and said, "It was the just hand of God upon me for meddling with the Quakers. But, if he will be pleased to spare me, and try me again, I will never have a hand against them any more. For Haywood told me, if I went on persecuting, the same hand that overtook my father, would overtake me, before I was aware. He further told me, I was set on by some envious priests; and I might have time to repent it. And so I do with all my heart. And it is true; I could never come into company with Mr. Careless or Mr. Freame, but they would be stirring me up to put the laws in execution against dissenters." The sword having missed his entrails, he recovered, stood candidate for the county after, and never more disturbed our meetings.

The next thing I shall take notice of, is the proceeding of justice James George, against my father, my brother Nathaniel and myself. He came to the Ram in Cirencester, and sent for my brother and me. My father went with us. And when we came thither, he said: "It is very well John, that you are come too, I sent for your sons to let them know it is his majesty's pleasure to have the laws put in execution; and now I take this opportunity to let them and you know, that we must all be of one church."

John Roberts. Thou oughtest then to be well assured it is the right church. For if thou shouldst be so far permitted to exercise the authority thou art entrusted with, as to force a man against his conscience, to conform to a wrong church, thou canst not indemnify that man for so conforming in the day of account. I have read indeed, that our Saviour made a whip of small cords to whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple; but I never read that he whipped any in. The window of the room being open, we had a prospect of Cirencester tower; and the justice pointing to it, said, "What do you call that John?"

John Roberts. Thou mayest call it a daw-house, if thou pleasest. Dost not thou see how the jack-daws flock about it?

Justice. Well, notwithstanding your jesting, I warn you, in the king's name, that you meet no more, as you will answer it at your peril.

John Roberts. Then I suppose thou thinkest thou hast done thy duty?

Justice. Yes.

John Roberts. Then I desire thee to give me leave to do my duty. And I do now warn thee, in the name of the King of kings, and Lord of lords, not to molest or hinder us in the peaceable exercise of our duty to God, as thou wilt answer at another day.

A little time after this, he sent to the officers, to bid them to go to the Quakers' meeting-house on Sunday next, and bring their names to him. The officers were very unwilling to obey his commands; and some of them acquainted me with their orders, desiring we would not meet at the usual time, or otherwise that we would meet at another place. I told them we did not dare so far to deny the worship of our God: for, said I, we worship the same God that Daniel did; and he, notwith-

standing the severe decree of the king, failed not openly to own God by praying to him, with his window open as usual. And our God is the same he was in Daniel's days, as able to stop the mouths of lions as he was then. And we are not afraid to trust him, having had experience of many deliverances he hath wrought for us. The next first-day we met at the time and place we used to meet; and a good meeting we had, the living presence of the Lord being sensibly felt amongst us. One of the constables came in, and delivered a warrant to my brother John, desiring him to read it. But my brother put it in his pocket, telling him he designed to read it when the meeting was over. "That will not do," said he, "for if you will not read it now, I desire you to give it to me again." Which he did. And then they took a list of several of our names, and carried it to Justice George; on which he sent out his warrants to distrain our goods. They seized my father's corn in his barns, and locked up the barn doors. And at that same time the murrain had seized the justice's cattle, and they died apace. His steward told him he must send for John Haywood, or he would lose all his cattle. "No," said the justice, "don't send for him now; because I have warrants out against him and his sons. Send for any body else." So the steward sent for another; who did what he could for them, but to very little purpose, for the cattle continued to sicken and die as before. The steward then told him, "Please your worship, if you don't send for John Haywood, I believe you will lose all your cattle; for now the bull is sick, and off his meat; and I don't find this man does them any good. But if you will please to send for John, I don't question but he would be of service to them." "Send for him then," said the justice; "but don't bring him in as you used to do. When he has done what he can, pay him, and dismiss him." So my father was sent for, and went—having learned that great Christian lesson to return good for evil—and did his best for them. When he had done, as he was wiping his hands in the entry, the justice undesignedly came by him; and seeing he could not avoid his notice, said, "So, John, you have done something for my cattle, I suppose." "Yes," said my father, "and I hope it will do them good." "Well," said the justice to the steward, "pay John."

John Roberts. No; I will have none of thy money.

Justice. None of my money! why so?

John Roberts. To what purpose is it for me to take a little of thy money by retail, and thou wilt come and take my goods by wholesale.

Justice. Do not think your coming to drench and bleed my cattle, shall deter me from executing the king's laws.

John Roberts. It is time enough for thee to deny me a favour when I ask it of thee. I seek no favour at thy hands. But when thou hast done me all the displeasure thou art permitted to do, I will notwithstanding serve thee or thine to the utmost of my power.

Justice. Well, John, you must stay and dine with me.

John Roberts. Perhaps I shall intrude if I stay, I had rather be excused.

Justice. It is no intrusion, John; you shall stay.

So my father staid, and presented him with a piece of Thomas Ellwood's against persecution; which, together with my father's readiness to serve him, so wrought on him, that I do not remember any of his corn was taken from him at that time. But my brother Nathaniel and myself, being partners in trade in Cirencester, were fined by this Justice George, for ourselves, and unable persons present with us at the meeting, seventy pounds.

Sometime after came to our house Sir Thomas Cutter, with other justices, the sheriff of the county, his men, and two constables. Our neighbours, in good will to us, shut our doors, and the maid fastened them on the inside. But the justices gave orders they should be broken open. A young woman being in the shop when it was done, ran out at the back door in a fright. Which Sir Thomas seeing, said, "There is one gone! There might as well be five hundred gone; I will take my oath here was a conventicle." I being near him, bid him take care what he said or swore, because he must give account, and he knew not how soon. A servant belonging to one of them took off my hat, and laid it on the table. I took it and put it on again, saying, I hope a man may keep his hat on in his own house, without offence to any man.

Sir Thomas. What is your name?

D. Roberts. Daniel Roberts.

Sir Thomas. Can you swear?

D. Roberts. Not that I know of; I never tried.

Sir Thomas. Then you must begin now.

D. Roberts. I think I shall not.

Sir Thomas. How will you help it?

D. Roberts. By not doing it. But if thou canst convince me by that book in thy hand (which was a bible) that it is lawful to swear, since Christ forbids it, then I will swear. For when men come and say you must swear or suffer, it is but reasonable to expect such men should be qualified to prove it lawful. Our Saviour says, *Swear not at all*; Thou sayest I must swear. Pray which must I obey?

Sir Thomas. Well, Daniel, if you will not swear, you must go to jail.

D. Roberts. The will of God be done. For be it known unto you, we had rather be in prison, and enjoy our peace with God, than be at liberty, and break our peace with him.

Justice Parsons. I suppose you are one of John Haywood's sons?

D. Roberts. Yes.

Justice Parsons. I am sorry for that.

D. Roberts. Why art thou sorry for that? I never heard an honest man speak against my father in my life. What hast thou against him?

Sir Thomas. That he is not only misled himself, but he is also a means to mislead others.

D. Roberts. If you have nothing against him but his obedience to the law of God, that is no more than the accusers of honest Daniel had against him; and that does not concern me.

Sir Thomas. His worshipping God in the way he does, is crime enough.

D. Roberts. Then I hope I shall be a criminal as long as I live.

Then they seized what goods they pleased, and took them away with them. And after they had tendered us oaths twice more, our mittimus was

made, and we were sent to Gloucester castle, where we found several of our friends before us; and with them that were sent in soon after us, we became a family of forty or fifty. The jailer's name was John Landborne; and for a piece of service I did him gratis in his absence (i. e. officiating as key-turner, and preventing two notorious robbers from breaking out) I could prevail with him to let several of our friends go home, when occasion particularly required, for sometime together. We, being a large number of us in prison, had often large meetings on the first-days in the castle. Divers of the prisoners who were not of us, as well as several people out of the city, would come and sit down with us. Therefore Richard Parsons, one of our persecutors, who lived in the city, came to our morning meeting, accompanied with several others. My father was present with us, and Henry Panton, who had formerly been a fencing master, was preaching when they came in, concerning the confession of some, who perpetually say they are doing what they ought not, and leaving undone what they ought to do; which words, Parsons, who was a priest, a chancellor, and a justice, took hold of, telling him he was complaining of others for what he was doing himself; for, said he, you are now doing what you ought not, and leaving undone what you ought to do; catching hold of his grey locks to pull him down. But Henry being a tall man, strong and active, though in years, he stood his ground, and spoke over his head. Parsons then strove to stop his mouth; but he avoided it, by turning his head on one side. When he had done speaking, a Friend stood up, and said, "It is a sign the devil is hard put to it to have his drudgery done, that priests must leave their pulpits and parishioners, to take up the business of informers against poor prisoners in the prison." After Priest Parsons had been sometime endeavouring to get the names of some present, and nobody would give him information, he thus broke out: "If you are thereabouts, I shall be even with you another way." For he had got a list of several of the prisoners' names; and taking for granted that they were all present at the time, he sent out his warrants for distraining their goods. However, herein he was mistaken; for several were then absent; among whom was Lettice Gush, a widow, who lived about twenty miles distant. Some officers being sent to her house to distrain her goods, for being at this meeting, when she was twenty miles from the place; when the officers came, she told them she was not at the meeting; and to convince them, persuaded them to go with her to her landlord, who was also a justice of the peace, and knew what she said to be true. When they came before him, and showed him the warrant, "What a rascal," said he, "is this Parsons! Here he says, he will take his oath that my tenant was convicted by him of being at a conventicle in Gloucester castle, such a day of the month; and I will take my oath she was at home at the same time, which is twenty miles off. If you touch any of her goods by virtue of this warrant, be it at your peril. I will assure you if you do, I will stick close to your skirts."

Officer. What can be done in this case? How can we make a legal return of the warrant without executing it?

Landlord. Carry it back to Mr. Parsons, and tell him * * * * * and I will bear you out in it. So they returned, without giving her any further trouble. Another warrant was issued out against Francis Boy, physician, on the same account, and of the same value, who was likewise absent at the time of his pretended conviction. When the officers came to distrain his goods, he was not at home. So his cattle were taken away to the value of between twenty and thirty pounds. He afterwards, on inspection, found by his books, that he was attending a gentleman at the time he was said to be convicted. To this gentleman he went, and inquired of him if he could remember the day he attended him? The gentleman answered, "He had good reason to remember it; for," said he, "if you had not done what you did for me that day, I believe I should have been now in my grave." He then informed the gentleman of the reason that induced him to give him that trouble. "Well," replied he, "I advise you to appeal to the next quarter-sessions for redress; and you may assure yourself I will endeavour to serve you what lays in my power; for I will take my oath before any judge or bench of justices in England, that you was with me that day." But it so fell out that he had no occasion to appeal. For it soon took air that he had such a substantial evidence in his favour; and his cattle were returned before the sessions.

Not long after it pleased God to visit my dear father with sickness that proved mortal. I had leave to attend him the major part of the time he was sick; and the Lord was pleased to favour him with his living presence in his last moments; and having honourably finished his days' work, he departed this life in the year 1683, and was interred in the piece of ground he had long before given to Friends for a burying-place, situate at the lower end of his orchard, at Siddington, near Cirencester.

Some days after his interment, I had news that my brother and myself, with four Friends more, were discharged by the judge; but that the other four were detained for the fees. I therefore went down to use my interest for their discharge. I found him ill in bed; and he told me he was very willing to remit the fees belonging to himself; but there were some due to the under-sheriff, and those were not in his power. But soon after providence so ordered that we all had our liberty; and I came and settled at my present habitation at Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, where I have now dwelt about forty years.

Thus, considering that it were great pity those singular providences of the Almighty should not be recorded for the benefit of posterity, I was willing for my own perusal and that of my family, and some few particular friends, to commit them to writing. In the doing of which, respecting the several conferences my father had with the bishops and others, before mentioned, I have been careful to pen them down in the same words they were then expressed in, as near as I could recollect, or at least to retain the genuine sense and purport of them. Which, reader, if they tend to thy confirmation and encouragement in a course of true Christian piety, I have my end; who am thy sincere friend,

DANIEL ROBERTS.

Chesham, Fourth mo., 1725.



